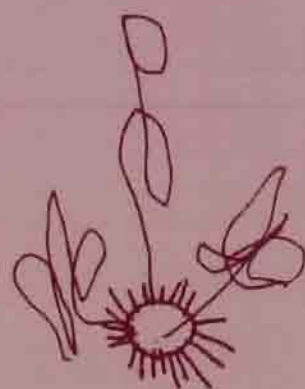




FOLK LITERATURE of the YANOMAMI INDIANS

JOHANNES WILBERT and KARIN SIMONEAU

Folk Literature of the Yanomami Indians
JOHANNES WILBERT AND KARIN SIMONEAU,
editors

Folk Literature of the Yanomami Indians, a collection of 364 narratives of the Yanomami Indians of southern Venezuela and northern Brazil, is the nineteenth volume in a series of South American folk literature. The previously published volumes are listed in the front section of this book.

Collected since the 1950s by nine contributing authors among three major branches of Yanomami society, *Folk Literature of the Yanomami Indians* ranks among the most comprehensive, representative, and authentic narrative collections from anywhere in South America. Its rich documentation of Yanomami ideational culture adds a significant and all too often underreported dimension to our knowledge of this aboriginal society. Despite the presence of a common thematic stock, there exists considerable variation among the mythologies of the three subgroups, a finding which should make for interesting comparative research in the future.

About half the tales in *Folk Literature of the Yanomami Indians* feature a wide variety of etiological narratives about cosmogony and the spirit world, cataclysms and elements, mankind and cultural ordainment, plants and animals. The cycle of the demiurge brothers is given expression in a rich set of narratives. More than a third of the collection explicates the nature of a host of extraordinary creatures and occurrences, and an interesting number of unclassified narratives rounds out the collection. Extensive annotation gives in-depth explanatory ethnographic background to the narratives, and comprehensive indexing gathers the occurring motifs in an analytical apparatus at the end of the book.

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FOLK LITERATURE of the YANOMAMI INDIANS

JOHANNES WILBERT and KARIN SIMONEAU

Editors



CONTRIBUTING AUTHORS

Bruce Albert

Hans Becher

Donald M. Borgman

Luis Cocco

Marcus Edward Medhurst Colchester

Juan Finkers

Franz Knobloch

Jacques Lizot

Johannes Wilbert

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Preface

Folk Literature of the Yanomami Indians is the nineteenth volume in a series dedicated to the narrative art of South American Indians. Concentrating on the so-called marginal societies, previous volumes, listed in the front of this book, present the oral literatures of the Selknam and Yamana of Tierra del Fuego; the Tehuelche of Patagonia; the Mocoví, Toba, Mataco, Nivaklé, Chorote, Caduveo, Chamacoco, and Ayoreo of the Gran Chaco; the Bororo of Mato Grosso; the Gê of Central Brazil; the Warao of the Orinoco Delta; and the Guajiro of the Venezuelan and Colombian La Guajira Peninsula. Further volumes are planned to offer narrative collections of the Makka of the Gran Chaco, and the Yaruro and Guahibo of the Orinoco basin.

Folk Literature of the Yanomami Indians is a corpus of three hundred and sixty-four narratives which were recorded by nine contributing authors among three of the four major subdivisions of this aboriginal society. Half of the stories pertain to the Yanomami, thirty-three percent to the Sanima, and seventeen percent to the Yanomam. Several other published and unpublished collections of Yanomami narratives have come to the attention of the editors, the excellent article (1967) and book (1974) by Barandiarán among them. Additional texts, however, could not be accommodated in this volume.

The editors owe a special debt of gratitude to the contributing authors and their Yanomami collaborators who have made this book possible. In addition to preparing his Yanomam collection for publication, Bruce Albert also took the time to read and comment on a draft of the Introduction. For his corrections and many helpful suggestions the editors are most grateful.

Nina Moss and Sujata Duggal assisted with the word processing and other editorial chores. Teresa Joseph copy-edited the final manuscript, and Colleen Trujillo produced the book. Special thanks go to Yehuda Afek, who wrote the computer program for the indexes.

Dr. Charles E. Young and Dr. Franklin D. Murphy have taken a special interest in the UCLA project of South American Indian lore. Financial assistance for research and publication of the book was generously provided by the Office of the Chancellor and by the Ahmanson Foundation.

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Contributing Authors and Narratives

BRUCE ALBERT, French anthropologist of Casablanca, Morocco, earned a Licentiate in sociology and a Master's degree and Ph.D. in anthropology from the Université de Paris X-Nanterre. He holds a research position with ORSTOM (Institut Français de Recherche Scientifique pour le Développement en Coopération), a French public institute which sends scholars to Third World countries to take part in local research projects on development issues. Albert has worked in this capacity at the Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, in Belém, Brazil, and is presently engaged as an ORSTOM scholar in an international comparative research project at the Núcleo de Pesquisas Etnológicas Comparadas, in the Department of Anthropology of the Universidade de Brasília. Being the coordinator of this project (with Professor Alcida R. Ramos), Albert and his co-workers study the impact of national development projects and the effects of the spontaneously encroaching frontier on native societies in Amazonia of northern Brazil (Albert 1990).

Albert conducted his first fieldwork among the Yanomami of Brazil in 1975-1976 under the sponsorship of the Institute of Human Sciences of the Universidade de Brasília and in collaboration with an assistance project of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI). Since then he has spent a total of some thirty months in the field, conducting ethnographic research and participating in nongovernmental health projects in several Yanomami areas of Brazil. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on the sociopolitical organization and the ritual system of the southeastern Yanomami (1985). He is the co-founder and co-editor of the journal *Ethnies, Droits de l'Homme et Populations Autochtones*. His current interest focuses on the history, cultural representation, and social impact of interethnic contact in Yanomami society.

Although Bruce Albert's doctoral dissertation includes a set of topic-related myths, for the present corpus the contributing author prepared a manuscript containing sixty-three narratives: 4, 7, 11, 13, 22, 23, 33, 35, 41, 42, 47, 50, 76, 80, 84, 86, 92, 102, 110, 111, 112, 113,

124, 128, 130, 140, 141, 148, 149, 153, 158, 167, 171, 172, 173, 178, 179, 187, 191, 197, 198, 202, 210, 211, 224, 227, 230, 241, 246, 251, 260, 277, 279, 288, 289, 293, 294, 305, 308, 315, 353, 359, 362 (Albert ms.).

HANS BECHER, of Berlin, is a German anthropologist who obtained his doctoral degree from the Universität Hamburg in 1952. Upon graduation, he took up residence in São Paulo, Brazil, where he studied South American ethnology under Herbert Baldus and Egon Schaden. Subsequently, he served for over two decades, from 1961 to 1983, as the Director of Ethnology of the Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hannover, and as the editor of the series *Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen*.

Hans Becher is a pioneer of Yanomami ethnology. Between 1955 and 1970, he undertook three expeditions of nine months each to the Yanomami of Brazil. From one of his monographs we have extracted nineteen narratives for inclusion in the present collection: 15, 16, 17, 18, 28, 29, 30, 37, 46, 53, 63, 72, 98, 147, 151, 159, 174, 176, 196 (Becher 1974:13–35).

DONALD M. BORGMAN received linguistic training during four summers at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of Oklahoma, and during various linguistic seminars. Since 1958, he has been a member of UFM International (formerly known as Unevangelized Fields Mission), a religious organization providing medical, educational, social, and religious assistance to needy people.

From 1958 to 1964, Borgman lived among two groups of Brazilian Yanomami, the Ninam of the Mucajai River and the Yanomam of the region of the Surucucu Mountain. For the next ten years, from 1965 to 1975, he and his wife lived in a village of the Sanima (Sanema, Sanumá) on the Upper Auaris River. Since that time he has dedicated himself to the study of the Sanima language, visiting the villages of these Indians on numerous occasions.

For the present collection Donald Borgman has contributed thirty-three Sanima narratives: 24, 55, 59, 81, 109, 129, 135, 136, 137, 154, 183, 184, 185, 186, 201, 206, 235, 250, 272, 274, 286, 287, 292, 297, 303, 311, 312, 316, 317, 333, 340, 343, 364 (Borgman ms.).

LUIS COCCO, a Salesian priest of Turin, Italy, arrived in Venezuela in 1950 to begin his career as a missionary among the Piaroa and Guahibo of Colonia Coromoto, near Puerto Ayacucho. Seven years later, he entered Yanomami territory and founded the first perma-

nent Catholic mission among these Indians, Santa María de los Guaicas, situated on the Upper Orinoco River. For the next fifteen years he was practically in continuous residence among the Yanomami Indians of this region and published, toward the end of his active years, a comprehensive ethnographical monograph fully in the great tradition of South American missionary literature.

From padre Cocco's Yanomami book a total of twenty narratives are included in the corpus at hand: 19, 45, 54, 74, 79, 85, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 114, 115, 120, 122, 126, 131, 163, 192, 262 (Cocco 1972).

MARCUS EDWARD MEDHURST COLCHESTER, from England, received his B.A. in zoology and Ph.D. in anthropology from Oxford University.

In 1975-1976 Colchester spent a year among the Sanima Indians of the Upper Erebató River in Venezuela carrying out ethnobotanical research, resulting in a comprehensive survey of the ethnobotany of the Orinoco-Ventuari region (Colchester and Lister 1978). Later, from March 1979 to November 1980, he revisited the same Indians and for almost two years carried out fieldwork for his doctoral dissertation on the economy, ecology, and ethnobiology of this northern subgroup of the Sanima.

In the course of his second prolonged field stay, Marcus Colchester was able to establish a large collection of Sanima narratives, eighty-three of which are presented here: 3, 8, 25, 34, 38, 39, 49, 82, 83, 90, 91, 93, 103, 107, 108, 117, 118, 123, 127, 132, 144, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 166, 168, 170, 177, 182, 190, 199, 200, 207, 225, 228, 232, 233, 234, 240, 242, 243, 245, 249, 252, 253, 257, 261, 263, 264, 268, 269, 273, 284, 285, 291, 295, 296, 299, 300, 304, 310, 314, 318, 319, 320, 323, 324, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 341, 345, 346, 347, 348, 351, 352, 354, 358 (Colchester 1981).

JUAN FINKERS, of Dutch origin, is a lay missionary with the Salesian mission of the Territorio Federal Amazonas, Venezuela, with headquarters in Puerto Ayacucho. For several decades he has been working with Indians of different tribal origins (Guahibo, Piaroa) in the territory but especially with the Yanomami of the Upper Orinoco. At the beginning of his missionary career in Venezuela he helped build an agricultural school for Indians on Isla Ratón in the Orinoco River above the Atures Falls. Following this, he joined the Yanomami mission of the Upper Orinoco where he continues to be active as a director and teacher at several bilingual schools of the Mavaca region. Deeply concerned about nutritional problems, he has been successful in recent years with the introduction of

apiculture for the benefit of the Indians and non-Indians in mission territory.

Juan Finkers is the author of an excellent book on food quest activities of the Yanōmami, from which we have excerpted and translated fourteen narratives: 51, 52, 62, 64, 68, 75, 88, 89, 101, 121, 194, 203, 205, 208 (Finkers 1986).

FRANZ KNOBLOCH was born in Germany (1892) and ordained a Catholic priest in Rome (1958). In 1972 Knobloch joined the Salesian missionaries in the Province of Manaus, Brazil. After publishing several articles and a monograph on the Yanōmami Indians of Brazil, he left the mission in 1981. From his book we have culled twenty-nine narratives: 1, 6, 9, 10, 14, 20, 32, 40, 48, 58, 60, 61, 73, 97, 106, 116, 119, 138, 139, 152, 175, 215, 216, 239, 276, 336, 337, 338, 339 (Knobloch 1967).

JACQUES LIZOT, of Paris, France, began his professional career with an African orientation, studying Arabic and carrying out field research among peasant populations of Algeria. In 1967, he received his doctorate in ethnology from the Sorbonne and, subsequently, changed his area of concentration to South America. In 1969–1970, he conducted his first field investigation among the Yanomami as a member of a multidisciplinary research team jointly organized by the Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas, the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, and the Centre d'Etudes Américanistes. Beginning in 1971, he settled permanently among these Indians. Thanks to this protracted period of co-residence, Lizot developed into one of the world's foremost scholars of Yanomami society and culture. In 1970 and 1978, he was appointed research fellow and head of research, respectively, of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and has taught at the Universidad Central de Venezuela and the Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas.

For publication in the present collection, Jacques Lizot prepared a manuscript of ninety-eight narratives: 5, 12, 21, 26, 27, 31, 36, 43, 44, 56, 57, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 77, 78, 87, 104, 105, 125, 133, 134, 142, 143, 145, 146, 150, 155, 156, 157, 169, 180, 181, 188, 193, 195, 204, 209, 212, 213, 214, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 226, 229, 231, 236, 237, 238, 244, 247, 248, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 265, 266, 270, 271, 278, 280, 281, 282, 283, 290, 298, 301, 302, 306, 307, 309, 321, 322, 325, 331, 332, 334, 335, 342, 344, 349, 350, 355, 356, 357, 360, 361, 362 (Lizot ms.).

JOHANNES WILBERT of Cologne (Köln), Germany, received his doctoral degree in anthropology from the Universität Köln in 1955. He lived in Venezuela from 1956 to 1962 where he served as Director of the Instituto Caribe de Antropología y Sociología of the Fundación La Salle de Ciencias Naturales, Caracas. From March to May, 1958, he undertook an exploratory expedition through the Orinoco-Ventuari region on which occasion he succeeded in contacting a group of Sanima in the headwater region of the Ventuari.

Taken from his field report were five narratives which were narrated to him by a Sanima from the Upper Ventuari: 2, 189, 267, 275, 313 (Wilbert 1961:230-235).

Editors' Note

The three hundred and sixty-four narratives contained in *Folk Literature of the Yanomami Indians* were provided by their respective contributing authors in English, French, German, and Spanish. English translations from the texts in French, German, and Spanish were furnished by co-editor Karin Simoneau. The translations were returned to the authors for verification and correction.

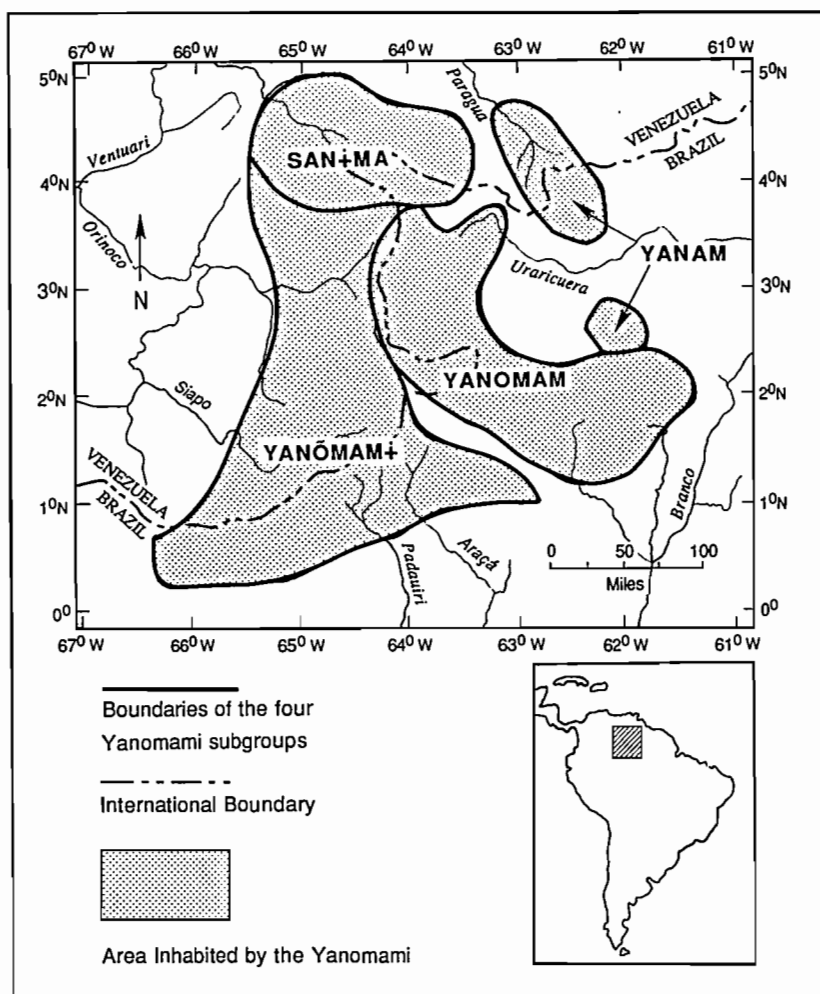
To allow for an example of what contributing author Albert refers to as "thick translation" (see Introduction), the apparatus of notes in this volume is exceptionally extensive. Uncommonly detailed are also the notes provided by Colchester. These and all other notes in the original documents have been retained here and are to be understood as having originated with the respective authors rather than with the editors unless specifically indicated otherwise.

Most scientific identifications are also those of the authors. As was pointed out by Colchester (1981:30), plants and cold-blooded animals occurring in his Sanima tales were identified by taxonomists on specimens he provided and should, accordingly, be quite accurate. Latin binomials for birds were provided by him, as well as by several other authors, and by the editors according to Schauensee and Phelps (1979). Cerda (1976) served Colchester for the identification of mammals as did Taylor's (1974) excellent monograph which was also consulted by other contributing authors.

The spelling of ethnonyms of Yanomami subgroups in titles, texts, and summaries conforms with the usage of each individual author.

The arrangement of the narratives has been kept intentionally loose to avoid imposing too rigid a classification entirely based on occidental notions. With few exceptions all narrative titles are those of the authors.

The motif index is as comprehensive as we could make it. Identification of the motifs is according to Thompson's *Motif Index of Folk Literature* (1955-1958). Thompson motifs that required amplification to accommodate specific Yanomami motifs are identified with a plus sign. Thompson's original wording of each of these is provided for quick reference. All motif listings and indexes of the book are computer generated.



Yanomami territory and subgroups.

Introduction

The Yanomami inhabit an extensive border land area of southern Venezuela and northern Brazil, between 64° to 66° W and 1° to 4° N (see map). Based partly on reliable census data and partly on informed estimates, their total population may comprise somewhere between 22,000 to 22,500 individuals.¹ Linguistically the Yanomami are variously considered independent or related to phyla like Cariban, Chibchan, and others, so that, for the time being, their classification remains uncertain. According to dialectal and cultural differences, one presently distinguishes between at least four major Yanomami subgroups: the *Sanîma* (Sanema, Sanumá) in the northern region of Yanomami territory; the *Yanōmami* (Yanomama, Yānomamō) in the west, the southwest, and midwest; the *Yanomam* in the southeast and mideast; and the *Yanam* (Ninam) in the east and southeast (see map) (Migliazza 1972). Of these, the first three subgroups are featured here with substantial samples of their oral literature.

THE SANÎMA SUBGROUP

Sanîma narrative art is represented by the Wilbert and Colchester collections from the northern (Venezuelan) and by the Borgman collection from the southern (Brazilian) sections of this subgroup. Wilbert was the first anthropologist to make contact with the northern Sanîma, in 1958, and subsequently had occasion to note down the five narratives presented here (Wilbert 1961:230–235).

With eighty-three entries, Marcus Colchester's Sanîma collection represents almost a fourth (twenty-three percent) of the tales gathered in this corpus. As the author explains (1981:23), the narratives

¹The higher figure was suggested by Albert (1989:637) who approximated it by totaling the partial population figures given by SG/CSN (1988; 9,910 Brazilian Yanomami); OCEI (1985; 9,717 Venezuelan Yanōmami and, probably, Yanomam, and 2,365 Venezuelan Sanîma); and Colchester (1985; 7,194 Yanam on the Paragua River).

were obtained as a by-product of his anthropological fieldwork among the Sanima of the Upper Erebató River. In the course of this research which concentrated on other topics of anthropological interest, narratives were overheard by the fieldworker or were told to him on numerous occasions. However, the versions published in the present volume were magnetophonically recorded by the investigator in formal sessions during the last four months of his field stay and with the assistance of seven monolingual residents of a single settlement.

The tape recordings were transcribed word-for-word and literally translated. Uncertain words, phrases, and passages were clarified in conversation with the same informants and with the aid of the replayed original recordings. None of the translations were done by bilingual (Sanima/Spanish) informants, of whom there were none at the time of Colchester's fieldwork. The author attempted to phrase the final version of the texts as closely to the originals as possible, striving to retain some of the flavor of Sanima storytelling. To the same end, he also rendered many of the onomatopoeic utterances that are commonly employed by Yanomami narrators for special oratory effect.

As to the tradition of storytelling among the Sanima, Colchester found it to be in decline. Spontaneous narration occurred only on rare occasions. The author suggests that the breakdown in oral tradition is a direct consequence of increased contact with the neighboring Yekuana to whom the Sanima feel inferior. This sense of inferiority, according to the author, becomes manifest not only implicitly in the overall decline of Sanima narrative art but explicitly in a certain number of tales (see nos. 127, 132). The severity of this erosion of the mythic tradition is underlined by Colchester's (1981:30) observation that "For the Sanima, the myths are not just a record of the past, they are an explanation of the present and the future, and provide the metastructure to dreaming and shamanism." The mythic personages of Sanima lore are closely related, if not identical, to the tutelary spirits that reside in the chest of the religious practitioner. Here, then, as elsewhere, the disintegration of mythology augurs ill for the traditional ethnic identity and the maintenance of an ideologically legitimized social order.

The southern Sanima are represented in the present corpus by a collection of thirty-three (nine percent) narratives. In the course of his seventeen years of permanent residence among Brazilian Yanomami, Donald Borgman lived for long periods of time among the Ninam, the Yanomam, and the Sanima. While resident among

the latter, on the Upper Auaris River, he and his wife transcribed, in 1965, a set of narratives from tape recordings made with the assistance of four informants: Sitiho, Lapai, Makosi, and Abel or Manomasi Poosa. The first three of these men gave only brief summaries of a few myths. But Abel, upon listening to some of the tapes, expressed dissatisfaction with the narration. At the invitation of the Borgmans to improve the renderings, he sat down, and for more than eight hours, with almost no interruptions, he related a series of myths into the tape recorder. The southern Sanima narratives presented here are the result of this effort.

THE YANŌMAMĪ SUBGROUP

The oral literature in this volume pertaining to the Yanōmami subgroup includes the collections by Becher, Cocco, Finkers, Knobloch, and Lizot.

In 1955–1956, 1966, and 1970, Hans Becher undertook three expeditions to the Yanomami of Brazil, spending about two years total among three different local groups. Of those, the Surara and Pakidai lived in the region between the Aracá and Demini rivers. A third group, the Ironasi-theri, inhabited the Marauiá River. Becher began collecting narratives during his first two visits to the Yanōmami. Fourteen of the nineteen tales (five percent of the corpus) in this volume credited to his name were actually recorded, in 1955–1956, among the mentioned Yanōmami groups on the Aracá and Demini rivers. Here he had the assistance of one main informant, Hewemão, the headman of the Surara, who told him twelve stories. The chief's brother, Kurikayawö, told one story by himself and helped Hewemão to narrate another. Unfortunately, the ethnographic information Becher was able to assemble in the course of his second expedition was lost in an accident on the Rio Negro. Five narratives of the Becher collection were recorded during a four-month stay, in 1970, among the Ironasi-theri on the Marauiá River. Here, Becher succeeded in enlisting the cooperation of two headmen, Alippio and Renato, and that of a shaman, Ceara. Renato had attended the Salesian mission school at Tapuruquare for five years; he was bilingual (Yanōmami/Portuguese), and knew how to read and write. He narrated three stories while the other two Ironasi-theri men told one story each.

During fifteen years of quasi continuous residence among the Yanōmami Luis Cocco concentrated his attention primarily on a local group known as Iyëwei-theri who had established themselves at the

confluence of the Ocamo and the Orinoco rivers, in the immediate vicinity of the Salesian Mission Station of Santa María de los Guaicas. Throughout this time, the Iyëwei-theri were under the leadership of Justo Núñez, a man in his thirties and forties during the period of Cocco's sojourn. The author recognizes him as his principal informant in matters of mythology (Cocco 1972:319), and although only seven of the twenty narratives contributed by the missionary are explicitly attributed to Justo Núñez it is probably safe to say that some of the unidentified tales were also recorded with the aid of this informant. However, one narrative of the Cocco collection (no. 122) originated actually with an old woman of the Namowei-theri, a different subgroup. She had told the story to Helena Valero, a Criollo woman who for twenty-four years lived as a captive among the Yanomami, and who later recounted it to the Italian biologist Ettore Biocca (1965–1966,2:502–503). Padre Cocco extracted the core part of this myth for inclusion in his book (Cocco 1972:319).

The narratives of the Cocco collection, which account for six percent of the corpus, are found dispersed throughout the book where they serve to illustrate some of the topics discussed. Through this arrangement the author intended to show how, in myth, the Yanomami claim the diverse elements of their culture, confirm and ethically justify their institutions, and assimilate, in an ongoing creative process of symbolic representation, traits acquired by way of innovation and/or cultural borrowing (Cocco 1972:131–132).

Juan Finkers is a Salesian lay missionary who has spent decades of his missionary career among the Yanomami of the Upper Orinoco, especially along the Mavaca River. His detailed study of the food quest activities of these Indians is the result of an intensive effort, since the early 1980s, to divulge some of his extensive knowledge of Yanomami economy. One of the methods he employed to systematize his approach was to record from various informants a number of myths which bear on the general topic.

As a partial result of his investigation, Finkers (1986) presents in his informative account some fourteen myths (or four percent of the corpus) from Yanomami Indians of the Mavaca region. The narratives are credited to the following informants: Hukoshikiwë (one), Juan Irowë (one), Pokarami (one), Pokarami and Hoariwë (one), Raemauwë (two), Paruriwë (three), Hokokoiwë (four), and one to an unidentified storyteller.

Prior to and during the time that he belonged to the Salesian Province of Manaus (1972–1981), Franz Knobloch spent many years among the southwesternmost section of the Yanomami of the Cauaburis River. In a monograph dedicated mainly to a description

of the material culture and aspects of the social and religious life of the Indians, the author includes a collection of Yanōmami narratives of which twenty-nine (or eight percent of the present corpus) have been incorporated into the volume at hand (Knobloch 1967:147–157). Knobloch acknowledges the assistance he received from eight named and several unidentified storytellers. Among his principal informants are Henrique and Pedro who told six stories each, and Daniel who told five; these men also co-authored several additional narratives. Cölestino and an unknown informant narrated two each, and David, Martinho, Plácido, Wanderley, and an unnamed chief each contributed one story.

The largest collection of Yanōmami narratives ever assembled comes from Jacques Lizot. With ninety-eight entries (twenty-seven percent), he is the principal contributing author to the present volume. About half of the Lizot texts presented here were recorded by the contributing author, between 1970 and 1975, among two local groups, the Karohi-theri and the Pishaasi-theri, and published as part of an earlier monograph (Lizot 1975*b*). The second half of the Lizot collection is a sample of narratives recorded between 1976 and 1985 among three additional local groups, the Kakashiwē-theri, the Nasikipiwei-theri, and the Shuimiwei-theri. All five settlements belong to the (Venezuelan) northern section of the Yanōmami subgroup from the general region between the Ocamo River and the Upper Orinoco.

As shall become abundantly clear, narrative-collecting among these Indians presupposes advanced linguistic capabilities in the native language on the part of the investigator. Only in 1971, after living among the Yanōmami for three years, did Lizot feel confident enough to begin recording the first complex narratives from the shamans of the mentioned subgroups. But some seventeen years of intensive fieldwork later, Lizot decided that for purposes of contributing to the present corpus of Yanomami folk literature, he wanted a new translation and a completely revised version of his early (1970–1975) and previously published collection to accompany his more recent texts, collected between 1976 and 1985. Thus, the manuscript which Lizot furnished for inclusion in the present volume is a new work and a product of his advanced knowledge of Yanōmami language and culture (Lizot ms.).² When Colchester (1981:30), in the introduction to his *Sanima* collection, bemoaned the fact that among this Yanomami subgroup storytelling was in decline, occurring

²For an excellent bilingual version of some of the latest translations, see Lizot 1989.

rarely and in informal context, he was comparing this situation to the vibrant myth-telling tradition Lizot had described as prevailing among the Yanōmami of the Upper Orinoco. Here, according to Lizot (1975b:7–8), myths are told in communal sessions, when male shamans, especially the great ones with advanced mastery of the mythic repertoire, render stories which they believe are dictated to them by the tutelary spirits of the animal, plant, and material world in their breast. These sessions of myth-telling take place while the shaman narrator is under the influence of hallucinogenic snuffs prepared either from the beans of *Anadenanthera peregrina* mixed with the ashes of the bark of *Elizabetha princeps*, or from the shavings of the cambial layer of the bark and trunk of *Virola elongata* mixed with other botanical ingredients such as the aromatic leaves of *Justicia pectoralis* (Schultes and Hofmann 1979:166–167). Making use of a long snuffing tube, the shaman has substantial doses of *Anadenanthera* or *Virola* powder blown into his nostrils by a partner. Upon entering into trance, he begins to chant and, thereby, initiates the narration of the myth.

Explains Lizot (1975b:7), "When done by the big shamans, myth-telling is a grand spectacle." People form a circle of continuously interacting spectators around the performer in trance. Each one knows the episodal sequence of the narrative and comments on it as it evolves through the words and actions of the teller. In the process, a state of dramatic participation is engendered by spontaneous collective imagination. The narrator and his audience are enjoined in a close relationship of quasi complicity, as Lizot (ibid.:8) puts it, allowing each member of the audience to experience the message of the myth in an intimate and personal way. In order to maintain his state of trance and excitation, the shaman takes repeated insufflations of hallucinogenic snuff, heavily perspiring under the exhausting strain of his dramatic performance.

One really has to see these shaman storytellers making their way with remarkable pantomime through the vicissitudes of the tale; mythic time returns to life before your eyes, and the Indians' inimitable humor, the rollicking buffoonery that they know how to imprint, gives a roguishness not easy to transmit in translations, if they are to be true to the spirit. Nothing static or dead in all of this, nor conventional: vitality, explosions of laughter, exclamations, things suggested by a word or a gesture, but understood by everyone as obvious symbols. No props; the context is that of everyday activities. The imaginary and the everyday are nurtured by multiple and permanent ingredients. There is a near absence of dramatic play; all is expressed in suggestions or gesture, facial expression, tone of voice that animate each successive hero. It does happen occasionally of an evening the shaman asks for a knife, or

takes an arrow or a bow to support his action. Nor is there any need for costumes: the body is naked; facial paint and bird feathers to reveal the beauty of the supernatural world of the *hekura*. It is a culture that lives, a mythology rooted in their existence (Lizot 1975b:8). [Translation Nina Moss]

This is the storytelling context of "collective shamanism" that Colchester had hoped to witness among the San̄ima and which, as shall presently be shown, was observed in similar fashion among the Yanomam by contributing author Albert. Throughout his many years of co-residence with diverse Yanomami groups, Lizot was able to record the entire repertoire of several shamans. Only a few of the Lizot texts in this volume were solicited by the author; most were derived from communal myth-telling sessions.

Soon after each occasion, the investigator transcribed and translated the narrations with the assistance of a native collaborator. This cooperation permitted Lizot to check and clarify points of linguistic and cultural uncertainties, always in the native language. Problems that could not be solved immediately were kept in mind by the fieldworker until a conversation or event occurred which removed any lingering uncertainties. The individual narratives contributed by Lizot were selected from among several variant forms of the same tale and preference was given to versions that were more complete than others, of better literary quality, and featuring interesting changes. Sometimes more than one version of a narrative was included in the selection.

THE YANOMAM SUBGROUP

The Yanomam subgroup of the Yanomami is represented here with a substantial narrative collection by Albert, comprising a total of sixty-three tales or seventeen percent of the corpus at hand. Thanks to his intimate familiarity with Yanomam language and culture, the contributing author was able to establish one of the finest and most deeply researched collection of Yanomami narrative art currently extant.

According to Albert (personal communication), Yanomam myths are traditionally told in conversational context or in formal social situations.

In the first case, stories are told by elders at any time and place and in relation to any event of daily life that incidentally brings to mind a particular episode.

In the second case, narratives are told either by influential men during formal speeches at night when myths serve to explain and to

justify cultural rules or by shamans during séances in the course of which mythic events and personages are enacted. Myth-telling by influential men generally consists of the development of a narrative sketch enriched by active participation of the audience through responses of approval, queries, jokes, and augmentative or digressive comments. Myth-telling by shamans takes the form of an elaborate performance of selected episodes directly relevant to the purpose of the shamanic session in progress.

To tape-record complete versions of the narratives he had previously heard in informal context or in either one of the public forms, Albert arranged special sessions during which he was usually alone with the informant or else in the presence of a small audience consisting of the informant's family members. This generally entailed moving away from the distraction of the communal house to a more isolated spot in the open or to a separate house of the informant or the anthropologist. Thus, explains the contributing author, although most of the narrators were old headmen and/or shamans, their narratives were told in the informal way traditionally appropriate to storytelling in a more private setting. However, he notes that the context of the ethnographic interview influenced the style of narration in two important ways: It had the advantage of giving the narratives a more detailed and didactic formulation and of enhancing the ethnographer's understanding, and the disadvantage of somewhat reducing the interactive and performatory dimensions of narration in full social context.

Stemming from five local groups of Yanomam of the Upper Catrimani River (Hewënahibi-theri, Hwayau-theri, Wakathau-theri) and the Demini River (Thoothothobi-theri, Watorikë-theri), Albert tape-recorded the narratives of his collection with the assistance of six tellers and six commentators. These Yanomam collaborators were elders selected on the basis of their special knowledge of mythology and their didactic talents. The work of narrative recording began only after the author had been in the field for over one year. It formed part of a dissertation research project that encompassed the Yanomam ritual system and cosmology.

Albert followed two procedures in translating the narratives. The first one, which he calls a "thick translation," was employed for the set of narratives he considered essential for the purposes of his doctoral study. Whenever possible, he sought to record several (at least two) versions of each story as told by the same informant in order to obtain as much detail as possible. These versions were then juxta-linearly transcribed and translated and subsequently discussed

with the informant and other collaborators in order to resolve any linguistic and/or ethnographic uncertainties. The juxtalinear translations and brief direct commentaries were then amalgamated to produce a final translation of each narrative. To this the author appended longer and/or shorter indirect comments on several stories and very extensive ethnographical and ethnobiological annotations. A second simpler procedure was used when the narratives were deemed less significant for the research in progress, and entailed recording single versions and juxtalinear transcription and translation without commentary.

Albert established his collection of Yanomam folk literature over a period of seven years, between 1978 and 1985. Of the six informants he enlisted to accomplish his objective, Ikahi, a very respected elder of Hewēnahibi-theri, was by far the most prolific, telling forty-two tales, or two thirds (sixty-seven percent) of the Albert collection. His other five informants were Hewēnakē, one of the headmen of Thoothothobi-theri and former brother-in-law of Ikahi (1981, seven narratives); Kobi, the headman of Watorikē-theri (1985, seven); Buushimē, the headman of Wakathau-theri and son-in-law of Ikahi (1978, four); Arianamē, the half-brother of Ikahi (1979, two); and Warasi, the late headman of Hwayau-theri (1978, one). Arianamē, Buushimē, Kobi, and Warasi also doubled as four of the six commentators. The other two include Marōkoi, a son of Ikahi; and Hiko, a former fellow resident of Ikahi and Arianamē and the mother's sister's husband of the latter.

THE NARRATIVES

ETIOLOGICAL NARRATIVES

Makoaue is depicted by the southern Yanōmami as the creator of the sun, the moon, and the stars, as well as of the earth with its mountains, forests, birds, and fishes. He also gave origin to the people of a generation ancestral to the modern Yanomami. Later Makoaue left the earth for the sky world, where he takes *yopo* snuff and performs rituals which causes the death of many people.

Sun and Moon, say the Sanima, are two antagonistic men. Their enmity goes back to the time when Sun hid one of Moon's intended victims and then burned Moon's face when he demanded to search Sun's house for his quarry. When the moon appears pink, he and his family are believed to be feasting on human flesh. At new moon,

women paint the protective signs of the sun on their cheeks out of fear that Moon uses the time of his retreat to scheme further attacks.

Rather than through a creative act on behalf of Makoae, the origin of the moon is explained by the Sanima as the result of a tapir's liver having been thrown skyward by a young man frustrated over a puberty food taboo he was cautioned to observe. According to the Yanomam, the tapir that was killed by members of an early people was actually Thunder who in animal guise had frequented a nearby rapid. Bothered by the perpetual roaring noise of his call, they shot him and offered a piece of his liver to his son-in-law. But the latter rejected the hand that offered him the part and flung the liver upward onto the plain of the sky where it landed with a noise that brought Thunder back to life. Even the spirit helpers of a powerful shaman were unable to kill him again. His son-in-law transformed into the screaming piha bird which can be heard dialoguing with Thunder. The spirit helpers of shamans are said to detest the rumbling voices of Thunder and his kin; they are dispatched by their masters to go to the sky to maltreat them and to make them ingest hallucinogens and tobacco in an effort to silence their voices. The Yanomami too tell the story about Tapir, the thunder, but the hunter who threw the liver to the sky did so out of anger for not having received a share of it.

The Yanomami envision a universe consisting of four superimposed and disk-like tiers: two sky levels, the earth, and the underworld. "Around Makoae's time," say the Yanomami, a cataclysmic event took place, when the cosmic plains each slipped one level: the upper sky fell on the lower sky, the lower sky fell on the earth, and the earth fell on the plain of the underworld. A new sky formed at the level where the uppermost sky had been before the slipping of the cosmic plains occurred. All the mountains and the forests of the earth were pushed into the world below, and only a few survivors of the ancient generation remained on earth, that is, on top of the fallen sky that now occupies the level at which the old earth had been. Under the impact of the falling sky the ancient people who were pushed from the earth into the underworld turned into cannibalistic spirits. The few that escaped from falling off the earth tunneled their way upward through the sky layer that had fallen on top of them. They dispersed throughout the new mountains and forests, propagated, and began to prepare gardens. However, these ancient people used to kill and eat each other; they were ignorant of proper human conduct and ignored the correct endocannibalistic funeral rites and practices. Eventually, they turned into the animals of

this earth. The new uppermost sky is now inhabited by the fly people.

The Yanomami who presently live on this earth are a new race of people who were brought into this world by a demiurge called Omamë (Ōmawē, Omao, Omaue, Omawỳ, Tohorá). Some storytellers maintain that he is the son of Makoae, while others believe he came into existence on his own volition. After propping up the new sky to keep it from falling again, he created the present world and the modern Yanomami. He did this, according to the Yanomam, with the aid of "ants' eggs," which he removed from a hollow palm stalk. Some people were created as common folk and some as shamans. Then as now, shamans possess powerful tutelary spirits. In fact, the spirit helpers of one primeval shaman became so infuriated over their master's death that they set out to slash the vault of the sky and to otherwise destabilize it to make it collapse again.

Imagery reminiscent of the origin of man from ants' eggs contained in a leaf stalk is invoked by some Yanōmami and Yamam of Brazil who narrate that the first humans reached earth riding as spiritual homunculi in the leg of a bird. They were sent as emissaries by the chief of the moon people who always wanted to emigrate to the earth. Giving in to their persistent begging, the moon chief decided to send a probe to earth in order to explore its living conditions. He selected four men and one woman for the mission and, shrinking them to minute size, placed them in the leg of a bird, and sent them on their journey. Once on earth, the leg dehisced the five voyagers, who established a polyandrous family unit. In time, Petá, the woman, gave birth to a baby boy. He grew up miraculously fast and, one day, shot a toy arrow playfully at the moon, causing an eclipse. A trickle of blood began falling from the moon to earth, gathering in a river that divided the earth disk into two halves. Rather than destroy the earth in the growing flood, the moon chief decided to create man from the drops of blood instead. Petá, the first woman on earth, established a division of labor according to sex for herself and her four male companions. She also regulated conjugal sex for her polyandrous family and introduced two kinds of duels now common among the Yanomami. Petá was put to the test once by her father, the moon chief, who kidnapped her in the guise of a jaguar to take care of his two motherless cubs. As a reward for Petá's compassion with the cubs, the moon chief transformed the two young jaguars into women and gave them to two of Peta's husbands.

In the mythology of the northern Yanōmami of the Orinoco the "rain of blood" motif occurs in somewhat different context. Here,

Moon, his daughter, and his son-in-law used to live on earth. When Moon's daughter rejected her husband, with whom she preferred to live as in a sibling relationship, Moon strangled her out of embarrassment and ate her ovaries. This made him hot and buoyant, and he rose up to the sky. He was struck by the arrow of one of the men on earth and began bleeding from one of his nipples where the projectile had entered. The blood drops fell on the earth and turned into Yanomami. The weakened body of the moon eventually sank back to earth where it became a large mountain; his spirit is what appears nowadays in the night sky. The generation of people who existed prior to the ones who sprung up from the drops of blood also perished and was transformed into animals. In yet another Yanomami version of the lunar blood mythologem, a powerful shaman who turned into Moon-Spirit descended to earth after death and cremation to eat his own ashes. He was discovered and hit by an arrow as he retreated to his abode in the sky. From his dripping blood cannibalistic creatures in human and animal form appeared.

The Yanomami that originated from the drops of Moon's blood were all male. One man opened a hole in the back of his leg and the leg became pregnant after a companion had used it for copulation. The first baby born from a man's leg was a girl who bore additional females so that women proliferated and the population began to increase. The "birth from a man's calf" motif occurs also in Yanomami lore where, in primordial times, the great Two Brothers of Yanomami mythology inhabited the earth before mankind existed. For lack of women, the younger brother, after thinning his penis, impregnated the leg of his elder brother from which union a baby boy was born.

It was the all-male bat people who, according to Sanima lore, used to copulate on the calves of their legs, begetting children. Women were created by certain birds who tore off the penises of some of the men and provided them with vaginas. The Sanima obtained their women from those bat people.

In addition to the collapse of the cosmic plains, Yanomami cosmogony describes a second cataclysm which destroyed their world in primeval times: the Flood. There are instances when the deluge was caused by some powerful personage angered over the violation of an interdiction. Thus, a general flood is brought on by disobeying Moon who had asked the members of a chief's family to take good care of his turtle. One of the chief's wives kills the turtle to prepare a meal from it. Except for the chief and his daughter—who are saved by the resuscitated turtle—all mankind perishes in

the flood waters of the torrential rain that follows upon this frivolous act. In a dramatic parallel version of this myth, Moon's place is taken by an unidentified old man who leaves a howler monkey rather than a turtle in the care of a chief's family. In this case, it is the chief himself who kills the pet animal and causes the rain flood in which practically all life is annihilated. Only the chief's wife and her son are rescued by the resuscitated monkey; the moon impregnates the woman to begin repopulating the earth. In a variant of this same myth, two jealous sons of a chief kill their sister's pet monkey while she is in isolation during her first menstruation. They burn the animal and mix the ashes into the soup of their sister. The resuscitated monkey saves the daughter and her father from drowning in the flood of rain that this triggers. Eventually the girl is impregnated by Moon, and from the blood that trickles from the sky to earth during parturition, Yanomami are created for a second time and repopulate the earth. While being rescued by the supernatural howler monkey, both father and daughter are transformed into monkeys themselves. The Ironasi-theri of the southern Yanōmami (*iro*=howler monkey) who tell this story consider themselves related to these animals and refrain from killing and eating them. The occurrence of the first menstruation of a girl who, together with her husband, had retired into puberty seclusion is also crucial to the onset of the flood in Yanomam mythology. When she breaks the ritual state of isolation, water gushes forth from the foot of a mountain and carries off the drowning people to be devoured by giant otters and black caimans. Downstream, a supernatural being collects handfuls of bloody foam floating on the water and, holding the froth close to his mouth, utters incomprehensible buzzing sounds into it, creating foreigners like himself from the foam.

In other instances, the origin of the deluge does not seem to have been caused by anything in particular. Instead, according to the northern Yanōmami, the water began bursting forth from the ground and carried the people away as in a torrential river. The last survivors took refuge on a mountain and decided to sacrifice an old woman to stop the flood from rising higher up the mountain. They painted curving lines around the victim's eyes and threw her into the water. Immediately the water began to form eddies and whirlpools around the woman's hair and ran off. Southern Yanōmami say that the water burst forth from the earth when a man pulled a stone out of the ground. Among the survivors on top of a mountain there was a beautifully painted girl whose father ordered her to jump into the flood. The water receded and only one couple remained alive.

Foreigners of different kinds were discovered by the demiurge Omao of the Sanima inside big rocks. Opening them one by one, he left the rock of friendly foreigners open but closed again those which harbored bellicose people. This is how the friendly foreigners with their airplanes, clothes, and books entered the world of the Yanomami from out of a huge boulder.

An invasion of homesick ghosts of recently deceased people from the otherworld occurred once during preparations for a funeral ceremony. The visitors mingled with the living but, summoned and startled by the call and wing-flapping of a tinamou, they climbed back up a liana to their sky world. The liana was severed by the beak of a parrot and revenants no longer visit their kin on earth. As to the souls of the dead, they can return to earth only after the lapse of a certain period of time. There was a time when people did not age at all, but shed their skin like snakes in order to become rejuvenated. This fortunate state of affairs was changed forever through a case of mother-in-law incest and rape. Since then, human skin ages and decays after death, and rejuvenation of humans by sloughing is no longer possible. However, the soul that resides in the bones of peoples still exists, and if a person's bones are properly cremated so that the bone soul is liberated and permitted to rise up in the smoke of the fire to the moon, then it can eventually reenter human society on earth as a living person. Capital offenses like incest preclude cremation and interrupt this cycle, and incest with consanguineals or affines is vividly on the storytellers' minds. Shamans function now as intermediaries between the natural and the supernatural worlds, employing hallucinogenic snuff and ceremonial chanting to further their ends. One important cause of death is warfare which began as a result of a homicide by sorcery. The small son of a female victim was left to die by enemy sorcerers on an anthill. As a result of the excruciating pain he suffered, the boy turned into a courageous warrior who initiated the custom of continuous reciprocal revenge raiding between villages. Since murderers are believed to ingest the body of their victims in a pattern of symbolic exocannibalism, the boy (turned spirit) also initiated what is referred to in the narratives as "the ritual state of homicide" and the practice of subjecting the killer to a cleansing homicidal ritual.

An event of singular importance for the development of life on earth was the acquisition of fire. This is described as having occurred in early mythical times when animals still behaved like humans. Terrestrial fire is said to have been possessed solely by the caiman who carried it hidden in his mouth. He was extremely jealous of his trea-

sure and quite unwilling to share it with anyone. When the animal people discovered caiman's secret, they schemed to trick him into parting with his coveted possession. Upon accomplishing their plan, fire was placed in certain trees from which, henceforth, it could be extracted by humans. However, caiman's wife, the frog, before retiring with her husband into the cold world of the rivers, cursed the perpetrators and condemned them to end up as cooked game on the fires of their human hunters. And while it is true that humans nowadays can warm themselves and no longer need to eat raw food, they also suffer sickness (conveyed in the smoke) and death because of the curse put on them by the original owners of fire. Upon death, their bodies are also consumed by the flames and their souls taken skyward in the smoke. Here, on the moon, celestial fire has always existed, with Caiman as its guardian. Later, when the caiman descended to earth he took some fire along in his mouth.³

Temporary darkness falls over the earth when Horonami—one of the four culture heroes who descended from the moon in the leg of a bird—shoots a bird of the night. In his dream he sees a banana field and sets out to find this heretofore unknown food. He repeatedly meets certain mythical creatures which give him to eat of their different food plants. Eventually, he meets Pore, the owner of the banana field, together with his wife and daughter. He marries the latter and, following their first intercourse, the bird of night is resuscitated, flies from the young woman's vulva, and it becomes day again. Horonami is introduced by his father-in-law to the practice of planting banana. He steals some of the seedlings and returns to his people on earth in order to present them with this fine food. Several variants of the tale dispense with the episode of the temporary darkness and, instead, depict the hero as a traveler who meets the owner of the banana field. Before obtaining the different kinds of banana, the Yanomami are said to have eaten earth, clay, rotten wood, and wild fruit, and to have led the life of roaming nomads.

Horonami is also mentioned in Yanomami mythology in connection with the origin of tobacco. Receiving fruit from Kinkajou whom he meets in the forest, he stills the man's craving for tobacco by offering him a plug. From the saliva Kinkajou expectorates tobacco plants begin to grow for the benefit of all Yanomami to come. Personages of different names are also depicted in some of the myths as roaming through the forest craving something they them-

³Also the northern Sanima speak of Caiman as the keeper of the celestial fire which, in turn, was owned by the red macaw (Barandiarán 1974:242).

selves cannot define. Kinkajou eventually satisfies their need by offering them a cut, and tobacco plants grow all over from his spittle. According to the Yanomami, Kinkajou originally received the tobacco seeds from Agouti who also taught him how to cultivate the plant. Nowadays, the Yanomami still call upon Agouti and Kinkajou to make their seeds grow abundant supplies of tobacco.

The circadian rhythm of day and night was established by Ocelot rather than by the aforementioned Horonami, who produced only a transitory darkness. The origin of night, on the other hand, is credited to Ocelot, the great hunter. The white monkey people were complaining that they were obliged to copulate publicly and in broad daylight or else hidden behind a screen of smoke or in the forest. On one of his forays, Ocelot discovers the night spirits perched in a tree surrounded by curassows and other birds. Shooting the spirits, or, as in other versions, the curassow directly, brings on the night. Reversing the order, the ancestral Sanima are depicted as suffering under a primeval darkness which is finally dispelled when the hunters dispatch the curassow. From the scattering feathers of the mythical bird, all kinds of birds are created.

The practice of horticulture was discovered by some ancestral Yanomami when they happened into spirit Bora's secret plantain garden stocked with all kinds of crop. They asked Bora to identify the food plants for them but were particularly anxious to learn the name and nature of plantains.

The first maize was secretly planted by the leaf-cutter ant when he was still human. At harvest time he takes his people to the garden to introduce them to the new food. So large is the garden that the owner's mother-in-law, whom he has sent to harvest some of the maize, gets lost in it; she is transformed into a bird. Rather stereotypical short narratives about yams, ocumo, sweet potato, and mapuey explain the origin and acquisition of these cultigens as having occurred in response to starvation suffered by abandoned old people and neglected children.

Much more deeply rooted in Yanomami mythology is the *pijiguao* palm, one of the most important food plants of Amazonia. Its mythological origin goes back to primordial times, when the species bird of the palm, the *japim*, was sent by the moon spirit to plant it on earth and to instruct the Yanomami in the use of its fruit. The mockingbird people were the first to eat *pijiguao* fruit. One of their men was married to a girl of the deer people. Anxious to imitate his neighbors, the mockingbirds, who are gathering *pijiguao* fruit, Deer sends his son-in-law and his daughter to gather fruit from his

plantation too. But the son-in-law recognizes Deer's garden to be actually of *macanilla* (*manaka*) palms and persuades his wife to come along with him to the field of his people to gather real *pijiguao* fruit. The deer father-in-law is so embarrassed by this switch and for not having known the difference between his palm fruit and that of his neighbors, that he changes into a deer with all his family. The mockingbird people transform into birds on this occasion. In a variant of this tale, the mockingbird is replaced by the tanager (and by a yellow-rumped cacique in yet another) to play the role of Deer's son-in-law. But also in these cases, rather than *manaka* fruit, the young couple take real *pijiguao* to Deer's home. Deer, who is a great shaman, takes revenge on his son-in-law by tricking him to inhale his intestinal gas. In turn, tanager prepares some powerful hallucinogenic snuff which turns his father-in-law into a brocket deer. As was customary among this early generation of Yanomami, some turn into animals to be eaten by the others. Accordingly, the tanager kills his father-in-law and he and his people eat him.

Honey originated through the transformation of a young man whose body parts turned into honey, honeycombs, and bees while he was climbing up a tree to collect honey for his sister about to celebrate her first menstruation. In primeval times there existed many different kinds of supernatural honey which were all easily gathered because they could speak and would draw attention to themselves by calling out their names. Tayra, the ferret, was out honey-hunting and responded to them all, collecting loads of honey. Tired and irritated by the incessant solicitations of so many kinds of honey, Tayra shouted at them in an outburst of anger. This frightened the honeys so that they scattered and went into hiding. Since then, finding them has never been easy again. The black barbet bird and the small armadillo are each described in a tale as having offered nasal mucus to their people instead of honey. In going through with the deceit, however, the barbet taught his fellowmen how to go about gathering honey from trees. The mucus he offered instead of honey was bloody from hitting his nose with the blunt end of his axe. The armadillo's deceit was instigated by his lack of luck in finding honey for his father-in-law to whom he was obliged to render marital service; he dared not return empty-handed. Both the black barbet and the small armadillo adopted their respective animal forms as soon as their deceit was discovered.

Early on it was the sloth who was familiar with narcotic snuff and who gave the seeds to sparrow hawk to sow them for his own use. The hummingbird taught the Yanomami how to plant cotton, how

to spin, and how to make waist strings for men (so they could tie up their penises), girdles, and other cotton-string adornments for women. Pore's wife taught Yanōmami women to make baskets, while the Sanima credit a mythological monkey with having familiarized them with basketry. The swallow taught the Yanomami how to fashion bamboo arrow shafts, and the culture hero Omamē showed them how to make arrow points and how to avoid being shot by arrows.

Upon Omamē's suggestion an old woman taught Yoasi (Yoawē, Yoawi, Soao, Soawe, Kanikawō), his brother, how to make curare. Yoasi made the first blowgun and shot a young man with a poisoned dart. The victim turned into stone and, since then, humans must suffer death. It was Omamē who instructed the Yanomami in the manufacture and use of curare and who admonished them to keep the knowledge secret. The Yanōmami also tell the story of Woodpecker who accidentally discovered the poisonous effect of curare; he died from it but then came back to life again. The Yanomami had the curare plant pointed out to them by an evil bush spirit who also taught them how to prepare the poison and how to use it.

The origin story of the blowgun and curare is told by the Yanōmami in a dramatic account of a powerful hunter and master of thunderbolts, thunder, and lightning. He punishes the disobedience of his sister by killing her two young sons. The hearts of the boys turn into giant harpy eagles that terrorize the people. Arrows cannot penetrate their armor-like plumage. In the crisis, a man resembling a water snake prepares the first curare. The trumpeter bird then discovers the vulnerable spot on the eagles' bodies and is given an arrow with a poisoned tip. He kills the eagles, and from their scattering feathers grows the cane out of which blowguns are made.

The demiurge Omamē created the different metal tools from his own bones long before there were any white people. He offered all the tools including guns and airplanes to the Yanomami. But they rejected them in favor of the traditional tools and weaponry Yoasi had to offer.

In primeval times when the ancestral generation of Yanomami still readily turned into animals, there lived a rank-smelling man, the opossum, who was scorned by all women. But when he was rejected by the woman (or women) he intended to marry, Opossum killed those who spoiled his plan and hid in a giant tree (or in a big boulder). Here he was eventually killed by his pursuers who bathed in his body fluids, and changed into animals, spirits, or colorful birds. In some versions, the man in whose favor the women abandon

Opossum is identified as Honey and, in one case, the woman courted by Opossum is a bee girl.

Other etiological stories tell of the origin of the mottled owl, the epitome of a bad hunter, of the coati, the peccaries, the tapir, the porcupine, and the armadillo. Giving in to the jaguar's repeated begging, the armadillo, who used to have large teeth, exchanges his for the jaguar's original small teeth, only to be eaten by the cat. The jaguar also obtained his big roar through exchange with the mouse who ended up with the cat's original small peeping voice. Still other narratives account for the origin of the deer, the dog, the large forelimbs of the anteater and the tamandu, and the two kinds of sloth. An unusual couple made up of the tapir and the hummingbird is brought together in a tale where the small bird wishes to become as big as the huge mammal. Hummingbird is duped into burning himself as a means of satisfying his ambition, becoming even smaller in the process than he was before. Tapir himself shows his envy of Sloth's ability to hide in the forest; he dies in an attempt to imitate him.

Different kinds of fish originated from drops of blood which fell from the sky. In falling, they transformed into raindrops and fell into the rivers and lakes. Other fish originated from the pods of the inga tree. Finally, narratives about snakes, lizards, lice, and gnats conclude the etiological section of the collection.

THE DEMIURGE BROTHERS

The mythologem of the Two Brothers is prominent in Yanomami mythology. Echoes of it appear throughout, including in unrelated myths, either in the form of individual motifs or as short narrative sequences. Treating all such occurrences here in a synoptic fashion, one may discern a tenuous mythic cycle in the unfolding of which the character of the two brothers undergoes a noticeable development. Despite their supernatural origin they are initially depicted essentially as two mischievous boys, albeit with magical abilities. However, as time passes and incident follows incident they grow in stature and moral ambiguity until finally they transcend their culture hero status and begin to take on godlike, creator-related characteristics.

Although sometimes regarded as having come about through their own volition, their origin is also tied to a traumatic event in a Yanomami community which sees its population being decimated, devoured by a jaguar. Curare-Woman, spurned by the ravenous an-

imal because of her bitter-tasting flesh, saves the uterus of a pregnant woman killed by the jaguar and secretly raises the two boys born from it. In one Sanima version her role is played by the toad woman; in another, the toad connection is retained by Curare-Woman saving two tadpoles which eventually grow into boys. Early on, the brothers determine to punish the jaguar, the killer of their mother. They exact their revenge in classical trickster fashion, first luring the gullible animal up into a tree and magically causing him to fall, and then killing him in various clever ways.

Gradually the differences between the two brothers begin to manifest themselves, and their relations grow more complex. In essence their different characters can be reduced to the familiar "clever man and his foolish companion" theme so common in South American mythology, two individuals bound together by ties of kinship or friendship in an association where the actions of each are either reinforced or modified by the other. Omamë is the responsible one, the voice of reason and moderation, whose creative impulses find outlet in positive acts. These are as often as not negated by Yoasi, Omamë's ill-tempered, impetuous, lecherous brother, whose disobedience and clumsy attempts at imitating Omamë result in some of the present-day limitations of the human condition.

A decisive event occurs when the brothers encounter the daughter of a powerful water-spirit. After Yoasi makes numerous futile attempts to catch her his brother comes to his aid, and the woman, covered with a slimy substance like a fish, is captured. (One story introduces a striking motif at this point, describing the water-woman rhythmically raising and lowering her arms above her head as she advances through the river.) Every attempt at intercourse with her ends in painful failure, however, for the woman's vagina is inhabited by voracious piranhas which bite off the penis of anyone who seeks copulation. (This is of course a recurrent motif in South American mythology, sometimes involving vaginal teeth rather than sharp-toothed fish.) The brothers remove the fish and Yoasi proceeds to demonstrate his insatiable sexual appetite, in a particularly repellent narrative sequence repeated in several versions. Afterward Omamë takes the woman as his wife. He makes her grind tree roots into cassava, mistakenly insisting that the roots are yuca (a recurring motif in Yanomami mythology). Finally she loses patience with his stubbornness. She takes both brothers to her father, the water-spirit, who presents them with cultivated plants and instructs them how to plant.

In the introduction of cultivated plants we see the creative aspect of the two brothers displayed only indirectly as they act as mere

recipients, the water-woman playing the role of intermediary between them and her father. However, more often Omamë and Yoasi appear as primary creators, with Yoasi sometimes acting out his role as a spoiler: Omamë wants to create men from hard wood to give them a long life span, but Yoasi thwarts his intention by making them from soft wood instead; Yoasi rubs the water-woman's vulva with malodorous herbs, which is why women today smell the way they do. Omamë brings up water from an underground lake in order to let his thirsty little son drink, but the water gushes out uncontrollably and floods the earth, thus creating the rivers. All the species of fish in those rivers are likewise credited to the two brothers as they throw pieces of wood into the water and see them transformed into fish. They create poisonous ants, snakes, and a water monster, and they introduce disease into the world by creating the spirits that bring epidemics. On a more positive note the two brothers gather fruits and celebrate the first *leahumo* festival.

The final departure of Omamë is better described as a head-over-heels flight, occasioned by the call of the warbling antbird which Omamë's son (the boy engendered in Omamë's calf by Yoasi) happens to hear. They interpret the call as a threat to flay the entire family and flee precipitously down a river, along with Yoasi and the daughter of the water-spirit, now married to Omamë. As they travel Omamë creates the mountains and the forest in order to slow down his pursuer, and wasps and various stone landmarks. Disappearing forever from the land of the Yanomami, they settle far away, where Omamë creates the white foreigners and gives them their "inarticulate" language. Among the Sanima the departure is blamed on a rift between the two brothers. Yoasi, true to form, first rapes Omamë's wife in his absence and then drowns his son. Omamë quickly realizes who the culprit is, and he leaves, traveling downstream to the edge of the world and then up to the sky. Yoasi sets off in a quest for his brother, aided by a succession of animal-people. In the end he succeeds in locating his brother, but they remain estranged. As for the Yanomami, they are compelled to go on with their lives without their culture hero/demiurge. Perhaps their feelings are summed up by the final words of one informant: "As for us he abandoned us . . . ; he left us here alone in his flight."

EXTRAORDINARY CREATURES AND EVENTS

Yanomami mythology is peopled by a large number of supernatural creatures, some outright malevolent, others merely strange in appearance and demeanor. One such creature is Yutuyuturi, who

takes on the aspect of a certain woman's husband and has sex with her. Shortly thereafter she gives birth to a frothy, repulsive mass of earthworms which keeps multiplying inside her, finally killing her by devouring her internal organs. The motif of giving birth to worms is repeated when a woman is impregnated by her earthworm lover. In fact, it is not unusual for women to have sexual relations with animals or supernatural beings: a woman is abducted by Anteater but manages to escape from him; other women take a toucan-spirit, a water-spirit, or an anaconda for a husband. Man-eating creatures include Lalagigi, the anaconda; the *rahara* water monster; Auñ Pana, hairy fish with human arms; and, very often, ordinary humans who turn into cannibals for a variety of reasons. There is the recurring motif of a supernatural creature coming to visit a nearly empty house and frightening the few remaining residents, or simply interacting with them and then leaving.

A number of narratives deal with ogres and spirits with very specific ways of attacking their victims. There is, for example, the spine-breaker, variously described, who kills small children and carries them to his cave in a huge basket. A search party is led to the cave by a boy who has escaped from among the captives. The men make a fire with dried peppers which fills the cave with acrid smoke, and everyone inside perishes. Breaking a tabu, often connected with menstruation or with the ritual condition of murder, frequently leads to a person's transformation in appearance or nature. Thus a girl sees her hand turned into a great claw and she becomes a cannibal. When she returns home from a foraging expedition carrying parts of her relatives' bodies in her basket the villagers burn her to death. Hōō, the brain-sucker, and an evil spirit known as the flayer are two creatures with similarly characteristic methods. Swarms of blood-sucking butterflies and of man-eating mosquitoes and humming-birds kill whoever ignores warnings and invades their territory.

The origin of the underworld inhabitants is also attributed to a breach of a menstruation taboo. When a menstruating girl disregards the injunction against social interaction and joins an ongoing celebration the people present slowly sink into the ground. There they turn into the underworld dwarves, the hungry people, tiny, fierce beings without anuses or intestines. The Ama Hiri are the other inhabitants of the underworld who used to live in the sky but who, after the fall of the primeval sky, ended up under the earth. There they still reside, ready to carry off any unfortunate human who happens to fall down into their domain. A child who accidentally tumbles down a hole is instantly grabbed and dragged off, and his mother's efforts to rescue him remain fruitless.

The jaguar figures prominently in Yanomami mythology, either as a man-eating ogre endowed with supernatural qualities, or seen simply as an aggressor, ready to pounce on anyone he comes across. However, at all times he is a creature to be feared and avoided. Several narratives describe such a jaguar ogre terrorizing a village until its residents flee into the surrounding forest. When the animal enters the communal house he is overcome through trickery, in which a turtle plays an instrumental part. An alternate version tells of a man going in pursuit of the beast and finally killing him, after an encounter with a family of revenants. Constant vigilance is required of anyone who ventures outside the village where the jaguar awaits any unsuspecting person, sometimes aided by his beautiful daughter who helps lure humans into his power. But even this formidable creature can be bested, as we have seen, and on several occasions it is a woman who defeats him, using various deceptive tactics.

Throughout these narratives transformation is an ever-present motif, whether as an escape, as punishment, or for no apparent reason; as an accidental occurrence, mentioned only in passing, or as the climax of a sequence of events. A large number of narratives feature the almost casual transformation of people into various kinds of animals, usually mammals or birds: a group of people jump into the river upon hearing the sound of a bird and are transformed into otters, capybaras, and alligators; a boy falls from a tree while picking fruit and becomes a turtle; some children, neglected by their mothers in the forest, turn into birds; one man becomes a bird while working on a canoe, another after entering the forest in search of a punt pole; a greedy man falls into a tree and turns into a frog.

In contrast to these casual, seemingly undirected incidents there is a series of metamorphoses with a very definite propelling force, namely the condition of menstruation. It affects the menstruating woman herself as well as her husband, and often extends to her fellow villagers. The most frequent breach of this taboo occurs when a woman leaves her socially imposed isolation, either voluntarily or because she is forced to, and joins her husband and neighbors in some activity such as hunting or a celebration. Punishment is sure to come, in that all concerned transform into animals or objects. It is also considered a transgression for the husband of a menstruating woman to go in search of game or food, even though his wife may remain in the village, observing the rule of isolation. Inevitably both are transformed. In the case of the husband the transformation is sometimes preceded by a physical change in which heat begins to rise within him and his skin grows damp and sticky. Infractions against the menstruation taboo result in metamorphoses that are dif-

ferent in character from the casual transformations mentioned earlier: disproportionately, the protagonists turn into mountains, rocks, stone, hills, or wasps' nests. More rarely, as in a narrative with several variants, a menstruating woman who has gone hunting with her husband goes off with a troop of peccaries and ends up turning into a peccary herself. She has to be rescued and disenchanted by having her peccary skin torn off her body. A menstruating girl who eats a bat rapidly begins to feel the physical effect: drooping with fatigue, "deranged," she turns into a bat herself. This motif of weakness is reiterated in the tale of a man who rapes a menstruating girl. Within a short time he is seen reduced to an emaciated wreck of a man who has to be carried around on the back of his mother, constantly hungry, and shivering with cold. In disgust his mother finally kills him.

The section on extraordinary events and creatures concludes with a number of tales with disparate themes. Some are familiar from other tribal narrative collections, but with a few peculiarly Yanomami twists. There is for instance the story of a visit to the land of the souls in the sky, or that of a young man's visit to Sun and Moon, where Sun plays the role of protector against Moon's plan to devour the human visitor. The cannibalism of Moon is brought out in a narrative which despite its brevity succeeds in establishing an atmosphere of chill terror: in a deserted house where a solitary man lies, sleepless and watchful, Moon descends, lighting up the dark night. After exhuming a corpse from under the hearth he breaks off a hand, and slowly begins to eat. Trickery is featured in a couple of stories involving a tapir killed by two resourceful tortoises who subsequently engage in a battle of wits with the jaguar. For once the latter wins out. The feats of the Horonami culture hero brothers are recounted as the brothers alternately spar with Armadillo and Monkey and engage in deadly combat with the jaguars, who end up devouring them all. Finally there is the beautiful story of the song tree which every day late in the afternoon sings for a group of Waika women. One day a young man has intercourse with a girl while she is learning a song. His action provokes the spirit of the tree to leave forever, taking its songs with it.

UNCLASSIFIED NARRATIVES

The volume is rounded off by a number of unrelated stories, many very brief, nearly plotless, and with a minimum of narrative detail. The jaguar figures in several, rash and gullible as usual. Bent on crushing the head of the small squirrel between his teeth, he disre-

gards the squirrel's warning and is left with a broken tooth and a sore jaw. On another occasion he allows the crab to remove his eyes. The crab promptly eats them and the jaguar has to beg the vulture people for a new pair of eyes, promising to share his future meat supply with them. He winds up getting lost while searching for his human quarry in the forest, and as a result he is forever cut off from his old haunts. Most of the remaining stories are simply brief sketches from Yanomami reality: a lengthy, frustrating, and ultimately unsuccessful pursuit of an otter by a group of hunters; a war party of sorcerers returning home after an attack fall into a precipice and are killed; a messenger entering a neighboring village is treacherously murdered; an old woman is brought to the central plaza to sing songs in order to bring out the fighting spirit in the participants in a ritual.

With three hundred and sixty-four narratives, the present corpus of Yanomami oral literature ranks among the most comprehensive collections in the series. As indicated sporadically throughout the introduction there exist considerable differences between the mythologies of the three Yanomami subgroups (Sanima, Yanomami, Yanomam) represented in this volume, differences which may be variously due to incomplete repertoires, intergroup thematic variations, external transcultural influences, among others. Only future comparative research will tell. The fact that the mythologies of the three Yanomami subgroups are treated in this introduction in a summary manner should not serve to judge Yanomami mythology as being of a homogenous cast.

Considering the long-term and intensive involvement of most of the contributing authors with the linguistic and cultural aspects of their respective subgroups, not much needs to be said here about the relative degree of authenticity of this collection; it could hardly be higher. The contributing authors and their Yanomami collaborators deserve high praise for having increased our knowledge of South American Indian mythology with such a veritable treasure of narrative art.

Johannes Wilbert
Karin Simoneau

Los Angeles, California
June 21, 1990

THE NARRATIVES

Etiological Narratives

1. Makoaue

Makoaue was the first man. Except for him there were no people. He did not have a wife yet, either. He made the sun, the moon, the stars, also the earth. He made the mountains, the forest, and the water, also the birds and the fishes. The people were down by the big water. Then Makoaue took a wife. In those days all people had a big village plaza. Omaue is the son of Makoaue. He was down here, making the people. Makoaue is now up there. He makes much snuff and often practices the Hekura ritual. With it he kills many people. Around Makoaue's time the sky fell, and since then the people who used to live in the sky live under the earth. They cried much when the sky fell. These people are called Pariwa.

Informant: An old chief

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 147.

Motif content

A81.	Creator goes to sky.
A180.+.	God occasionally kills men with ritual. (A180. Gods in relation to mortals.)
A512.2.	Culture hero creator's son.
A710.	Creation of the sun.
A740.	Creation of the moon.
A760.	Creation and condition of the stars.
A800.	Creation of the earth.
A910.	Origin of water features—general.
A960.	Creation of mountains (hills).
A990.+.	Origin of forest. (A990. Other land features.)
A1000.+.	Sky falls. (A1000. World catastrophe.)
A1210.	Creation of man by creator.
A1280.	First man (woman).
A1900.	Creation of birds.
A2100.	Creation of fish.

F167.	Inhabitants of otherworld.
F721.	Subterranean world.
F940.	Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance.

2. The Sun and the Moon

The sun is a man, and so is the moon. Both consider themselves enemies because of the event that I am going to relate.

One day the moon told a man to go and gather firewood, and the man obeyed. When he brought the wood, the moon was not satisfied. He wanted much more and sent the man back into the forest. The man realized that the moon in fact wanted to eat him, and he fled to the sun in search of refuge and protection. The sun hid him. When the moon came looking for his quarry, the sun said he had not seen him. Angrily the moon insisted, even demanding to search the sun's house. The sun then burned his face, and that is why the moon has those scars that we see today.

The moon went to the other end of the world, and while the sun sealed his friendship with the man, the moon became his irreconcilable enemy. When the moon appears pink it is because he and his family are eating people. The sun also has a family, but he does not eat human flesh. Sometimes the moon hides in his house to plan a new campaign. That frightens the women, and in order to protect themselves they paint a picture of the sun on their cheeks. They also paint it on the large stones that they find along the paths.

Source: Wilbert 1961, p. 233.

Motif content

A720.+.	Why sun and moon are enemies. (A720. Nature and condition of the sun.)
A736.	Sun as human being.
A745.	Family of the moon.
A750.+.	Why moon is sometimes pink: he is devouring people. (A750. Nature and condition of the moon.)
A751.11.+.	Moon spots from burns. (A751.11. Other marks on the moon.)
A753.	Moon as a person.
A753.2.	Moon has house.
A753.3.1.+.	Sun deceives moon. (A753.3.1. Moon deceives sun.)

D1266.2.	Magic picture.
D1381.+.	Magic picture protects against attack. (D1381. Magic object protects from attack.)
G11.+.	Moon as cannibal. (G11. Kinds of cannibals.)
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.

3. The Origin of the Moon

Long ago the Sanema went out hunting. They killed a tapir.¹ While they were cooking up the liver they reminded Screaming Piha² that he must not eat meat, for Screaming Piha was passing into adulthood and had taken off his cotton armbands. "Don't eat meat," people said. But Screaming Piha got really annoyed. He grabbed the liver and flung it up into the sky. The liver became the moon.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 53.

Motif content

A740.	Creation of the moon.
A741.	Moon from object (person) thrown into sky.
A743.	Moon from transformed object.
C221.	Tabu: eating meat.
C230.	Tabu: eating at certain time.
D457.+.	Transformation: liver to moon. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.)

4. The Liver of Thunder Thrown into the Sky³

Thunder, a supernatural being, was living in a rapid called Yāñibora.⁴ In those days he was like a large tapir who stayed in the water⁵ near this little waterfall where his thunderous call could be heard: "Thouuuu! Thurururu! Thouuuuu!" He kept this up ceaselessly, and finally the Yanomam who lived in the area became exasperated by the constant noise and shot him with their arrows. They were different; they were ancestor people. They shot him in the water: *thai wa! thai wa!* "Let's kill and eat him!" they said to one another later when they became hungry for meat.⁶ It was because of his intolerable voice that they shot him: *Thouuuuuu! Thurururu!* Angrily

they would tell one another: "What a terrible noise! Let's shoot him!" All of them hunted him down and shot him: *bei yō aē!*⁷ *thai wa! thai wa! kosho wa! kosho wa!* Finally he fell dead to the ground: *brikē!* To keep his blood from running when they cut him up they placed him on a mat of *ruruasēhanakē* leaves⁸ so that the blood would collect there and not flow all over the ground.⁹ They boiled the flesh and ate it to the last morsel, leaving only the liver. Finally they began to eat that as well. But they became tired of eating, and in the end they offered Thunder's son-in-law, Screaming Piha,¹⁰ a very small piece that was still raw: "Here is a piece of tapir meat; have some!" He refused: "I won't eat my father-in-law's liver! Don't offer me any; eat it yourselves!" He was angry and remained silent lying down in his hammock. He had clearly refused but they continued to insist, and kept offering him the little piece of liver. "Eat this; we're full!" "I won't eat my father-in-law's liver!" "Eat it, or we'll get angry!" They insisted so long that in exasperation he suddenly struck violently the back of the hand that again offered him the piece of liver: *maiiiii!* Then he cocked his ears, and heard the piece of liver fall on the back of the sky: *houuuuuu! thikē!* There it turned into a new Thunder whose voice could again be heard, first faint, then increasingly powerful: "Thouuuuuu! Thurururu!" Piha in turn transformed into a screaming piha bird and answered his father-in-law: "*Hwīhwīyō! Hwīhwīyō!*"¹¹

The Yanomam believed that they had gotten rid of Thunder. Now one of them exclaimed: "That voice! Listen! Isn't it his voice his voice again? It was stupid of you to have offered that liver to his son-in-law!" They began a shamanic session in order to send their *shaburibē* spirit helpers¹² to the back of the sky to attack the new Thunder: *hrrrrr! hou hou!* They wanted to silence him.¹³ Therefore they tried to throw him into a fire before he multiplied. But he escaped from the glowing embers, half charred. He reconstituted himself and turned into Thunder again, and once more his voice rang out the way we still hear it: "Thouuuuuu!" Each time Screaming Piha answered: "*Hwīhwīyō! Hwīhwīyō!*" as the bird still in its spectral form¹⁴ answers Thunder in the forest. He was a supernatural creature. First the shamanic spirit helpers tried to burn him in their fire, but after turning into a little piece of charcoal he reverted to his former state. Once more they attacked him, this time trying to silence him by striking his mouth or tying it shut. But he succeeded in freeing himself, half burned and covered with wounds, and again his thunderous voice was heard: "Thouuuuuu!" The bird kept answering: "*Hwīhwīyō! Hwīhwīyō!*" Faced with the failure of their efforts, the shamanic spirit helpers finally stopped attacking him. He multiplied, creating thun-

der children who also propagated. These thunders to which they gave rise dispersed in all directions and became as numerous as we are on earth. That was how the thunders were created. Nevertheless, when I was a child, I thought that Thunder was alone.

Although the shamanic spirit helpers had tried to burn the piece of liver that gave new life to Thunder he did not die, for he was a supernatural being. They were unable to destroy him and did not succeed in preventing the multiplication of thunders. It was his son-in-law who helped him reach the back of the sky, otherwise we would not hear the voices of the thunders up there. He multiplied and spread all over the back of the sky where they live now among the ghosts of the dead Yanomam. Now he makes the ghosts increase on the back of the sky when we die.¹⁵ Unfortunately our ghosts increase there, those of the Horebitheri people¹⁶, the Shamathari people¹⁷, the Barahiri people, the Maitha people.¹⁸ The ghosts increase and he lives among them. That is how the things became. Thunder unfortunately made children and they multiplied and spread all over the back of the sky.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Thunder in form of tapir is killed and eaten by Yanomam. They try to persuade his son-in-law to eat piece of his liver, but instead son-in-law throws liver onto celestial level where it again becomes Thunder. Shaman's spirit helpers try in vain to kill Thunder.

Motif content

A284.3. +.	Thunder-spirit as tapir. (A284.3. Appearance of thunder-spirit.)
A1142.	Origin of thunder.
B180. +.	Magic tapir. (B180. Magic quadrupeds.)
B192.	Magic animal killed.
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D457. +.	Transformation: liver to thunder. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.)
D630.	Transformation and disenchantment at will.
D642.2.	Transformation to escape death.
D1016.	Magic blood of animal.
D1840. +.	Thunder cannot be slain. (D1840. Magic invulnerability.)

D2106.+.	Magic multiplication of thunder. (D2106. Magic multiplication of objects.)
F403.2.+.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
F434.	Spirit of thunder.
F556.	Remarkable voice.

5. Thunder Is Sent to the Sky

They probably wanted to send Thunder to the sky. The older brother of Fëifëiyōmīriwë killed a tapir. They cut it up and carried it home, where they cooked the liver. Tapir was Thunder, and even after his death he continued to be Thunder.

They cooked the liver and gathered to eat it. They did not offer any to Fëifëiyōmīriwë, giving him only the spleen. Then he got angry and threw the liver far away. It transformed into Thunder who went to live where he is today, in the sky.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A284.3.+.	Thunder-spirit as tapir. (A284.3. Appearance of thunder-spirit.)
A1142.	Origin of thunder.
B180.+.	Magic tapir. (B180. Magic quadrupeds.)
B192.	Magic animal killed.
D457.+.	Transformation: liver to thunder. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.)
F434.	Spirit of thunder.

6. How Hai-Hai-Yome-Riwe Made the Sky

Hai-Hai-Yome-Riwe was very big. He had killed a large tapir but did not want to eat it. He took the tapir and threw it upward. The tapir became the sky. Hai-Hai-Yome-Riwe turned into a small bird.

Informant: Pedro

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 155.

Motif content

A701.	Creation of the sky.
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D421.+.	Transformation: tapir to sky. (D421. Transformation: mammal (wild) to object.)

7. The Fall of the Sky, and the First Yanomam¹⁹

A very long time ago the sky fell on the earth. A great shaman had died, and his masterless spirit helpers became so angry that they began to cut loose the sky with their supernatural weapons.²⁰ The torn sky fell down on the earth, pushing the forest and the mountains into the subterranean world: *thěěěěě!* The people were terrified: "Aaaaaa!" The sun and the spirits of the night also fell. It was Omamě²¹ who later created another sun and moon. This earth where we stand today is nothing but the back of that first sky, which has been replaced by a new sky. Above this sky is a young celestial level where the Brōōribě fly people live.²² Because of the fall of the sky the first ancestors were thrown into the underworld where they transformed into supernatural beings. They became Aōbataribě, a cannibal people with long teeth. But not everyone was thrown into the underworld when the sky fell. A few people remained.

In one place, where there are now the sources of the rivers, the sky slowly settled on top of a cacao tree,²³ forming the hills that are still there today.²⁴ Some Yanomam hurriedly took refuge under the tree in order to escape the fall of the sky. A mealy parrot²⁵ that was with them under the sky on top of the cacao tree began to tear at it with its beak. Finally it managed to make a hole which permitted the people to get out. That was when they were looking for game in vain; there were no animals yet. Finally they saw the trees of the forest, and said to one another: "This is the real forest! We are in the chest of the sky! Let's go in this direction!" They got out and scattered far away in the forest where they planted gardens. That was how it was. At the upper end of the fallen sky there was a great hole.²⁶ After the sky had fallen there remained only a few people who had managed to avoid being thrown into the lower world. They were elders. They settled in the forest and lived there for some time.

They made children and multiplied, but in the end they disappeared.

Their ghosts came back but a great tinamou scared them away.²⁷ Omamë created us after tearing open lengthwise the hollow stalk of a palm tree.²⁸ We are the children of these people that he created. Omamë just began to exist; he was a supernatural being and he created us without a cause as he created himself. The first people transformed as the forest was transformed. Those people who were created first became animals when this earth was created; they became parrots, agoutis, tapirs, caimans. The macaws, the red brockets, the jaguars, the toucans, the sloths, the armadillos that we see now, they are these people who were transformed in primeval times, and then scattered as game in all directions. First there were no animals. The meat we eat today is from these people who were transformed into animals from our animal ancestors.²⁹ These ancestors who were created first, a very long time ago, were ignorant. They did not bury their bone ashes. They used to eat one another; every time one of them was transformed they would kill him in order to eat him, the way we eat game. They did not hold a ceremonial dialogue over the ashes of their bones;³⁰ they did not observe mourning; they just ate one another.³¹ These ancestors used to eat people even though they were their own people. When there was no game the ancestors did not observe any mourning. That was how our animal ancestors lived in their ignorance. In the end they disappeared. We who are here now were created by Omamë and it was he who made us think straight.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Primeval sky falls, pushing people into underworld. Handful of survivors remaining on earth finally die out after having transformed into animals. Then Omamë appears, and creates new (present) humanity.

Motif content

A20.	Origin of the creator.
A630.+.	Second creation of man. (A630. Series of creations.)
A651.1.	Series of upper worlds.
A651.3.	Worlds above and below.
A665.4.	Tree supports sky.
A669.2.	Sky of solid substance.

A701.	Creation of the sky.
A702.2.	Sky as solid vault (tent).
A710.	Creation of the sun.
A719.2. +.	After world catastrophe new sun and moon appear. (A719.2. After world catastrophe, new sun reappears.)
A740.	Creation of the moon.
A960.	Creation of mountains (hills).
A1000. +.	Sky falls. (A1000. World catastrophe.)
A1005.	Preservation of life during world calamity.
A1006.	Renewal of world after world calamity.
A1210.	Creation of man by creator.
A1236.	Mankind emerges from tree.
A1280.	First man (woman).
A1281.	Condition of first man (woman).
A1520.	Origin of hunting and fishing customs.
A1654.	Origin of priesthood (shamanism, etc.).
A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A1715.	Animals from transformed man.
B469.9.	Helpful parrot.
B540.	Animal rescuer or retriever.
D91.	Transformation: normal man to cannibal.
D100.	Transformation: man to animal.
D1080.	Magic weapons.
F102.	Accidental arrival in lower world.
F108. +.	Man-eating inhabitants of underworld. (F108. Nature of underworld inhabitants.)
F167.	Inhabitants of otherworld.
F167.11.	Monstrous creatures in otherworld.
F402.	Evil spirits.
F403.2. +.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
F470.	Night-spirits.
F544.3.5.	Remarkably long teeth.
F811.	Extraordinary tree.
F940.	Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance.
G10.	Cannibalism.
R311.	Tree refuge.

8. The Fall of the Sky

Long ago, very long ago, the sky fell down on the ancestors. Nearly all the ancestors were killed. The few that were left took up

spider-monkey bones³² and howler-monkey bones³³ and dug a hole up above them. They dug their way up through the sky: *gle! gle! gle!* They dug their way back to the top. There on top of the sky we are also. So the elders have said. So the elders who lived there in the uplands passed the story on.³⁴

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 52.

Motif content

A1000.+ Sky falls. (A1000. World catastrophe.)

9. The Sky

Hai Hai Yome Riweni made the first sky. This sky fell, and the people who were above it (Pariwa) are now under the earth. When the sky fell they cried a lot. Omaue made a new sky. He placed a piece of wood there, and added another when it was about to fall, thus securing the sky to keep it from falling again. Omaue remade the earth, too. He also made the chickens. He took some bark from a tree and laid it on the tree, and from this the chicken was created. Omaue's wife is called Rahararioma, and his brother is Yoasiwe.

Informant: Daniel

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 149.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A665.	Support of the sky.
A665.0.1.	God stabilizes the sky.
A669.2.	Sky of solid substance.
A701.	Creation of the sky.
A1000.+.	Sky falls. (A1000. World catastrophe.)
A1988.	Creation of chicken.
D441.+.	Transformation: bark to chicken. (D441.
	Transformation: vegetable form to animal.)
F167.	Inhabitants of otherworld.
F940.	Extraordinary underground (underwater)
	disappearance.

10. Omaue

Omaue is the son of Makoau. He made the sky anew. First he went up and placed a piece of wood there. When it was about to fall he added another one. He kept doing this until the sky was finished. Omaue also made Poré and Horonami. He taught the Yanoname many things.

Informant: Plácido

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 147.

Motif content

A512.2.	Culture hero creator's son.
A665.	Support of the sky.
A665.0.1.	God stabilizes the sky.
A669.2.	Sky of solid substance.
A701.	Creation of the sky.

11. Omamë Creates the Present Yanomam Humanity³⁵

Omamë created the Yanomam by tearing open a *horomasikë* palm stalk.³⁶ Omamë made us who are here by opening lengthwise a palm stalk, and he made us think straight. Then he fled; he abandoned us and we are still here.³⁷ The Yanomam he created were first like the eggs of the *wayahomë* ant,³⁸ hidden inside a hollow palm stalk. Omamë heard an incessant sound coming from that palm stalk, the kind that is used for making blowguns.³⁹ He listened intently, moved closer and cut the stalk to see what was inside. Then he abruptly tore it open lengthwise: *sheeeeeee!* He saw something that looked like ants' eggs. After placing a few large *inokomëhanakë* leaves⁴⁰ on the ground he cautiously made the eggs fall onto them by gently striking the palm stalk with his finger. Then he caused them to be transformed, picking them up, giving them the power of speech and making them stand as humans. He would pick one up and say to him: "You! You will conduct the ceremonial *wayamu* dialogue!"⁴¹ Then he would set him down—*hî! thikë!*—transformed into a Yanomam. He would continue by picking up another: "You! You will conduct the ceremonial *yāimu* dialogue!"⁴² And he would

make him stand up. He took another: "You! You will be a shaman!" Setting him down on his feet he picked up another: "You! When you are sent as a messenger to invite allies to a *reahu* festival⁴³ you will conduct the ceremonial *hiimu* dialogue!"⁴⁴ Thus he continued to stand them up and teach them to speak,⁴⁵ adding to their number: "You! You will conduct the ceremonial *wayamu* dialogue! And you here, you will become a shaman! You! You will make *hwereamu* speeches!"⁴⁶

That was what he told them. Are there not since that time shamans among the Yanomam? Do our ancestors not make speeches since then? Do we not still conduct ceremonial dialogues during *reahu* festivals? It was Omamë who told us all that. Since then we still invite one another through *hiimu* dialogues to perform presentation dances⁴⁷ during *reahu* festivals. That was how he taught us the power of speech. "You will conduct ceremonial *yāimu* dialogues! You will be a shaman! You will inhale *yākōana*⁴⁸ snuff." Do the Yanomam not inhale that powder since then? It was Omamë who taught the Yanomam to think straight. Do the Yanomam not practice shamanism? Are there not shamans among us? Others are ordinary people.⁴⁹ Those whom Omamë did not want as shamans he merely created. He picked others, like this: "You! You will be a shaman! But you there won't be one!" Today people are what he told them to be at that time: "Only a few of you will become shamans!" He said: "That is how you shall be!"

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Removing "ants' eggs" from hollow palm stalk Omamë creates Yanomam from them, giving them the power of speech and all ritual rules, and singling out some to become shamans.

Motif content

A630.+.	Second creation of man. (A630. Series of creations.)
A1210.	Creation of man by creator.
A1236.	Mankind emerges from tree.
A1520.	Origin of hunting and fishing customs.
A1654.	Origin of priesthood (shamanism, etc.).

Commentary on Omamë, the Fall of the Sky,
and the Animal Ancestors

We who are here were created by Omamë when he tore open a palm stalk. Then he abandoned us here. Omamë fled far away downstream and we stayed here. We are not the children of *Tëbërësikë's* daughter, for she did not have any.⁵⁰ Omamë simply created us from a kind of ants' eggs which he brought out, and then he fled far away downstream. It was also he who created the fish, the sun, the trees, the electric eels. Before, over there, upstream,⁵¹ other Yanomam first transformed into animals. He then arranged the forest properly. After that Omamë created us here as Yanomam. When Omamë made us we were not the first; there were other people long ago who had first come into being by themselves, without a cause, just like that. In the beginning they simply existed. Our Yanomam ancestors never knew them. Those first people are the crested oropendolas, the toucans and the parrots that we see today in the forest. Do we not eat those first ancestors who were transformed into game animals? The ancestors who were created first are really those people who transformed into game animals. When Omamë did not yet exist and the world was not yet in order the people kept transforming into animals.⁵² Those first people came into being without a cause, over there. When the sky fell down on the earth with the revenants, they in turn fell into the underworld.⁵³ When the sky broke and these first people were thrown into the underworld they were transformed into Aōbataribë.⁵⁴ As for us we are other people who fell with the sky and who were created to take their place. Those first people who were hurled into the underworld are the real ancestor people, according to what the shamans say. They are now very greedy for meat. Those people who existed first were thrown into the underworld when the sky fell, this sky which became the ground here, under our feet. After those people we fell with the sky and remained here in their place. Omamë also fell with the sky. That is what I am talking about. That is what shamans say about these first people; they have seen their supernatural images.⁵⁵ The sky fell, and the forest was broken up and fell into the underworld: *thëëëëë!* Those first people who were pulled down by the fall of the sky have long teeth and live in the underworld. Yes, those ancestors who existed first before we Yanomam were created really became Aōbataribë; they fell underground and became Aōbataribë. When the sky fell it pulled them down into the underworld where they turned into Aōbataribë.

As for us, we are other people. You foreigners, you are also different people and you were obviously created afterward⁵⁶—is that not how it was? We who are here now, we were like ghosts up there on the back of the sky, and we fell in turn and were created in the form of other Yanomam. It was Omamë, also in the form of a ghost, who created us in turn. This terrestrial layer, when it used to be the back of the sky, was inhabited by the revenants of the first ancestors, those who died. That is why we are the spectral form

of those ancestors who fell.⁵⁷ Omamë was also in the form of a ghost and when he was transformed he reorganized the forest. After falling he became inspired and turned the chaos of the forest into order; he rearranged it. Thus the Yanomam stopped turning into animals and stopped being carried off by the waters. Today we no longer change form, as can be seen. Omamë was angry because the forest was in such disarray, and he put it to right. Since then the sky no longer breaks, the waters no longer carry us off, and we no longer turn into game animals. When girls have their first menstruation nothing happens to us any more. Omamë has straightened out the forest. Before he was there the Hayowaritheri people were transformed.⁵⁸ Before Omamë, the Yanomam, the ancestors, kept turning into animals, and some were carried off by the underworld waters. When Omamë came into being and began to arrange the forest we stopped transforming, as can be seen. When girls have their first menstruation we are no longer carried off by the waters. Omamë thought straight, and ever since then he stopped the people from creating disorder in the forest.

Now we conduct ceremonial *hiimu* invitation dialogues, and some of the people become shamans. People became wise. Omamë took some ants' eggs, like that, and said: "Some of you shall become shamans!" And according to his word, today some people become shamans. Women had no vulva so he made one for them with a chisel,⁵⁹ giving it its present form, with its folds. After he had given the women vaginas the Yanomam began to copulate the way we still do it, and no longer in the bend of their knees.⁶⁰ Omamë said to the women: "Now you will make children! You will menstruate!" He said to the men: "Now that I have given the women vaginas you will copulate with them! After their first menstruation you will not copulate while they are still bleeding! You will begin to copulate only when their vaginas are dry after the first menstruation ritual. It is only then that you will deflower them!" Do not the Yanomam today behave and make children in the way Omamë told them? He also said to the women: "While you are menstruating you will not bathe or move! You will be placed in seclusion, and won't be allowed out until you are dry!" We behave now the way Omamë told us, as can be seen. He taught us all that before he left. Some people he made shamans. He taught us the ceremonial *wayamu* dialogue: "When you go to visit other communities you will perform the *wayamu* dialogue after you arrive!" Today, the people perform this dialogue when they go visiting, the way he taught us—is that not what we do? Thus he said: "When you visit other people you will perform the *wayamu* and also the *hiimu* ceremonial dialogue of invitation; that is how you will invite yourselves and be friendly!" Today, we are as he said. Omamë caused the people to become Yanomam; he made the world stop transforming; he put an end to the transformations. He made the Yanomam speak the way we speak today; he made the people stop becoming others. Afterward he left, having finished creating us as Yanomam. The way you foreigners make

photographs⁶¹ he made the trees in the forest, and then he left. Before leaving he taught us the ceremonial *wayamu* dialogue, the *heri* singing,⁶² and the *yāimu* dialogues. We still perform *yāimu* dialogues when we bury our funerary bone ashes.⁶³ He made us think straight, and we perform *yāimu* dialogues and hunt game to have *reahu* festivals.⁶⁴ It was also Omamē who taught us to bury one another's funerary bone ashes—do we not continue to perform the ceremonial *yāimu* dialogue since then? "When someone dies you will grind the ashes of his bones, and then you will bury them in the ground under your cooking fire!" That was what Omamē said before he left; he straightened us out before leaving, and ever since his departure we continue to perform *yāimu* dialogues. When he was not yet there the people were very ignorant. The forest was unstable, and the people were constantly changing form. They used to turn into tapirs, armadillos, and red brockets; Teremē cut them into pieces; a man ate his wife during her first menstruation; another killed the night spirits; others were devoured by a jaguar.⁶⁵ Finally Omamē created us as a new people after those first Yanomam fell underground. We are different Yanomam. Omamē came into being when the forest was torn apart; he simply began to exist. Then he left, he disappeared, after he had finished turning us into Yanomam. After transforming the people into Yanomam he made them disperse. These people he created died long ago; they do not exist any more. We are the children of those Yanomam. Before Omamē came, people were very ignorant, the forest could not stay in good shape, and the Yanomam transformed all the time. Omamē made us Yanomam. Before, people transformed into animals, into tapirs, armadillos, porcupine, and they ate each other; Owl ate Ocelot, Jaguar ate Armadillo.⁶⁶ The first people did not stop transforming into animals. That was how the people were; it was frightening. That was how it was at first. Omamē then fixed the forest and made us as Yanomam. People had transformed enough. When he created us he taught us to perform the *yāimu* ceremonial dialogue, to inhale the *yākōana* snuff, to bury our funerary ashes under the fire, to perform the *wayamu* dialogue. As you foreigners do with your sheets of paper, that was how he made the people, simply with his thoughts. After that he fled because he had finished making us into proper Yanomam.⁶⁷ He disappeared; he was never seen again.

Commentary on the Cultural Tradition

When Omamē created us he made us sing; he made us perform presentation dances and *hiimu* ceremonial dialogues; he made people imitate them repeatedly and he made them form a line. That is why we remained and went on conducting *yāimu* ceremonial dialogues and inhaling *yākōana* snuff, because the ancestors he created taught us that over time. "That's how you will remain!" That is what the ancestors said. That is why we remained and still perform *yāimu* dialogues, why we still have *reahu* festivals,

why we still do presentation dances, and why we still invite each other. It was the ancestors who taught us that over time; they made us think straight. We still conduct *yāimu* dialogues; we still bury funerary ashes, as the ancestors always did. We still bury our funerary ashes; we still cremate our bones as they taught us; all this we still do, as can be seen. When people die we still cremate their bones; the ancestors taught us to do that. As the ancestors said, we remained to do it in turn. The ancestors taught us and we still perform *yāimu* dialogues; we still inhale *yākōana* snuff, as can be seen. We remained and continued to inhale this snuff. That is because the ancestors made us think straight over time. We still bury our funerary ashes under the hearths, we do not throw them away. That is what they told us to do; that is why we still do it. Do we not still do that? We are young and ignorant but we still talk like they did; that is how we still talk, endlessly, like the ancestors, just as they used to do.

12. The Collapse of the Sky

This happened in the direction of the Waika region but well beyond it, on the savanna, where the tapirs go to rub themselves against the *tokori* trees. It happened beyond the region inhabited by the Yanomami. They occupied a vast area of this land, but this happened in a place where one does not meet them, in an uninhabited region, where the celestial disk is as fragile as an old tree. This land, which is as ancient as an old man, and its celestial disk as ancient as the land, this area is haunted by supernatural beings. Those were the beings that fell on the people of long ago. Those were the ones! They are spirits! Then the people were carried far away by an irresistible force: the sky broke above their heads. In vain the shaman pronounced propitiatory formulas, in vain they invoked their protective spirits; the sky broke in spite of everything. Our ancestors truly witnessed extraordinary events.

But how did it occur to them to seek refuge under the canopy of the great cacao tree? Nevertheless that was where they ran when the celestial disk broke. The cacao tree bent under the weight but managed to support it. The sky, which was very close to their heads, emitted unbearable heat, and the people were complaining. But they knew what to do, and using their axes they opened a passage through the sky.

Thus our ancestors found refuge under the cacao tree. Afterward they became underworld creatures, *amahiri*.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A665.4.	Tree supports sky.
A669.2.	Sky of solid substance.
A702.2.	Sky as solid vault (tent).
A1000.+.	Sky falls. (A1000. World catastrophe.)
F167.	Inhabitants of otherworld.
F403.2.+.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
F811.	Extraordinary tree.
R311.	Tree refuge.

13. Aro's Shamanic Spirits Cut the Sky⁶⁸

Aro's shamanic spirit helpers⁶⁹ cut the sky layer when he died—this sky which is still above us—but those of his older brother, who was also a shaman, held it in place when it was about to break. I do not know the name of the older brother.⁷⁰ Those two brothers were great shamans, the only ones. In those times there were not many shamans. Few shamans raised their arms.⁷¹ There was one, then another, like that. When one died another man would remain behind and would in turn become a shaman; then he would die and another young shaman would take his place. That was how it was; there were shamans like that, one after another. One man was a shaman, then his son would become a shaman in turn after him. It was only here⁷² that the shamans grew more numerous.

There were two brothers. They were the only shamans, great shamans. Aro, the younger, died, and only the older remained. When Aro died his spirit helpers were furious over the death of their father,⁷³ and they raced toward the sky in order to shatter it. That was this sky that is still there, above us. They ascended toward the sky and began to slash it, and had nearly cut it up when the older brother's spirit helpers interposed themselves to prop it up. This sky is still there, but it has holes everywhere.⁷⁴ That was how the sky stopped breaking. Aro's spirit helpers threatened to shatter it but that was the last time, and in the end the sky did not break. In early times another sky had already fallen.⁷⁵ This sky that rests above us⁷⁶ was prevented from falling by the spirit helpers of Aro's older brother when those of the younger brother were trying to slash it. They kept striking it everywhere with their supernatural machetes

and axes: *thikē wa! thikē wa! thikē wa!* The sky began to crack, but now the older brother's spirit helpers ascended: *ōōōōōōōō!* They seized those who were slashing the sky layer—*huē!*—restrained them one after another, and took away their weapons which they then threw far away. Thus the older shaman interposed himself with his own spirit helpers when those of his younger brother tried to cut up the sky. His brother's spirits came running from all directions, but his own went toward them, caught them, and pushed them back. Thus they stopped slashing the sky. Rendered unstable by their cuts the celestial layer threatened to shatter, but other shamanic spirit helpers belonging to Aro's brother tried hard to keep the pieces in place and to pull them back where they belonged. Lifting up the fragments of the broken sky they supported them and pushed them back in place: *thikē! krē! tōtōtōtōtō!* Then they closed the cracks by bending the edges and supporting them with supernatural iron rods,⁷⁷ one after another: *shako! shako! shako!* So this sky did not fall, but it is full of cracks that have been tied closed. Before that another sky had already fallen for the first time, and today that is the earth layer. The sky already fell and it is here, under our feet. That is it. The one that remained is well up there. Now the sky will not fall again; it already fell and that is it! Now, it only cracks.⁷⁸ Aro's shamanic spirit helpers cut it but others propped it up. The sky that replaced the first sky now remains in place, and that is the one that was cut by Aro's shamanic spirit helpers. These cracks in the sky are Aro's path; it is the path that the shamanic spirits take today to reach the back of the sky, following the tracks of Aro's spirits.⁷⁹ They are constantly going there to fight with the thunders. The shamanic spirits detest the rumbling voice of the thunders; they find it unbearable, and that is why they abuse them to make them keep quiet. They never stop striking the thunders and shaking their hammock strings.⁸⁰ In primeval times the Yanomam nearly silenced the voice of Thunder, but the bird Screaming Piha threw a piece of his liver onto the back of the sky, and that was how Thunder came back to life and multiplied. In the beginning Thunder used to live on the earth, in a rapid.⁸¹

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

After death of primeval shaman his spirit helpers try to destroy sky but are prevented by spirits of his older brother, another shaman.

Motif content

A669.2.	Sky of solid substance.
A702.2.	Sky as solid vault (tent).
A1000.+.	Sky falls. (A1000. World catastrophe.)
A1142.	Origin of thunder.
D2106.+.	Magic multiplication of thunder. (D2106. Magic multiplication of objects.)
F402.1.12.+.	Spirits fight. (F402.1.12. Spirit fights against person.)
F403.2.+.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
F403.2.3.+.	Spirits prevent sky from falling. (F403.2.3. Deeds of familiar spirits.)
F434.	Spirit of thunder.

14. Pata

The Pata were the first people. They burned the dead, destroyed the possessions of the dead, and forbade people to mention their names. The Pata also performed the Hekura ritual often, and practiced purification from the blood of the dead. When the sky fell, all the Pata died.

Informants: Daniel and Henrique

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 148.

Motif content

A1000.+.	Sky falls. (A1000. World catastrophe.)
A1009.+.	First race of men perishes when sky falls. (A1009. World catastrophes—miscellaneous.)
A1280.	First man (woman).
C430.	Name tabu.
P681.	Mourning customs.

15. The Creation of the Yanonámi

A long time ago there were only plants and animals on the earth, but still no people. However, there were already people living on the moon and in the sky, led by a chief named Poré/Perimbó.

The people kept asking him over and over again to please show them the earth. At first Poré/Perimbó always refused, because, as he

said, life down there was too hard and full of privations for them. But in the end the moon deity let himself be persuaded. He selected four men and one woman to find out whether human beings would like it down there. After shrinking them to the point where there was room for them to fit into the right leg of the *xiapó*, a little bird with black and yellow feathers, he sent them to earth with this bird.

Soon after arrival the bird's leg broke open and the first man, Horonamí, stepped out, followed by the second, Uruhí, the third, Totorí, the fourth, Horemá, and finally the woman, Petá.

At first the four men and the lone woman, who was given the rank of chief, lived together in a harmonious marriage. From this a little boy, Suhilina, was born, who addressed all the men as "father." The boy Suhilina (identical with Suhirina of the Surára myth) liked to play with his little bow and arrow which his father Horonamí had made for him. One night when he jokingly shot at the moon there was an immediate eclipse, and blood trickled down until soon a river spread over the entire earth. At first Poré/Perimbó wanted to destroy the whole earth in this way, but then, in response to pleas from Petá, the moon-god decided to create the Yanonámi from the blood. Soon they inhabited the whole face of the earth, and many tribes and groups developed. But exactly as on the moon and in the first sky there was from then on an eastern and a western half, divided by the river Padauri.⁸²

But the separation from the moon and from the first sky shall not last forever. After death the human soul can always return there in order to renew itself. This is made possible by the rising smoke formed when the skeleton is burned. After the soul has been rejuvenated in a bloody lake on the moon it is sent back to the earth again.

Poré/Perimbó granted the people's wish to live on the earth for a time, but they can never be completely happy and content there. Their ideal always remains the first sky or, even more strongly, the moon.

Informant: Alippio

Source: Becher 1974, pp. 14–15.

Summary

First people (four men and one woman) descend from sky and moon to live on earth. One day their son shoots at moon. Blood trickles down, and from it Yanonámi are created.

Motif content

A240.	Moon-god.
A1018.	Flood as punishment.
A1231.	First man descends from sky.
A1263.1.	Man created from blood.
A1277.	Offspring of first parents.
A1280.	First man (woman).
A1281.+.	First woman as chief of her group. (A1281. Condition of first man (woman).)
A1281.+.	First woman lives in polyandrous marriage with first men. (A1281. Condition of first man (woman).)
A1600.	Distribution and differentiation of peoples—general.
A1611.+.	Origin of the Yanomami. (A1611. Origin of particular tribes.)
B450.	Helpful birds.
C50.	Tabu: offending the gods.
D55.2.	Person becomes magically smaller.
D437.+.	Transformation: blood to person. (D437. Transformation: part of animal or person to person.)
D1338.1.1.1.	Magic lake rejuvenates.
D1338.1.3.	Magic blood rejuvenates.
D1887.	Rejuvenation by bathing.
E481.8.2.	Moon as land of dead.
F30.	Inhabitant of upper world visits earth.
F61.3.1.	Ascent to upper world in smoke.
F62.2.	Birds carry person from upper world.
F167.	Inhabitants of otherworld.
F713.6.	Lake of blood.
F715.2.1.	River of blood.
F962.4.	Shower of blood.
P700.+.	Woman as chief. (P700. Society—miscellaneous motifs.)
T146.	Polyandry.

16. The Creation of the Yanonámi⁸³

The earth existed already and was full of plants and animals, but there were as yet no people. But one day the first man, Uruhí, was born from the leg of the *xiapó*, a small bird with black and yellow feathers, similar to the *japím*.⁸⁴ A short time afterward the bird's leg gave birth to a second man, Horonamú, then to a third, Totorí, a fourth, Horemá, and finally a woman, Petá. These four men and this

woman lived together in complete harmony. Although Petá was the wife of Uruhi, the firstborn, the other three brothers also had the right to have sexual intercourse with her.⁸⁵

After a year Petá brought into the world a sturdy and healthy baby boy, Suhirina, who grew quickly and called all four men "father."⁸⁶ His greatest pleasure was to kill little birds with his bow and arrows. But one night he jokingly aimed at the moon and launched an arrow. Immediately there was an eclipse of the moon. Blood trickled down, flowing over the entire earth like a river. From this blood all the Yanonámi originated, that is, the Surára, the Pakidái, the Puseheweteri, the Aramamesteri, the Xiriána, the Karauateri, the Waiká, the Ironasitéri, and others.⁸⁷

Informant: Hewemão

Source: Becher 1974, pp. 13-14.

Motif content

A1263.1.	Man created from blood.
A1277.	Offspring of first parents.
A1280.	First man (woman).
A1281.+.	First woman lives in polyandrous marriage with first men. (A1281. Condition of first man (woman).)
A1611.+.	Origin of the Yanomami. (A1611. Origin of particular tribes.)
B754.7.	Unusual parturition of animal.
D437.+.	Transformation: blood to person. (D437. Transformation: part of animal or person to person.)
F715.2.1.	River of blood.
F962.4.	Shower of blood.
T146.	Polyandry.

17. Petá, the First Woman and Leader of Her Group⁸⁸

"The bird and Petá *were identical*," I was told by the Surára chief Hewemão, his brother Kurikayawö, and two other informants. We are here dealing with Perimbó, the female principle of the moon. It is said that the bird carried the souls of the four men in its body, and after their and its own arrival on the earth it turned into a woman⁸⁹ with divine attributes.⁹⁰

From then on, these first five people lived in a polyandrous marriage⁹¹ in which the woman clearly was respected as the head.⁹² After her, the firstborn, Uruhi, had the most prerogatives, but he too had to follow all Petá's instructions, just like his brothers. Thus it was she who decided who should go hunting or fishing,⁹³ who should gather palm fruit or clear paths in the forest. However, Petá herself was not idle; she gathered berries, fruit, honey, and so on in the forest, fetched wood and water, and prepared the meals.

A big problem was sexual intercourse, which often caused arguments among the men. In order to prevent this in the future, Petá one night while the men were asleep tied the penis of each one, through the prepuce, to the string around their hips.⁹⁴ When the men woke up the next morning their surprise was great, and all wanted to untie the knot. But Petá would not allow it.⁹⁵ Only the man whose knot she herself untied was permitted to have sex with her.⁹⁶ Since she was right, all the men ought to have been satisfied with this. But the two younger brothers felt slighted. Their jealousy of the two older brothers grew and gave rise to thoughts of murder.⁹⁷

Petá, who immediately noticed their jealousy, began to think about how to prevent a bloodbath, and was successful. She made each of the younger brothers challenge one of the older to a fight with sticks, offering herself as the prize to the victor. So that no one would be killed in the duel she shaved the safest part of their heads with the sharpened edge of a piece of cane.⁹⁸ That was the origin of the tonsure, which served as a mark and which earlier used to be painted with blood or urucú.⁹⁹ The man who had been challenged had to first stand with his feet wide apart and his head lowered, waiting for the first blow. As the challenger struck, he could only stand on his right leg in order to reduce the force, for after all his opponent was supposed to survive. Afterward the participants exchanged roles and repeated the action. This exchange of blows went on until one participant lay on the ground exhausted. These stick duels still take place today. I have attended one several times and have already described them in detail.¹⁰⁰

In this first stick duel the older brothers won, according to the oral tradition, and were now given preference by Petá as promised. However, this again aroused the envy of the younger brothers so that renewed duels followed, and soon the younger ones also had some victories and were given their deserved reward by Petá.

But eventually the constant arguments became too much for Petá and so she introduced a new form of duel, the *petapoanhamú*. This

was a wrestling match between two men in a sitting position, of whom one symbolized Petá. The man playing Petá, sometimes the loser in a duel, would place his legs over the thighs of his partner, and after Petá had untied the latter's penis knot the other had to submit to anal intercourse. During this the men would embrace one another tightly, violently moving to and fro. In this duel, too, the roles were occasionally exchanged. This kind of contest,¹⁰¹ which has already been described elsewhere,¹⁰² today takes place only in relic form, and no longer includes anal intercourse. This duel now represents the symbolic struggle of the good spirit (Hekurá or Hekúla) against the bad (Nonexí),¹⁰³ the former being identified with the female sex and the latter with the male.

All this shows what power Petá, for whom this contest is still named,¹⁰⁴ exercised over her men. By tying up the penis of each man she in effect throttled their male power, by preventing an erection. Now, when she wanted to have sex she would untie the penis of a particular man, would cause an erection with her hand, and after intercourse would tie it to his hip string again.

All this information from the Surára and the Pakidái was also confirmed to me by the Ironasitéri, and these three tribes still retain this custom, as do probably all the other Yanonámi groups.

Long after the first mythical events between Petá and the four men, my informants told me, there had always been one woman who functioned as both chief, shaman, and priestess, and who together with her fellow women held the power in the group. That would be clear proof of a long matriarchal phase among these Yanonámi tribes.

Informants: Hewemão, Kurikayawö, and others

Source: Becher 1974, pp. 45–47.

Summary

Petá, first woman, lives in polyandrous marriage with four brothers (first men). She is also their leader. When problems arise as to frequency of intercourse, Petá ties men's penises to their hip strings as a means of control, and introduces two kinds of duels where winner is rewarded by Petá with sexual favors.

Motif content

- | | |
|---------|--|
| A545.+. | Culture heroine establishes customs. (A545. Culture hero establishes customs.) |
| A1231. | First man descends from sky. |
| A1280. | First man (woman). |

A1281.+.	First woman as chief of her group. (A1281. Condition of first man (woman).)
A1281.+.	First woman lives in polyandrous marriage with first men. (A1281. Condition of first man (woman).)
A1590.+.	Origin of contest of strength. (A1590. Origin of other customs.)
A1590.+.	Origin of custom of tying up penis. (A1590. Origin of other customs.)
A1590.+.	Origin of tonsure. (A1590. Origin of other customs.)
D630.	Transformation and disenchantment at will.
F30.	Inhabitant of upper world visits earth.
F62.2.	Birds carry person from upper world.
P677.	Customs connected with dueling.
P700.+.	Woman as chief. (P700. Society—miscellaneous motifs.)
T146.	Polyandry.
W181.	Jealousy.

18. Petá and the Jaguar

Long ago the Ironasitéri still had a female chief, Petá.¹⁰⁵ She was married to her four brothers of whom the oldest was named Horonamí and the others Uruhí, Totorí, and Horema.¹⁰⁶

Once their house kept being threatened by a strong male spotted jaguar,¹⁰⁷ and the members of the group were afraid that they would have to abandon the communal house. Strangely enough, however, the jaguar had not yet attacked any people. In spite of this, Petá's husbands and the other warriors in the tribe tried to kill the jaguar. But it was in vain, for the arrows they shot at him bounced off his body harmlessly.

One night the jaguar crept into the house and into Petá's hammock. Cautiously he licked her face, and when she woke up he asked her to be allowed to lie there with her. Although she was frightened she gave him permission. Then the jaguar revealed to her that he would like to marry her. Thinking of her four husbands, her son, and the other members of her tribe Petá declined the request. But the jaguar seized her belt with his mouth, jumped out of the hammock, and ran off with her. Petá began to scream loudly which woke up all the villagers.

The first one to take up the pursuit was Horonamí, accompanied by his brothers. Although the jaguar was not able to run as fast as

usual because of his burden, the brothers still could not keep pace with him in the dark night.

Meanwhile the jaguar and Petá had reached a cave in a rock. Here lay two helpless young jaguars next to their dead mother. Petá placed the cubs at her breasts where the two began to suck greedily. After they had eaten their fill and had fallen asleep the jaguar thanked Petá for her help and asked her again to stay with him as his wife. She declined again, however, and added that she absolutely had to return to her tribe. Then the jaguar lay down in front of the entrance to the cave and refused to let her leave. Petá was desperate and cast about in her mind for a way to escape. Finally she fell asleep from exhaustion.

She woke up when the two cubs again nursed at her breasts, and also noticed that it had grown light and that the jaguar was still lying in front of the entrance to the cave. While the cubs were still drinking they suddenly began to grow, and in a short time they had reached their father's size.

At that moment Horonamí and his brothers appeared at the cave to free Petá from her captivity. The jaguar retreated into the cave, and the three men followed him. In so doing they fell into a terrible trap, for now they were facing three large jaguars. They were thrown to the ground, and could already feel the animals' teeth at their throats. To make matters worse the jaguar mother had come back to life again. But as the brothers were thinking that she now was going to throw herself over Petá, something very strange happened.

The jaguar mother told her husband and her two daughters to leave the brothers alone at once. Then she embraced Petá and thanked her for having nursed her daughters, thereby saving them from starving to death.

Then it grew very dark. A severe thunderstorm came up, and suddenly there was a flash of lightning in the cave. Soon afterward the jaguar family had been transformed into Perimbó (previously the jaguar mother), Poré (the jaguar father), and two daughters. Perimbó and Poré said that they had wanted to test Petá, who after all was their daughter, too,¹⁰⁸ to see whether she took pity on helpless animals. Since they now knew that this was the case they had decided to give their two daughters to Horonamí's two younger brothers as their wives in order to make Petá's life easier, since she was suffering greatly from the two younger brothers' jealousy of their older brother.¹⁰⁹

After this there was another flash of lightning in the cave, and Perimbó and Poré disappeared. Petá wandered back to the

communal house with the two sisters (the transformed little jaguars) and her two brothers.

Informant: Renato

Source: Becher 1974, pp. 18–19.

Summary

Petá is abducted by jaguar who wants her to take the place of his recently dead wife. She nurses his two cubs but refuses to marry him. When her husbands come to rescue her, jaguar's dead wife resuscitates, and all four jaguars transform into Poré and his family. In gratitude for Petá's kindness, Perimbó (jaguar wife) gives her two daughters to two of Petá's husbands.

Motif content

A745.	Family of the moon.
B350. +.	Grateful jaguar. (B350. Grateful animals.)
B391.	Animal grateful for food.
D312. +.	Transformation: jaguar to person. (D312. Transformation: feline animal to person.)
D1841.5.2.	Magic animal proof against weapons.
E3.	Dead animal comes to life.
F983.0.1.	Extraordinary quick growth of animal.
H1385.3.	Quest for vanished wife (mistress).
H1552.	Tests of generosity.
P700. +.	Woman as chief. (P700. Society—miscellaneous motifs.)
Q40.	Kindness rewarded.
R13.1.4.2. +.	Abduction of woman by jaguar. (R13.1.4.2. Abduction of woman by tiger.)
R151.1.	Husband rescues stolen wife.
T146.	Polyandry.
T415.	Brother-sister incest.
T611. +.	Woman suckles jaguar cubs. (T611. Suckling of children.)
W181.	Jealousy.

19. Peribo-riwë

All the Yanomamo, all foreigners, all the people in the world are of Peribo's blood.

Peribo-riwë was living in this world together with his daughter and his son-in-law Amoawë.¹¹⁰ His daughter was named Purima-

yoma.¹¹¹ But the woman was very afraid of her husband. She did not want a husband; she wanted to have that man only as a brother. Peribo-riwë did not like this; it made him angry and ashamed.

One day he invited his daughter and his grandson, and they went into the forest, far from their house. There he seized his daughter and strangled her. Afterward he told his grandson to remove her ovaries using a barbed arrowhead. The grandson obeyed, removed the ovaries, and gave them to Peribo-riwë, who wrapped them in some leaves. He did this to demonstrate how to wrap the game in order to roast it. They returned to the house with the package.

But the woman was not dead. After her father had left she regained consciousness and was transformed into a firefly.

In the house Peribo-riwë roasted the bundle and sat down to eat his daughter's ovaries. But when he was finished he felt very strange. His body grew hot and he began to pace up and down through the house like a crazy man, here, there, fanning himself. He was anxious, and shouted because he felt so hot. Then he went out into the patio, wandering around, and there he began to rise up into the air. The ancestors laughed at him, saying: "Peribo-riwë is crazy. What's going on with him?" Peribo-riwë kept on ascending, turning around. He was no longer fanning himself. Thinking that it was a game the children threw sticks at him. The rest laughed in the belief that he was going to descend again, that he was only demonstrating his magic powers.

But Peribo-riwë rose higher and higher. Then the men began to gather in the patio, and they aimed their arrows and shot him. He kept rising up, twisting and turning. Pokoïhibëma-riwë¹¹² also shot at him but could not hit him. The Atamari¹¹³ also came to shoot at him, but they missed as well.

Suhirina-riwë¹¹⁴ was calmly lying there, looking upward. He was in no hurry, lying there like the brave man he was. The old men commented: "Why didn't they shoot him when he was low down? Now he's too high up. Peribo-riwë has escaped; no one will catch him now."

At that point Suhirina-riwë got out of his hammock, picked up his bow and arrows, began to stare upward, and said: "Asiëënnnn! Why didn't you shoot him when he was very low? Now he is high up." He pulled his bowstring. Finding it loose he tightened it, and hit it a few times: *pau, pau, pau!* All this he did so that we would learn to tighten our bows before shooting. If we miss the target it is because the string is loose.

Then Suhirina-riwë looked up, and aimed an arrow with a *rahaka* point. Peribo-riwë was no longer moving; he was settled in his place

in the sky, looking down. Suhirina-riwë let fly the arrow: *tahhh!* It struck Peribo-riwë in the chest, right in the nipple. All shouted: "Aaaiiii!"

Immediately drops of blood began to fall from the wound. Here, there, everywhere there were drops of blood. Each drop that fell turned into a new Yanomamo. Yanomamo everywhere, brave Yanomamo. Peribo-riwë was left without blood, without strength, gradually descending toward the edge of the earth. There he turned into a high mountain which is called Peribori-maki, far, far away where not even the foreigners live. The Yai¹¹⁵ live there. That was how Peribo-riwë died. The moon of today is not Peribo-riwë's body; it is his spirit. That is why it is bad; it takes away the soul of children, who then easily die.

The same day that they shot Peribo-riwë, Suhirina-riwë and his family turned into those scorpions that are small but whose sting is painful. Pokoihibëma-riwë and his family turned into those large scorpions. The Atamari went to live on the trees in the forest and turned into mushrooms. The remaining Yanomamo of that time were transformed into vultures and flew off to nearby trees. Tall people and good shamans became king vultures. Flying high, they disappeared among the clouds.¹¹⁶

However, from Peribo's blood only men had been born. There were no women. Therefore those men used as women the holes in the trees and the anuses of their companions. But there were no real women to increase the population.

Xiapoko-riwë was one of the new Yanomamo. Other men would come to him to have anal intercourse, but he would reply: "Don't dirty my anus; I don't want to. Leave me alone." But the men kept bothering him. As he was tired of this situation he began to think, and said to Kanabo-riwë: "I'm going to make a hole in the calf of my leg to see if I can create a woman, so that those animals won't dirty me any more and will leave me alone."

So, using his magic power he made a hole in his calf, and then Kanabo-riwë ejaculated into it. The leg swelled and grew, like the stomach of a pregnant woman, and soon a little girl emerged.¹¹⁷ That was the first woman among those new Yanomamo. Her name was Kanabori-yoma, from her father's name.¹¹⁸ Kanabo-riwë gave her to a man to be his wife. Later two more girls were born, and they became the wives of two other men. From those women the men had other girls who married the rest of the men. Soon all the Yanomamo men had wives, and thus the population increased.

Ashamed because of the hole in his leg Xiapoko-riwë went into the forest, and there he turned into that bird which we call *xiapokoromi*¹¹⁹ today.

Informant: The chief of the Iyëwei-teri

Source: Cocco 1972, pp. 467–469.

Summary

Peribo-riwë kills his daughter and eats her ovaries. After his meal he begins to rise up toward sky. Yanomamo try unsuccessfully to shoot him down, until finally one man succeeds. Drops of Peribo-riwë's blood fall to earth and turn into new Yanomamo men, while previous Yanomamo turn into animals.

In this new, all-male world one man ejaculates into hole in leg of another. Leg gives birth to girl. In this way women are created, and population increases.

Motif content

A185.12.2.	God removes mortal's soul.
A630.+.	Second creation of man. (A630. Series of creations.)
A740.	Creation of the moon.
A747.	Person transformed to moon.
A1263.1.	Man created from blood.
A1275.	Creation of first man's (woman's) mate.
A1280.	First man (woman).
A1281.	Condition of first man (woman).
A1611.+.	Origin of the Yanomami. (A1611. Origin of particular tribes.)
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D152.3.	Transformation: man to vulture.
D180.+.	Transformation: man to scorpion. (D180. Transformation: man to insect.)
D184.2.+.	Transformation: woman to firefly. (D184.2. Transformation: man to firefly.)
D210.+.	Transformation: man to mushroom. (D210. Transformation: man to vegetable form.)
D291.	Transformation: man to mountain.
D437.+.	Transformation: blood to person. (D437. Transformation: part of animal or person to person.)
D661.	Transformation as punishment.
E1.	Person comes to life.
E727.3.	Body dependent on soul.
F61.	Person wafted to sky.
F68.	Ascent to upper world by magic.

F962.4.	Shower of blood.
Q257.	Refusal of conjugal relations punished.
S11.	Cruel father.
S11.3.	Father kills child.
S11.3.8.	Father eats own children.
T288.+.	Wife refuses to sleep with husband. (T288. Wife refuses to sleep with detested husband.)
T517.	Conception from extraordinary intercourse.
T541.5.+.	Birth from man's calf. (T541.5. Birth from man's thigh.)

20. Pölipoliwe and the Origin of the Yanoname

Pölipoliwe used to live in the sky. He descended to the earth on a rope and went back up to the sky the same way. Every time a child of the Pata (Pata Ihiru) was born he descended from the sky and ate the baby. Pölipoliwe also ate Suhilina's children. Then he made himself wings from bark and flew to the sky. He flew very slowly. Having arrived, he entered his house. Still Suhilina shot arrows at Pölipoliwe, who was wounded. Drops of his blood fell on the earth, and from them the Yanoname originated. The Yanoname killed Suhilina and took his wife. Then they met the Pata, and there was a war between them. They burned Suhilina and ate his bone marrow to grow strong. The Pata were men and women, as were the Yanoname. From then on Pölipoliwe remained "up there," and he began to shine, turning into the moon (Pölip). Moon had light. Sometimes he stops shining, and then it is a new moon. When he shines again it is a waxing moon and full moon.¹²⁰

Informants: Daniel and Pedro

Source: Knobloch 1967, pp. 148-149.

Motif content

A740.	Creation of the moon.
A747.	Person transformed to moon.
A1263.1.	Man created from blood.
A1611.+.	Origin of the Yanomami. (A1611. Origin of particular tribes.)

D437. +.	Transformation: blood to person. (D437. Transformation: part of animal or person to person.)
F30.	Inhabitant of upper world visits earth.
F51.	Sky-rope.
F962.4.	Shower of blood.
F1021.1.	Flight on artificial wings.
G13.1.	Ritual cannibalism: corpse of hero (demigod) eaten to acquire his strength.
G312.	Cannibal ogre.

21. A Strange Feast

This happened a long time ago, at a time when human beings were already numerous on the earth. Among them was a great shaman. He had conceived Moon-Spirit, the *hekura*, as we know him today, who did not yet exist at that time. He had imagined him; he had both the knowledge and the skill for this.

One day the people realized that the shaman was dying, and they grieved: "What has happened to him, what is going on?" When he died his wife expressed her pain: "My husband, you, the shaman, come back among us!" They burned the body. It was consumed by the fire. The ashes were growing cold when night fell. The following morning the bones were to be gathered. Everywhere in the house the dead man was mourned. But the shaman had transformed into a *hekura* after his death; he had become Moon-Spirit. When the darkness was total he said to himself: "Now is a good time." He entered the house. He did not head for an unoccupied spot under the roof but approached the mournful charcoals, crouched next to the remains, and ate the charred bones, which cracked between his teeth. He ate his own bones.

The son of the dead man woke up. He got up, and looked. The person who was there looked like his father. The boy approached and pressed close against his back, saying: "Father, my father!" Moon-Spirit was just finishing devouring the bones. He had eaten everything that remained after the incineration, the bones and the charred wood. He remained squatting, but pivoting where he sat. Then the Yanomami noticed him and shouted: "Who comes and disturbs our mourning? That's an outsider; he's not one of us!" They jumped out of their hammocks and seized their arrows. Everywhere there was great haste. They formed a half circle around Moon-Spirit

who began to ascend to the sky, and shot off their arrows at him. All missed their target.

Scorpion was present as this was happening. He was smiling. "Is such clumsiness really possible?" he wondered. Just then a shout resounded: "Watch out, he's escaping!" In a flash Moon-Spirit had ascended to the sky, and soon the arrows could no longer reach him. No arrow could reach high enough. Moon-Spirit was high up in the sky, about to disappear behind the clouds. Another clamor went up, and the people called to Scorpion to help them. "Come here; help us shoot him!" His brothers-in-law begged him to join them: "Brother-in-law, everyone here knows your reputation as an infallible marksman; they are counting on your help."

Scorpion slipped out of his hammock. His arrow was slender and short, with a narrow bamboo point. He bent his bow and aimed at Moon-Spirit, commenting: "Listen to it, look at it, in case it doesn't reach high enough." So saying he let the arrow fly. "Yes, look, that's it!" exclaimed the others. He had hit his target. The blood spurted out and sprinkled over the earth, over there, in the direction of the intrepid Shamathari. From the clots of blood that fell the *shēkinari*, man-eating creatures, were born.

Moon-Spirit is one of the *hekura*. There is his path, descending downstream, illuminated by flames.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Great shaman dies and is transformed into Moon-Spirit. He returns secretly to village to eat charred remains of his own body. When people discover him he rises up to sky, and they try in vain to shoot him. Finally Scorpion's arrow strikes him, and his blood sprinkles over earth, creating cannibal creatures.

Motif content

A740.	Creation of the moon.
A747.	Person transformed to moon.
A1263.1.+.	Ogres created from blood. (A1263.1. Man created from blood.)
D90.+.	Transformation: man to spirit. (D90. Transformation: man to different man—miscellaneous.)
D437.+.	Transformation: blood to ogre. (D437. Transformation: part of animal or person to person.)
E541.	Revenants eat.

E593.4.+.	Ghost takes own bones from hearth. (E593.4. Ghost takes bones from grave.)
F68.	Ascent to upper world by magic.
F661.	Skillful marksman.
F962.4.	Shower of blood.
G51.	Person eats own flesh.
G51.1.	Person eats self up.
G312.	Cannibal ogre.
S183.	Frightful meal.
V60.	Funeral rites.

22. Omamë Impregnates Yoasi's Calf¹²¹

Omamë and Yoasi lived in primeval times. Both were alone for in those days women did not yet exist. The world was empty; there were neither trees nor rivers nor Yanomam. There were no women. Thus Omamë, impatient to satisfy his sexual urge, copulated in the back of Yoasi's left knee, in the bend of the leg, impregnating his calf. Here, behind our knees, one can still see the trace of Yoasi's child. Yoasi's calf was pregnant and that was where the baby emerged, where there is a hollow, behind the knee; that is why we still have this hollow here. Omamë was Yoasi's younger brother. It was he who impregnated Yoasi's calf, for there were no women yet. Omamë had come into existence spontaneously, for no reason. No Yanomam made him by copulating; he did not come from the sperm of a Yanomam. He created himself; he began to exist for no reason.¹²² He happened to exist just like that, along with his older brother, for he was a supernatural being. Thus the two of them lived absolutely alone. There were no women, and Omamë made a child in his brother's calf. The calf became pregnant, as big as a woman's stomach. That was how Omamë taught the Yanomam to have children, as people still do today in spectral form.¹²³ Then the baby emerged: "Öe! Öe! Öe! Öe!" Omamë took him in his arms to rear him. It was a boy who was born; it was Omamë's son. He grew very quickly, in one night, without being suckled. He then lived with the two brothers. He too was a supernatural being.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Two brothers alone exist on earth. One impregnates brother's calf, and baby boy is born.

Motif content

A20.	Origin of the creator.
A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A1210.	Creation of man by creator.
A1280.	First man (woman).
A1350.+.	Origin of pregnancy. (A1350. Origin of sex functions.)
T517.	Conception from extraordinary intercourse.
T541.5.+.	Birth from man's calf. (T541.5. Birth from man's thigh.)
T615.	Supernatural growth.

23. Omamë Makes His Penis Thinner¹²⁴

Omamë decided to make the end of his penis thinner, for at first he was unable to penetrate the bend of Yoasi's legs. So he started to rub it against some rocks. The grooves can still be seen on certain stones near the rivers.¹²⁵ Thus he made his penis pointed, tapered. You have seen these stones, haven't you, at Makudasihibi¹²⁶ near the river? They have grooves, and those are the traces of Omamë's penis. It was too thick, and so he made it smaller in this way. That is why the Yanomam ever since have had small penises, short penises. Omamë rubbed it against the rocks, and then he made an orifice in it with a pointed piece of wood: *hoshshshsh*! That is what happened. Those smooth stones with grooves on them can be seen in many places now.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Motif content

A972.5.	Indentions on rocks from marks of various persons.
A1660.+.	Why Yanomami have small penises. (A1660. Characteristics of various peoples—in personal appearance.)

24. The Festival People Have Intercourse

It was not while they were eating food. Even though there was no food at all, the ancestors held a festival. Since they were holding a festival, Petanysy thought: "Hey, there's no food. What in the world are they going to eat at the festival?" That was what he was thinking: that it was surprising that they were holding a festival. It caused the hungry Petanysy to wonder: "What is this? What do they intend to eat?"

Then some of the festival people had intercourse—on the underside of the knee joint. But others said: "Later on they'll do this disgusting thing." The ancestors, the festival people, said this and Soawy (Omawy's twin brother) said: "Oh! Not like that!"

Informant: Makosi

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

T460.+ . Intercourse with leg. (T460. Sexual perversions.)

25. The Origin of Women¹²⁷

Long ago, far over there, lived the first Sanema whom Omas had created. Way over there beyond them there were the bat¹²⁸ people. Although the bat people had no women, although little Waso¹²⁹ had no wife, they copulated a lot. Being only men and having no wives they copulated on the calves of other men. Their calves became pregnant and that way they had children.

It was the *koli*¹³⁰ people who created women. They knew all about women. They came to visit the bat people and noticed them copulating on the calf. "Kì!" they said. "That's bad, that's wrong, you shouldn't copulate on the calf," they said. They looked about, everyone had a penis! "There's no woman! That's why they do it. Look, if you copulate on the calf and then, with a pregnant calf, you chase after the spoor of animals, you may kill the child," they said.

The *koli* people pulled off a penis: *tan!* "Look!" they said. They pierced a hole where the penis had been and thus made a vagina. Farther down, round here, they made another hole, the anus. "Here!" said the *koli* people. "This hole here is where to copulate,

not the calf," they said, indicating the vagina. So the bat people began to copulate: *glos! glos! glos!* "Yes, *mmmm!* Thank you," they said.

Those *koli* people were chiefs, those ones with the red beaks. That red on the beaks is the result of their piercing the vagina; it's the women's blood. It was from the bat people that the Sanema took their women. They already knew all about penises. And so they copulated and had children. That's how the Sanema came to be as they are today, as the men created more children.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 38–39.

Summary

Primeval men are without women. Birds create women by tearing off some men's penises and piercing hole for vagina.

Motif content

A13.2.	Bird as creator.
A1210.	Creation of man by creator.
A1275.	Creation of first man's (woman's) mate.
A1280.	First man (woman).
A2343.2.	Why bird's beak is colored.
T517.	Conception from extraordinary intercourse.
T541.5.+.	Birth from man's calf. (T541.5. Birth from man's thigh.)

26. The First Women

It was back there, in that direction, that the leg of Crested Oropendola got pregnant long ago, and the ancestors multiplied. The Yanomami did not yet exist as a people; all together there only existed two men. They never thought: "What if we used the orifice through which we excrete?" Oropendola copulated in the hollow under his companion's toe. "I need to have sex!" he exclaimed. Then he stuck his penis into the hollow under the toe, and that was how he copulated. The fleshy mass of the leg began to swell; the calf was pregnant.

Oropendola's leg was pregnant; a child was going to be born. Soon the calf burst open and the child emerged. "Is it a boy?" "No, it's a girl." He cut the umbilical cord and laid the baby against him in the hammock. The infant was fed water. Very soon she became a clever person, knowing the world and how to behave. The man who

had given birth to her took her as his wife; she slept next to him. When she had her first menstruation he deflowered her. Soon another child was born, another girl. This time the bachelor married her, and thus they multiplied.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A1275.	Creation of first man's (woman's) mate.
A1277.	Offspring of first parents.
A1280.	First man (woman).
T517.	Conception from extraordinary intercourse.
T541.5. +.	Birth from man's calf. (T541.5. Birth from man's thigh.)

27. The First Women

It was back there that the leg of Crested Oropendola was pregnant long ago. People multiplied because he had had sex with the leg, in the hollow of the big toe. The leg got pregnant in the place where the calf forms a muscular mass, where the flesh of the leg expands, spindlelike. The calf swelled, and a girl was born. The man whose leg had been pregnant married her when she was grown; it was he who deflowered her. The one who had engendered her took her as his wife. Then another girl was born. She grew fast, much faster than the children do today, and then the man who had copulated in the hollow of the toe married her. He deflowered her. From the two of them he had numerous offspring. They married one another, and the people multiplied.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A1275.	Creation of first man's (woman's) mate.
A1277.	Offspring of first parents.
A1280.	First man (woman).
T517.	Conception from extraordinary intercourse.
T541.5. +.	Birth from man's calf. (T541.5. Birth from man's thigh.)
T615.	Supernatural growth.

28. Tálmā and Uauamá¹³¹

Even a long time ago there existed a powerful Surára tribe whose families lived in three large, open communal houses. The chief, whose name was Tálmā, was even then curer and shaman at the same time. He had three wives, and all together they had two sons and three daughters. His oldest wife was Xaráima. She had borne him a daughter, Uauamá, who in time had grown into a pretty and clever girl. But her mother, Xaráima, was often noted for her stubborn and quarrelsome behavior. Once when Poré was wandering about on the earth in the form of a man he visited one of the Surára's houses and asked for shelter overnight, which was granted him. The next morning, since the chief was away, he gave the latter's wife Xaráima a small water turtle¹³² and asked her to keep it for him until his return. But the woman did not think of this. However, she did tell her husband about it, also mentioning the visitor's wish regarding the water turtle. The chief agreed to respect it, for he probably suspected who the visitor was. But when her husband went out hunting again, Xaráima killed the turtle. She was about to prepare it for a meal when a thunderstorm appeared, the like of which they had never seen before. A flash of lightning killed the disobedient woman. At the same time the turtle had resuscitated and was crawling around in the house. But the heavy rain did not cease. Soon the nearby river flooded its banks, and many people died. A few who had taken refuge in trees also died, for the water kept on rising. The only tribespeople who were able to escape were the chief Tálmā and his daughter Uauamá. As they sat together in the top of a tall tree, suddenly the water turtle came swimming toward them, the one that had been killed by Xaráima and then resuscitated. It called to them to climb on its back and to stay there until the rain stopped and the water receded. This miraculous rescue, caused by the symbiosis between the animal and the man by the same name, was in fact the work of Poré.

As the father and his daughter searched for their relatives they were forced to conclude that, besides themselves, nobody had survived the catastrophe. Both now began a new life together, accompanied by the water turtle which had remained with them. Tálmā went hunting, and Uauamá gathered fruit and prepared the meals. So once more their daily life was back to normal. But they were sad at having to lead such a lonely life, without even having children around. Using snuff to intoxicate himself Tálmā therefore asked Poré through the Hekura where he might find a wife and his daughter a

husband. Poré replied that he was unable to grant the request just then. But at the same time he advised the man that he and his daughter should sniff *epená* powder¹³³ and then lie down in a hammock to sleep together with the water turtle.

The next morning the turtle was gone. But soon afterward Uauamá felt that she was pregnant. She gave birth to a son who became a famous chief, for after all he had the blood of the moon-god in his veins. Thus the Surára dynasty was saved. A short time afterward Poré saw to it that the souls of many dead Surára were able to leave the paradise of the dead on the moon ahead of time to return to earth so that soon a mighty Surára tribe existed once more.

Informant: Hewemão

Source: Becher 1974, pp. 20–21.

Summary

Chief's wife kills turtle belonging to Poré (moon-god). Flood follows in which everyone is drowned except chief and his daughter, who are saved by resuscitated turtle. All three now live together. In response to plea by chief, Poré impregnates latter's daughter, and then sends souls of dead Surára back to earth to renew population.

Motif content

A125.	Deity in human form.
A182.3.5.	God advises mortal.
A185.2.	Deity protects mortal.
A753.	Moon as a person.
A753.1.5.	Moon and mortal have child.
A1005.	Preservation of life during world calamity.
A1006.	Renewal of world after world calamity.
A1006.1.	New race from single pair (or several) after world calamity.
A1018.	Flood as punishment.
B176.+.	Magic turtle. (B176. Magic reptile.)
B192.	Magic animal killed.
B491.5.	Helpful turtle (tortoise).
B540.	Animal rescuer or retriever.
B551.	Animal carries man across water.
C50.	Tabu: offending the gods.
D2141.	Storm produced by magic.
E3.	Dead animal comes to life.
E481.8.2.	Moon as land of dead.
K1811.	Gods (saints) in disguise visit mortals.

N817.0.1.	God as helper.
Q552.1.	Death by thunderbolt as punishment.
R311.	Tree refuge.

29. Yuri and Marawö

The Ironasitéri lived in two large, open communal houses. Their name is derived from *iró*,¹³⁴ howler monkey, to whom they feel related. That is why it is forbidden to kill and eat these monkeys.

The chief's name was Iró, and he was shaman and curer at the same time. However, he was also a wicked, bloodthirsty, and violent man who terrorized not only his wives and children but the entire tribe. The oldest wife, Yuri, whom he had abducted from the Paraworí enemy tribe, was beautiful, patient, and kindhearted. She had a son, Marawö, who was as kind as his mother and who was very attached to her. By three other wives he had two sons, and two more wives had one daughter each.

One day the Ironasitéri's house was visited by an old man who had a little howler monkey with him and who asked to be allowed to stay overnight. The chief granted his request and gave him a place near the fire. The following morning the old man thanked him and asked if the chief could keep and care for the little monkey until his next visit. The chief agreed. But it annoyed him to see his wife and the children so happy over the monkey and constantly caressing him. The women even took turns suckling him. In particular Yuri and her son Marawö had become very fond of the little animal.

One night Yuri began to menstruate, and the flow was so heavy that the blood seeped through the hammock and dripped onto the ground. At once the little howler monkey ran over there, drank the blood, and began to scream loudly and joyfully. This made the chief so furious that he picked up the animal and shook him violently, threw him to the ground, and began to hit him. His wife Yuri wanted to protect the monkey, but the chief beat her, too, with great brutality. Then he picked up a stick and hit the little monkey on the head until he had killed him. His rage was so extreme that he subsequently wanted to beat Yuri to death with the stick as well. But in the meantime little Marawö had taken his bow and arrows, and he shot his father before the latter could give Yuri the final death blow.

At that moment a terrible thunderstorm began, and the wounded chief was struck by a flash of lightning. As he fell dead to the ground the monkey came back to life. The raindrops caused him to grow surprisingly quickly.¹³⁵

After only a few moments he was a giant who took Yuri and her son Marawö on his left arm and turned them into little howler monkeys. Then, using his right hand, he climbed up a tall tree and jumped from treetop to treetop. Meanwhile the rain did not let up. The entire earth was already a single huge lake which rose higher and higher, drowning all the Ironasitéri and the neighboring tribes.

But the gigantic monkey managed to escape with Yuri and Marawö and reach the last top of a high mountain, the home of the *hekúla*.¹³⁶ Yuri and Marawö, who appeared tiny next to the huge plant and animal spirits, were thus the only human beings to survive the violent rain and the great flood.

After the rain had ceased and the masses of water had run off the howler monkey once more took mother and son on his left arm and descended with them to the forest, where he jumped from treetop to treetop until he reached the house of the Ironasitéri. Shortly after arrival he turned back into the little monkey he had been, and his companions once more became human beings.

Yuri and Marawö were surprised that there were already plants and animals on the earth again, but they did not find any other people.

At first their life, which they shared with the little monkey, was very harmonious. While Marawö went hunting, Yuri gathered fruit and took care of the household. She was happy to be free of her cruel husband who had constantly beaten and mistreated her.

As time passed, however, this life all by themselves began to seem monotonous. Yuri wanted another child, for after all she was still young enough. Now she prepared some snuff and blew some of it into her son's nose after explaining to him how he could contact Poré through the *hekúla* and ask him for more people to be brought to earth. Contact was established, and Poré told him to spend the coming night in the hammock together with his mother and the little monkey.

When Yuri and Marawö woke up the next morning the monkey was gone. After some time Yuri realized that she had become pregnant.

She was delivered of a son with the help of Marawö, kneeling in the forest in front of a tree which she clung to. At the same time a

violent rainstorm began. But the drops were actually blood, and from them came Yanonámi, men and women, boys and girls.

Now life continued as it had previously been. There were friendly tribes and enemy tribes, and when the little son of Yuri and Marawö was grown he became chief.

Informant: Ceará

Source: Becher 1974, pp. 23–25.

Summary

Jealous of attention lavished by his wives on pet monkey, cruel chief kills animal. When he also threatens his wife Yuri, her son Marawö shoots him. As heavy rainfall begins, flooding earth and killing all life, monkey resuscitates and carries Yuri and Marawö to mountaintop. Subsequently the three live together, as sole survivors of flood. In time, responding to their pleas, Poré causes Yuri to become pregnant, and repopulates earth with Yanonámi.

Motif content

A182.3.5.	God advises mortal.
A630.+.	Second creation of man. (A630. Series of creations.)
A1005.	Preservation of life during world calamity.
A1006.	Renewal of world after world calamity.
A1018.	Flood as punishment.
A1022.	Escape from deluge on mountain.
A1263.1.	Man created from blood.
A1611.+.	Origin of the Yanomami. (A1611. Origin of particular tribes.)
B180.+.	Magic monkey. (B180. Magic quadrupeds.)
B192.	Magic animal killed.
B441.1.	Helpful monkey.
B540.	Animal rescuer or retriever.
B551.	Animal carries man across water.
B871.2.+.	Giant monkey. (B871.2. Giant wild beasts.)
C221.1.+.	Tabu: eating monkey. (C221.1. Tabu: eating flesh of certain animal.)
C841.+.	Tabu: killing monkey. (C841. Tabu: killing certain animals.)
D118.2.	Transformation: man (woman) to monkey.
D437.+.	Transformation: blood to person. (D437. Transformation: part of animal or person to person.)
D630.	Transformation and disenchantment at will.
D631.2.	Animal's size changed at will.

D642.	Transformation to escape difficult situation.
D902.	Magic rain.
D905.	Magic storm.
E3.	Dead animal comes to life.
F408. +.	Home of spirits on mountain top. (F408. Habitation of spirit.)
F440.	Vegetation spirits.
F490. +.	Animal spirits. (F490. Other spirits and demons.)
F962.4.	Shower of blood.
F983.0.1.	Extraordinary quick growth of animal.
P231.	Mother and son.
Q285.	Cruelty punished.
Q552.1.	Death by thunderbolt as punishment.
R311.	Tree refuge.
S11.	Cruel father.
S62.	Cruel husband.
T412.	Mother-son incest.

30. Iró and Yuri

The Ironasitéri lived in two large, open communal houses. Their name is derived from *iró*,¹³⁷ howler monkey, to whom they feel related. For that reason they are not allowed to kill and eat these monkeys.

Iró, however, was also the name of the chief, who was both shaman and curer at the same time. He had four wives. The oldest, Kuremá, died shortly after the birth of their daughter Yuri. The next two wives, Kuxemá and Maremá, each brought a son into the world, and the youngest, Xinari, was still childless.

Yuri was a very pretty and clever girl. Since she had lost her mother, her father loved her particularly, and spoiled her. His sons, on the other hand, were malicious and unpleasant, and their father therefore did not feel much affection for them. For this reason they and their mothers were very jealous of Yuri, and whenever the father was away they beat and tormented the little girl. She was too kindhearted, however, and did not tell her father that she was always being mistreated.

One day an old man came to the house, bringing with him a little howler monkey. He asked for shelter for the night, which the chief readily gave him. In return he gave little Yuri his monkey the next

morning and asked her always to treat the animal well. Yuri was overjoyed, and the little monkey became her dearest possession.

When the day of her first menstruation came she was obliged to be away from the monkey for a few days, for she had to spend this time all alone in the group's menstruation hut. Kuxemá, her father's second wife, painted her with the red plant dye urucú,¹³⁸ after which she used a pupunha palm thorn to tattoo on the girl's upper lip the characteristic dotted symbolic moon crescent which all Yanonámi women have.¹³⁹

Until the end of her menstruation the little girl now had to sit all by herself in the hut, and was only allowed to eat two calabashes of banana soup daily. She could stand the hunger pangs, but she found the separation from her little monkey much harder.

The chief's two wicked sons, Koró and Maratí, now did a terrible thing. At a moment Kuxemá was absent they killed the little howler monkey, and then they burned him and put the ashes from his bones into the banana soup that had been prepared for Yuri.

When the unsuspecting woman had brought her stepdaughter her soup and Yuri had taken the first sip, the sky suddenly turned black. A flash of lightning came down, killing both the stepmother and the chief's two sons who were lurking outside the door to watch Yuri drink the howler monkey's ashes. At the same time a heavy rain began to fall.

Little Yuri remained unharmed, sitting in the middle of the hut as though petrified. But at the moment her stepmother and her two stepbrothers fell dead to the ground the howler monkey suddenly came back to life. Taking Yuri by the hand he led her out into the rain. The raindrops made the little monkey grow so incredibly fast¹⁴⁰ that in only a few moments he had become a giant howler monkey, more than life size. Lifting Yuri up on his left arm he rapidly scaled a tall tree, and from there he jumped from treetop to treetop with the help of branches and lianas.

Meanwhile the rain kept pouring down with unimagined violence. Soon the entire earth was a gigantic lake which rose higher and higher and in which all the Ironasitéri and the people from the neighboring tribes drowned.

Suddenly Yuri and the howler monkey saw the chief Iró sitting atop the highest tree. He had been surprised by the rain during a hunt and was now clinging to this treetop. But he too was threatened with drowning, for the water was already up to his shoulders.

The huge howler monkey took Iró on his left arm as well and continued to jump from treetop to treetop with father and daughter, who had been transformed into howler monkeys of normal size. Eventually he reached a high mountain, the home of the *hekúla*, enormous animal and plant spirits.¹⁴¹ Here they were finally safe from the flood which had destroyed all life on earth.

After the rain had stopped the big monkey carried father and daughter, who were still in the form of howler monkeys, back to their house on earth. As they entered the house he once more turned into the little monkey that he had been before.

After Iró and Yuri had looked around both in their near and distant surroundings they realized that besides themselves nobody had survived the disaster. But to their surprise there were already animals and plants again.

Thus they were able to start a new life, together with the little howler monkey. Gradually they regained their reason as well as their speech, and turned into people again. While Iró went hunting Yuri gathered fruit, fetched wood, and prepared the meals.

But they felt lonely, and were sad that they lived alone on the earth and that, because of the incest tabu, they could not even have children.

Iró had again prepared some snuff¹⁴² for himself, and after he had taken some of it and was intoxicated he asked Poré, through the *hekúla*, to send him a wife and his daughter a husband. Poré informed him that it was still too early for this. However, he also advised Iró to lie down in the hammock together with his daughter and the little monkey, to take some snuff, and to sleep.

The following morning the monkey was gone. But soon after, Yuri became pregnant, and she had a son. Her delivery took place in the forest, with Yuri kneeling before a tree, assisted by her father. During it large quantities of blood trickled down from the sky, and for the second time Yanonámi were created from it. Life became normal again. Yuri's little son later became a brave chief who led his tribe to fame and glory.

Informant: Renato

Source: Becher 1974, pp. 21-23.

Summary

Two wicked boys kill their sister's pet monkey and trick her into eating ashes. Great rainstorm begins, flooding earth and drowning nearly all people. Sole survivors, girl (Yurí) and her father (Iró), are saved by monkey who has resuscitated. After intervention by Poré (rain deity) Yurí gives birth to son while blood drips from sky, turning into Yanonámi. Earth is repopulated.

Motif content

A182.3.5.	God advises mortal.
A630.+.	Second creation of man. (A630. Series of creations.)
A1005.	Preservation of life during world calamity.
A1006.	Renewal of world after world calamity.
A1018.	Flood as punishment.
A1022.	Escape from deluge on mountain.
A1263.1.	Man created from blood.
A1611.+.	Origin of the Yanomami. (A1611. Origin of particular tribes.)
B180.+.	Magic monkey. (B180. Magic quadrupeds.)
B192.	Magic animal killed.
B441.1.	Helpful monkey.
B540.	Animal rescuer or retriever.
B551.	Animal carries man across water.
B871.2.+.	Giant monkey. (B871.2. Giant wild beasts.)
C221.1.+.	Tabu: eating monkey. (C221.1. Tabu: eating flesh of certain animal.)
C841.+.	Tabu: killing monkey. (C841. Tabu: killing certain animals.)
D118.2.	Transformation: man (woman) to monkey.
D437.+.	Transformation: blood to person. (D437. Transformation: part of animal or person to person.)
D630.	Transformation and disenchantment at will.
D631.2.	Animal's size changed at will.
D642.	Transformation to escape difficult situation.
D902.	Magic rain.
D905.	Magic storm.
E3.	Dead animal comes to life.
F408.+.	Home of spirits on mountain top. (F408. Habitation of spirit.)
F962.4.	Shower of blood.
F983.0.1.	Extraordinary quick growth of animal.
Q285.	Cruelty punished.
Q552.1.	Death by thunderbolt as punishment.

R311.	Tree refuge.
S31.	Cruel stepmother.
S73.	Cruel brother (sister).
W181.	Jealousy.

31. The Flood

The immense sheet of underground water had burst forth and created a flood, carrying with it the Waika. It was over there, in that direction, that it caught them and carried them off. Elsewhere, people asked one another about the advance of the waters: "They say the water is coming. It carries people off. Apparently it is flowing toward us!" In every place where Yanomami were living they were carried off. The water did not advance very fast; it rose slowly. Everywhere the song of the brown tinamous could be heard, accompanying the flood of which they are a manifestation. The water began to approach. "My son, go again and see where the water is." They went to look and did not return until evening. The brown tinamous were singing all around. "The water is still far away from here." "What a misfortune!" The Yanomami were perplexed; they did not know what to do. When the flood was even closer someone said: "My son, now, now, the water is near. Now the caiman spirit rejoices." Again they went to see. The trees did not fall right away; the earth crumbled under them, and they slowly began to lean.

"Come on, let's go to Mount Maiyō!" decided the people. They set out. "That's where we must go," they thought, and they were right. They lost no time. They carried with them plantain and taro plants and cuttings of manioc, making several journeys to pile them up on the mountain. There they kept them with the intention of planting again after the flood had ended. Now the water was very near them; the earth was crumbling, and the trees were falling everywhere. The sign of the flood was the incessant singing of the tinamous which preceded it. "Let's go back and see!" "It's very near." "What a misfortune, how sad! Let's leave, there's nothing else to do. Let's go to Mount Maiyō."

They took refuge on the mountain. The water surrounded them and continued to rise, threatening to reach the top. An old man advised a shaman: "With the help of the caiman spirit, stop the flow of the water by cutting it off." They realized that if the water continued

to rise it would submerge the mountain on which they had taken refuge. Then they thought that it was demanding a human sacrifice, and they decided to offer it an old woman. They did not dare to tell her son right away. But did they think that that woman had gone with them to seek refuge on the mountain and that, like them, she would wait for the disaster to end? She had said to herself: "I'll wait there." Half of Mount Maiyō was already under water, and people who had been carried away by the current were floating past them. As they disappeared into the distance they would announce where they came from: "We are the people of Shitoshito passing by!" Perched on floating tree trunks they went past, one after the other; they did not drown at once. "We are Waika passing by!" "We are the people of Hayoari passing by!" They drifted slowly, all calling out in the same way. Dead bodies also passed, floating corpses of drowned people, already stiff, slowly drifting along.

When the people stopped floating past them only the top of the mountain was still above water. They had taken refuge at the foot of the sheer rock, gathering on the last flat areas where it was still possible to hold on. "What will become of us?" They did not dare to tell the son outright of the decision they had just taken, and asked him in a roundabout way: "What shall we do? Will you and I remain alone?" What they meant was: "Will we remain alone without your mother?" But as the water grew ever more threatening they made up their minds, and one of them told the son in a ritual manner:

You and I
Will remain alone.
We must satisfy
This cannibal water.

So saying they drew curving lines around the old woman's eyes. Her son hesitated and seemed to hold back. They went past him and threw the old woman into the water. In the place where she fell, around her hair which floated for a moment, eddies formed, like a reflection of her hair. Then whirlpools appeared and the eddies multiplied; the water was finally running off. Soon Mount Maiyō could be seen in its entirety, rising up above the surrounding land which from then on also was above water. Our ancestors felt immensely happy; it was the end of the flood.

That was how it happened. Our ancestors did unusual things. I see them in my dreams.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

People take refuge on mountain to escape flood. After they throw old woman into water it recedes.

Motif content

A1005.	Preservation of life during world calamity.
A1010.	Deluge.
A1022.	Escape from deluge on mountain.
B147.2.	Birds furnish omens.
D1766.2.	Magic results produced by sacrifices.
D2151.0.2.	Waters made to dry up.
J710.	Forethought in provision for food.
S260.1.	Human sacrifice.

32. The Great Flood

Mauñene was looking for crabs. He pulled a stone out of the earth, whereupon water flowed out, first only a little, a small stream, then more and more. It flooded the earth and covered the trees, rising above the mountains. The animals died. Even the high mountains were under water. All the animals were dead except the parrot, for he could fly, and thus he reached the highest mountain. The hawk, too, could fly and also reached the highest mountain. A man, too, a chief, remained on the mountain, and along with him a woman and a maiden who was beautifully painted. The father ordered the girl to let herself fall into the water. The girl jumped into the water and died. The man (Pata) and the woman were alone on the mountain. When the girl died in the water, the water level began to sink. The man and the woman remained on the mountain until the water had dried up, and then they descended. These people are called Pata Köbe.

Informant: Pedro

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 148.

Motif content

A1010.	Deluge.
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A1016.+.	Flood caused by water gushing out of hole in earth. (A1016. Pseudo-scientific explanations of the flood.)
A1022.	Escape from deluge on mountain.
A1028.	Bringing deluge to end.
D1766.2.	Magic results produced by sacrifices.
D2151.0.2.	Waters made to dry up.
S260.1.	Human sacrifice.
S263.5.	Sacrificial suicide.

33. The Flood, and the Origin of Foreigners¹⁴³

In primeval times the inhabitants of the hill Hayowari near the headwaters of the Hwara u¹⁴⁴ were transformed. It was the rainy season, as it is now. The sky had been clouded since dawn, and a great mist blanketed the central plaza of the communal house.¹⁴⁵ A *reahu* festival was drawing to a close, and the inhabitants of Hayowari were engaged in a *yāimu* ceremonial dialogue with their guests.¹⁴⁶ They had inhaled the *yākōana* hallucinogen,¹⁴⁷ blowing it in one another's nostrils: *shai wa! shai wa! shai wa! asiatakē aaaaa!*¹⁴⁸ They were thus carrying on the dialogue in a state of great exaltation: "A! Ē! A! Ē! A! Ē!"

Certain partners were quick to engage in a ritual duel,¹⁴⁹ first striking one another on the side of the body with the open hand—*bai! bai! bai!*—then on the chest using their fists: *thikē wa! thikē wa! thikē wa!* A man from the community was confronting some guests who had thrown away the *rasha* palm shoots that he had recently planted.¹⁵⁰ His opponents were hitting him hard, and he was screaming: "Aaaaa!" His brother-in-law was in seclusion with his young wife who was just having her first menstruation; he was also in a ritual state of puberty.¹⁵¹ They were far away from where the *yākōana* snuff was being dispensed.¹⁵² They were both secluded in a small hut made of *yābīhihanakē* leaves¹⁵³ that was built in the communal house, with their hammocks one above the other. She had just had her first menstruation; her blood was very new. The man had married her when she was very young.

Seeing her son overcome by his opponents his mother hurried toward the menstruation hut and called to his brother-in-law in seclusion: "They are beating your brother-in-law! Avenge him! Aē!" She pressed him to get out of the hut and enter into the fray to relieve his wife's brother.¹⁵⁴ He got out angrily and began to fight in his

ritual state of puberty. Suddenly a deep darkness spread everywhere. While they were still fighting in a hallucinogen-induced stupor, a mighty gush of water burst out with a roar from the foot of the hill Hayowari: *houuuuuu!* The forest was plunged into profound darkness. This flood from the underworld¹⁵⁵ quickly approached and submerged the communal house and destroyed the ground of the forest surrounding it: *houuuuuu!*

The house was broken up at once—*houuuuuukë!*—and carried off by the water with its residents as they kept up their ceremonial dialogue: “A! Ė! A! Ė! A! Ė! Bai! Bai! Bai!” All that remained where the house had stood was a lake. This lake is still over there where it happened. The inhabitants of Hayowari were transformed not very long ago. The posts of the house also remained in this place, on the bank. When the waters burst forth some terrified people tried to flee into the forest and were transformed into deer and jaguars; others who tried to climb up into the trees were either turned into termites’ nests¹⁵⁶ stuck on the ground or to the trunks at different heights, or were transformed into sloths and anteaters¹⁵⁷ climbing in the branches. The immense wave of water rapidly spread out into the distance. Only an old shaman and his shaman wife succeeded in cutting the waters—*weki! weki! weki!*—and keeping the ground from breaking up by using their spirit helpers: “*Tukrei a! Tukrei a! Tukrei a! Bati a! Bati a! Bati a!*”¹⁵⁸ The streams swirled and separated around them. All the rest of the people were carried far away downstream where the waters finally became a large, slow-moving river. Only a mealy parrot¹⁵⁹ remained, perched on the thinnest branches in the top of a tree where the stream got wider. The Yanomam who were swept away by the flood were devoured by giant otters and black caimans,¹⁶⁰ although they tried to swim in the waters. A bloody foam covered the water and was carried downriver by the current.

Downstream, where the celestial layer curves toward the earth, lived Remori,¹⁶¹ a supernatural being. He lived where the earth was made only of sand, where the land is soft, where there were no waters.¹⁶² The flood reached him and began to slow down. Then Remori placed himself in front of the waters and interrupted their course, at the end of the earth, where the celestial level is attached, toward sunrise. He interposed himself, linked the waters together, and made them hurtle down into the underworld.¹⁶³ He began to gather the foam from the blood of the inhabitants of Hayowari on the surface of the waters. Little by little he collected it in his cupped hands, which he then raised to his mouth. He uttered his word, giving life to the bloody foam, and thus the bits of foam became people again. That was how he caused the foreigners to be born.

In this manner he gathered all the bloody foam that covered the vast river, letting none of it escape. Each time he raised it before his lips and uttered its word. Thus Remori transmitted his word to the foreigners whom he was giving life. That was how he gave his inarticulate word to the new people, a word as incomprehensible as the buzzing of the *remoremoreashi* hornet: *Rorororororororo!*¹⁶⁴ He did it the way you make your song machine¹⁶⁵ speak, making it name things in Yanomam. He taught his word like that.

That was how Ramori created the foreigners. Do you not have a ghostlike language? We, whose ancestors were not carried off by the flood, speak straight. Some of the inhabitants of Hayowari were not washed away, and their descendants still live there, near the headwaters of the Hwara u. The great river in which the Yanomam were transformed also still exists. They transformed near the headwaters of the Hwara u, and the waters spread out in the distance to form the Kokoi u River¹⁶⁶ which flows far away, all the way to Manasho.¹⁶⁷ Previously there were no foreigners; it was Remori who created them. In those early times Remori was the only foreigner. He was a supernatural being. He transformed the inhabitants of Hayowari into foreigners like himself, into white people. Do they not fly now? You do the things the way Remori did, you make things to be named. It was Remori who made you think straight; do you not think this way now? Over there in the highlands¹⁶⁸ people did not know about things. It was Remori who made them wise. It was he who had them make the radios and the manufactured objects. He made people to live with them. That was how the ancestors were; they transformed into foreigners. They were Yanomam but they were washed away by the flood and became foreigners. Those who were transformed on the Kokoi u were real foreigners; they still lived close to the Yanomam.¹⁶⁹ Your people were carried farther. You traveled beyond these foreigners who stayed nearby, downstream on the Kokoi u. You went very far away! Very far! You are obviously *kraiwa* foreigners.¹⁷⁰

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Great flood carries off people because of breach of puberty seclusion. Those who manage to escape are transformed, and people washed away by waters are devoured by animals. Supernatural creature gathers bloody foam floating on water and from it creates new non-Yanomam people.

Motif content

A920.1.0.1.	Origin of particular lake.
A920.1.8.1.	Lake from violating tabu.
A930.	Origin of streams.
A934.9.	Stream unexpectedly bursts from side of mountain.
A1010.	Deluge.
A1018.1.	Flood as punishment for breaking tabu.
A1263.1.	Man created from blood.
A1430.+.	Origin of manufactured objects. (A1430. Acquisition of other necessities.)
A1614.9.	Origin of white man.
C141.+.	Tabu: husband going forth during wife's first menses. (C141. Tabu: going forth during menses.)
D100.	Transformation: man to animal.
D200.+.	Transformation: man to termites' nest. (D200. Transformation: man to object.)
D522.	Transformation through magic word (charm).
D908.	Magic darkness.
D1005.	Magic breath.
D1784.	Magic results from breathing.
D2151.	Magic control of waters.
D2178.5.	People created by magic.
F136.1.	Otherworld in east.
F162.6.	Lakes in otherworld.
Q552.20.1.	Miraculous darkness as punishment.
R311.	Tree refuge.
R312.	Forest as refuge.

Commentary on the Return of the Foreigners¹⁷¹

Did they not become foreigners like that! They became foreigners, and here you are. Do not think that you have another origin. These people transformed into foreigners and made children, and they are the *kraiwa* people who are living now. Remori made them disperse in all directions. He said: "You must disperse in all directions!" And as he told them, they began to live, moving upstream from Manasho. They dispersed as he said: are not *kraiwa* people living in the direction of the Amatheribē?¹⁷² Remori said: "You must go back to live where you came from!" Having said that he made some suggestions regarding manufactured goods: "These things you will give away among the people there!" He sent them back: "You shall go where you came from and then you will give presents to your people who remained there!" That was how Remori talked. He gave them trade goods and said: "These people are your people: you shall go back and give them presents! Those are the people who remained behind! Don't be hostile to them!" He

also said: "You shall go back and give metal tools to all of them; they lack tools there!" That was how he sent the foreigners in the direction of the highlands to live where the Yanomam live. But although Remori made this suggestion, unfortunately you *kraiwa* people are stingy! You are ignorant, that is why you are stingy. "To ask for food is bad!" That is how you speak. That is because you do not know. We ask for these things of yours and unfortunately you do not answer. Instead of being stingy, why do you not think: "Yes, these people are the ones who remained after we transformed!" Remori said: "You will give gifts to those who remained. We won't be stingy; they lack these things, that's all." But although he spoke like that, you *kraiwa* people are stingy. He said: "When they ask for it you shall give them! Don't be stingy!" Did Remori not send you to live here; did he not send the people who lived near him to our land? He said: "You shall go back to live over there, close to the people that you come from. You shall go back and give gifts to your 'other selves' who stayed there! Don't be stingy! They are your people! They lack these things that you have; that's why they ask for them!" Although he spoke like that to *kraiwa* people they turned out to be different, to be stingy: "No! No! No!"¹⁷³ is what they answer when we say: "Why don't you give me a shirt!"¹⁷⁴ That is other people, but you are generous. They are stingy with shirts, with aluminum pots. They give some hammocks, but old ones, bad ones, full of holes. They pretend to give a good hammock, hiding the holes, folding up the hammock like that. They put it quickly in a bag for us to think that it is a good one; that is how they cheat us. And they give us orders endlessly to work for them, to cut firewood, to work in their garden, to bring them bananas and sugarcane, all the time.

34. The Origin of the Foreigners

Long ago it was that Omao let out the Sanema.¹⁷⁵ There were no tracks in those days. Omao came upon a big rock, he opened it, and many foreigners were inside. They looked out at him. They were very friendly. They had airplanes, and clothes, and books. They had hats on. So Omao left that one open.

He came on another rock and he opened that one too. There were many fierce foreigners in that one. They were killing each other with big spears: *gloso! gloso! gloso!* He closed the rock on them.

Farther on there was another rock. He opened it. These people were really fierce too, shooting off arrows all the time. He closed the rock on them too. Those foreigners were called the *holema* people.¹⁷⁶

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 53.

Motif content

- A1230.+ White men emerge from rock. (A1230. Emergence or descent of first man to earth.)
- A1614.9. Origin of white man.

35. The Return of the Ghosts and the Origin of Death¹⁷⁷

After the death of several Yanomam the members of their community organized a ceremonial hunting expedition in order to gather the smoked game and fruits destined for the funeral ceremony.¹⁷⁸ Orange-Winged Parrot¹⁷⁹ had climbed up into a tree some distance from the hunting camp and was cutting its branches to gather *momo* fruits:¹⁸⁰ *hē! krai! krai! thou! thou!* Suddenly he heard from afar the ghosts of the dead noisily traveling toward the forest camp: *ha! ha! ha! aē! tho! tho! tho! hōōōōō! wa tarai! wa tarai!* They were speaking animatedly: "It's in that direction! That's the way! We came that way!" "Yes, that's the path! That's where we were before! We'll go back and settle there again!" The revenants were homesick and had returned to the world of the living while the latter were preparing to organize the ceremonial burial of their ashes.¹⁸¹ Surprised and frightened, Orange-Winged Parrot cried: "*Waaa!*"¹⁸² *Kurekrāo! Krāo! Krāo!* You dare to return while we are gathering *momo* fruits for your funeral! Just when we are about to eat your funeral meat!" He blamed them because he was furious over this untimely return. He wanted their funerary ashes to be buried in their absence. In order to warn the others he called: "*Waaa! Kurekrāo! Krāo! Krāo!* Look, the ghosts are coming back here!"

The revenants, who had descended from the sky only a short time after the death of the humans they emanated from, now began to settle down in their relatives' forest camp as if nothing had happened. A girl left the group of ghosts and went to sit in the hammock of her mother, who embraced her emotionally. The other ghosts slung their hammocks, put down their arrows, and began to cut stakes and gather large *ruruasēhanakē*¹⁸³ leaves in order to construct shelters for themselves—*hē! tho! tho! tho! wa tarai! wa tarai! wa tarai!*—all the while joyously recalling similar camps in the past: "This is where I used to stay!" "My shelter used to be here!" "My place is here!" "Mine is over there!" The ghost girl who had just

found her mother again began to ask her about the signs of mourning that she wore: "Mother, what did you use to blacken your cheeks like that?"¹⁸⁴ Embarrassed, the mother replied with a lie: "Your brother is really stupid! This morning he rubbed my cheeks with charcoal." The gourd containing the girl's ashes was attached to a stake near the mother's fire. Now she began to ask about her own ashes with the same unfortunate ignorance:¹⁸⁵ "Mother! What is that gourd in a small open work basket attached to a stake over there?"¹⁸⁶ What does it contain" Again the mother lied to avoid telling her the truth: "It's nothing. Your brother filled it with ashes from the hearth, just out of mischief!" The ghost girl kept frightening her mother with her questions: "Mother! Why are you crying?" She lied again: "That's nothing. Some ants bit me in the eye, that's all." On the ground, enclosed in a basket, was a great tinamou.¹⁸⁷ The girl continued to question her mother: "What is that strange thing in the basket?" Her mother answered: "Don't you recognize your brother's pet bird?"

In the meantime the other revenants were pursuing their tasks, going back and forth in the camp and noisily handling the leaves and stakes they had gathered to build their own forest shelters: *hē!* *wa tarai! wa tarai! wa tarai!* The great tinamou was shut up inside a worn openwork basket nearby. Finally they caught it as they walked past it. Frightened by the uproar—*hē! towa! towa! towa!*—the bird suddenly escaped, beating its wings heavily: *hututututu!* The loud sound frightened the revenants in turn. They thought it was the call of a supernatural being in the forest, and quickly gathered to flee to the back of the sky: *houuuuu!* Suddenly the camp fell silent once more. The grieving mother tried to embrace her daughter to hold her back when the ghosts fled, but in vain. All she found in her empty hands was a piece of charcoal. All the revenants had returned to the back of the sky by climbing up the thick *boriborithotho* liana¹⁸⁸ which connected the sky with the earth and on which they had been able to return here. This liana hung from the chest of the sky down to where the sources of the rivers are.¹⁸⁹ It was the path of the revenants.

The inhabitants of the camp also had a mealy parrot¹⁹⁰ as a pet bird. It was perched on a piece of wood on the ground. This parrot suddenly flew after the fleeing ghosts, and behind them, with a single chop of its beak, it cut the liana that had permitted their untimely return: *krēssssi!* The severed liana fell to the ground—*thikē!*—and the revenants could no longer climb down to earth again. At first, thanks to this liana, they had been constantly returning to earth to

visit the living. The mealy parrot cut their path and it remained severed; the ghosts no longer come back. They no longer know the terrestrial layer. In primeval times when they did not stay on the back of the sky, they used to descend to earth. But the mealy parrot cut the liana. If it had not done so the ghosts of our dead relatives would be constantly returning shortly after their death. Now the path of the revenants is severed. They do not come back, ever. If the mealy parrot had not cut the path the ghosts of our dead relatives would keep coming back.¹⁹¹

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary:

Revenants climb down from sky on liana and visit their relatives while latter are gathering food in forest for funeral ceremony. Frightened by sudden sound, they flee back to sky. Parrot follows them and cuts liana, thereby severing revenants' path to earth forever.

Motif content

A1335.	Origin of death.
E300.	Friendly return from the dead.
E324.	Dead child's friendly return to parents.
E481.8.	Land of dead in sky.
E540.+.	Dead person builds house. (E540. Miscellaneous actions of revenants.)
E542.	Dead man touches living.
E545.	The dead speak.
E586.+.	Dead returns soon after death. (E586. Dead returns soon after burial.)
F30.	Inhabitant of upper world visits earth.
F51.	Sky-rope.
F51.+.	Sky-rope cut. (F51. Sky-rope.)
F51.1.2.	Vine as sky-rope.
N681.0.1.	Return home to one's own funeral.

36. The Return of the Ghosts

When the large tinamous take flight they pull the souls toward the big house where they live together.

Death had just decimated the people. Among the survivors, who now occupied only a portion of the circular house, was an old woman. She was in mourning, weighed down by sadness, for she had just burned her daughter, and the basket containing the bones was hanging nearby. The ghosts of the dead had returned, crowding together in the house. "Let's reconstruct the house exactly the way it was before," they decided. They bustled about noisily, clearing the ground.

The young woman had entered at the same time as the ghosts, and had immediately headed toward her mother. Her earlobes were pierced, and in the holes bright red flowers were inserted. Her ears were beautiful. She sat down near her old mother, on the edge of the hammock. "Mother!" Her attentive eyes took in everything. "Mother, what's this? Who burned the place that's covered with leaves?" "Your brother burned the ground." "Mother, who blackened your face?" "Your brother rubbed charcoal on my face this morning." "Mother, what's inside that basket?" "It's a condiment that I'm keeping."

The young woman's baby had begun to suck again. After its mother had disappeared it had had no more milk. Her husband, who had been left alone, was immensely happy to see her again. Now the women went to cut the poles for the roof. Everywhere one could hear shouts; the children were calling one another. They bustled about as if death had not suddenly come upon them. Some people put the rear posts in place, others planted the front posts in the ground. They had finished cutting the poles and beams that they needed; all the wood necessary to reconstruct the house had been brought from the forest. However, at any time the great tinamou might decide that the moment had come. Some people had finished their tasks, others were still wandering about in the forest; he would not take any notice of them. "Place the living areas next to one another, the way they used to be; we'll make the house the same as before," they had decided.

A parrot was quietly perched on its stick. How beautiful the daughter was! Her mother was happy, really very happy, and the young woman had stopped questioning her. But the daughter's eyes and face were the color of that cannibal fire that blazes, that terrifyingly red fire. There was no mistaking it; she looked just like a ghost.

The people were busy assembling and attaching the different parts of the house. Then the great tinamou began to sing. The ghosts went to search for him. An old man among them said: "Children, my chil-

dren, don't you see the great tinamou? He sings. We look for him but he remains invisible; we gather around him and yet we don't see him. I go as near as possible to the spot where his song is coming from and my eyes search for him everywhere, but they don't find him." The great tinamou was perched there openly, in full view, but he was deceiving the eyes of the ghosts. When he suddenly took flight the ghosts were frightened; they simply disappeared and accompanied him up to the sky.

The mother kept her daughter sitting near her on the edge of the hammock, holding her close. But when silence suddenly fell she clasped her arms in vain; only charred wood remained in her hands. At the very moment when the great tinamou had flown up the parrot had answered one of the dead woman's questions, saying: "Those are your burned bones."

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Ghosts of recently dead people visit living. Eventually bird calls them to return to sky.

Motif content

B172.	Magic bird.
D1980.	Magic invisibility.
E300.	Friendly return from the dead.
E323.1.1.	Dead mother returns to suckle child.
E324.	Dead child's friendly return to parents.
E420.	Appearance of revenant.
E421.3.3.	Ghost with glowing face.
E481.8.	Land of dead in sky.
E540.+.	Dead person builds house. (E540. Miscellaneous actions of revenants.)
E542.	Dead man touches living.
E545.	The dead speak.
F30.	Inhabitant of upper world visits earth.
F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.

37. Poré/Perimbó and Karumá (Why Human Beings Can No Longer Shed Their Skin)

Long ago all the Surára and Pakidái and the members of all the other Yanonámi groups had beautifully smooth skin until they

reached old age. In this respect the human skin was like that of the snakes, and like the snakes older people could shed their skin in the river. This was granted them by Poré/Perimbó, the dual-nature moon deity, who himself mostly lives as a *jibóia-vermelha* snake¹⁹² in a lake of blood.

But one day when the old Surára woman Petamí had just shed her skin in the Aracá River her son Karumá suddenly returned from the hunt. At the sight of his mother he was so sexually aroused that he was unable to control his desire, and raped her despite her resistance.

Her loud screams for help were heard by Poré/Perimbó. The goddess immediately came to her aid, took the mother's cast-off skin, and touched the son slightly with it. Suddenly the latter was transformed into a very old woman, and as such he had to die after some time, without being burned afterward.

Poré/Perimbó ordered that because of this incest violation against Karumá's own mother he would no longer be allowed to shed his skin, and from then on also no other human being. Thenceforth the human skin would decay after death. But Poré/Perimbó left people the soul (*uwexík*) which lives in the bones. Assuming that the dead person has committed no capital offense, such as incest, after the burning of the body this soul rises up to the moon with the smoke, and can return to earth after a certain time.

Informant: Hewemão

Source: Becher 1974, p. 29.

Motif content

A132.+.	Moon-god takes form of snake. (A132. God in animal form.)
A240.	Moon-god.
A1319.12.	Originally man rejuvenated himself by snake-like change of skin.
A1319.12.1.	Why man does not change his skin.
A1319.14.	Origin of man's skin.
D56.1.	Transformation to older person.
D1341.+.	Magic skin makes person old. (D1341. Magic object makes person old.)
D1889.6.	Rejuvenation by changing skin.
D1890.	Magic aging.
E481.8.2.	Moon as land of dead.
E714.+.	Soul in bones. (E714. Soul (or life) kept in special part of body.)

E722.	Soul leaves body at death.
F61.3.1.	Ascent to upper world in smoke.
F713.6.	Lake of blood.
N817.0.1.	God as helper.
Q242.	Incest punished.
Q244.	Punishment for ravisher.
Q551.12.	Premature aging as punishment.
T412.	Mother-son incest.
T471.	Rape.

38. The First Shaman

A Sanema ancestor chanted for the first time. The *hekula* chanted for the first time. "Se! se! se! se! se! se! se! se! se! se! se! se!" said the ancestor *hekula*. "Here, drink a little of this gruel,"¹⁹³ said the man's wife. "Definitely not! I'm full up. I'm already full with the *hekula*'s food," said the man. "Se! se! se! se! se! se!" he chanted. Day after day passed; one day, two days, another, another, another, another . . . till the tenth day.¹⁹⁴ "Drink your gruel," said the wife again. "No! I'm already full," he said. The wife cried. "Se! se! se! se! se! se!" he went on chanting.

The ancestor jaguarized;¹⁹⁵ he carried a large back basket and he leaped right up into a *monama* tree and landed on the branch: *gudi!* He put the *monama* fruits¹⁹⁶ into the back basket: *tolo! tolo! tolo! tolo!* Then he flapped his ears: *dadadadadadada!*¹⁹⁷

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 54–55.

Motif content

A1654.	Origin of priesthood (shamanism, etc.).
D1275.	Magic song.
F403.2. +.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)

39. The Original Shaman

The deer¹⁹⁸ was the original shaman. Other Sanema did not know about *sakona*¹⁹⁹ at all. The deer was the first to chant. He sniffed *sakona*. The deer said to the ancestors: "Rip down my *sakona*." "But where from?" they asked. So the deer showed them. And then they

learned how to rip down the *sakona*. They made *sakona* for the deer. And the Sanema also tried the snuff. So they learned of *sakona*. Since then they have always used that tree.

Once they had taken the *sakona* the dream people arrived, and the Sanema ancestors began to chant for the first time. It was by using the deer's snuff that the Sanema learned to do so. The ancestors from upstream learned of the *sakona* from the deer.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 55.

Motif content

- | | |
|----------|--|
| A1490.+. | Acquisition of snuff. (A1490. Acquisition of culture—miscellaneous.) |
| A1654. | Origin of priesthood (shamanism, etc.). |
| B191.+. | Deer as magician. (B191. Animal as magician.) |

40. Hekura

Pariwa was the first to celebrate the Hekura ritual. He said: "When the sky fell the first time, all the Pata died." He taught the Yanomama to perform the Hekura so that they would not die. He said: "If you don't do the Hekura you'll die." Horonami heard him say that and replied: "Show me, too, how it is done." Pariwa told him everything. He showed him the tree and said: "Peel the bark from this piece of wood, and then mix it with dried snuff. Then blow the powder into one another's noses with the blowpipe. Then you must sing."²⁰⁰

Informant: Henrique

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 150.

Motif content

- | | |
|----------|---|
| A1000.+. | Sky falls. (A1000. World catastrophe.) |
| A1009.+. | First race of men perishes when sky falls. (A1009. World catastrophes—miscellaneous.) |
| A1490.+. | Acquisition of snuff. (A1490. Acquisition of culture—miscellaneous.) |
| A1540. | Origin of religious ceremonials. |

41. The Festival of the Toads and the Origin of Ceremonial Songs²⁰¹

Cocoa Thrush,²⁰² White-Necked Thrush,²⁰³ and Mosquito²⁰⁴ wanted to teach their *amobë* ceremonial songs.²⁰⁵ Hoping to sing they traveled to the toad people's collective house where the latter were giving a *reahu* festival.²⁰⁶ All that the toad people were capable of in the way of singing was their unpleasant croaking: "*Kōkara! Kōkara! Kōkara! Kōkara!*" What was more, they boasted about it: "These are the songs of the Waika!²⁰⁷ This is how the Waika sing! *Kōkara! Kōkara! Kōkara! Kōkara!*" It was during this *reahu* that Three-Toed Sloth danced with the daughter of Two-Toed Sloth and refused to stop.²⁰⁸

Cocoa Thrush, White-Necked Thrush, and Mosquito arrived as visitors at this festival that the toad people were giving. The ceremonial food consisted of *momo* fruits.²⁰⁹ They slung their hammocks in the collective house of their hosts. People greeted them with indifference, thinking that they were uninteresting because they had no ceremonial songs. Night fell, and the toad people began a *hwakëmu* dance.²¹⁰ Cocoa Thrush, White-Necked Thrush, and Mosquito had thought they would be able to participate and sing their melodious songs, but the toad people did not invite them and danced with one another while calling noisily: "*Kōkara! Kōkara! Kōkara! Kōkara!*" They did not know any ceremonial songs and could only croak. All night long they continued croaking, without sleeping: "*Kōkara! Kōkara! Kōkara! Kōkara!*"

Finally dawn came and the sky began to be visible. Cocoa Thrush was irritated and exclaimed to the toad people: "So we won't dance!" He stood up, began to roll his bark hammock,²¹¹ and added: "What about me? Why didn't I participate in the *hwakëmu* dancing?" Then he said to his companions: "We'll leave at once! Let's sing our songs while we leave this *reahu*! I'm going to sing my song! Mosquito! White-Necked Thrush! Let us participate in the *hwakëmu* dance as well!" Getting out of their hammocks they answered: "You sing first, Cocoa Thrush!"

Cocoa Thrush entered the central plaza of the house²¹² and sang: "*Yorishiaka! Yorishiaka! Yorishiaka! A ě a ě a ě!*" The toad women exclaimed then: "*Waaa!*"²¹³ So that's how real ceremonial songs sound! Then we were just making things up! *Waaa!* All we knew how to do was croak! *Waaa!*" They gloried in hearing the melodious song. Cocoa Thrush encouraged White-necked Thrush to sing as well: "It's

your turn, White-Necked Thrush! Let them hear your song this time!" The other sang: "*Wakamaaka! Wakamaaka! Wakamaaka! A ë a ë a ë!*" Again the toad women were full of surprise and enthusiasm: "*Waaa!* That's really how one should sing! We were only pretending! *Waaa!*" Then it was Mosquito's turn: "*Riyo! Riyo! Riyo! Riyo! Riyo!*" Again the toad people women were in ecstasy: "*Waaa!* All we did was croak! What a croak! What a magnificent song! These are the real *amoamu* ways of singing; no one can tell us otherwise!"

But already the three companions were leaving the house quickly: *thikë! thikë! thikë! shiri!* Happy over the beauty of their songs and resentful at seeing them flee, the toad women pinched their vulvas until they bled. Then they set off in pursuit of the men to hold them back. The latter threw themselves into a river and swam across. The women tried to follow, but after reaching the middle of the river they were forced to return in disorder to the riverbank from where they tried once more to call the men: "*Waaa!* Why don't you come back to us!" Then, furious over how ugly their songs were, they transformed themselves into toads.

In the course of their journey, Cocoa Thrush, White-Necked Thrush, and Mosquito reached the house of Bokohayumëri.²¹⁴ They entered without knowing where they were. It was empty, as they were not expected. They said: "There's no one here! Where are the residents of this house?" In the absence of the residents they began to examine what they thought were their possessions. An enormous cotton band hanging on a beam drew their attention, and they took it down: "What's this?" It looked like a *yāremashi* sling for carrying children.²¹⁵ They wondered: "How do you wear this?" Cocoa Thrush took it and began to try it on, laughing: "Do you wear this around the head? *Houuu!*"²¹⁶ It's much too big! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!" He gave it to White-Necked Thrush: "Do you wear it around the hips? *Houuu!* It's still much too big! Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! But how should it be worn?" They continued to try it on, laughing loudly. The cotton band was really very large.

Working in his garden not very far away, Bokohayumëri heard them. He returned to his house and entered—*thikë! thikë thikë! shiri!*—saying to himself: "Visitors! I am very hungry for human flesh!" Brusquely he asked them: "What are you doing?" They immediately noticed that one of his arms was enormous. Then they realized that they were dealing with a supernatural being and that the cotton band which they had been trying on was in fact a *wao* armband²¹⁷ for his huge left arm. Quickly they put it back and answered fearfully: "We weren't doing anything; we were just

laughing for no reason!" Seeing that Bokohayumëri was standing in front of the only door of the house they were terrified and wondered: "How are we going to flee?" To avoid being devoured by him they quickly decided to pretend to him that there was a white-lipped peccary²¹⁸ in the area: "Father-in-law! There is a peccary hiding nearby! Do you want to eat him!"²¹⁹ The ogre asked: "Where is he hiding?" They told him: "Over there! You have to go around that way!" He went, following their directions: "This way?" They made him go farther off: "No! Keep going!" The dialogue continued: "This way?" "No! Farther!" They made him go farther and farther away to be able to escape from him, and as soon as he was sufficiently far off they began to plan an escape whose outcome still seemed uncertain. "Is he hiding around here? I don't see anything!" "No! Farther away!" He had turned his back to them and was increasing the distance: "This way?" "You have to keep going! He is farther away, out of sight! You'll see him near a recently broken *mashibomahi* tree!"²²⁰ He continued to move away. Then the three started to run toward the river and threw themselves into the water: *saraiiii! shirikē!* "I still don't see anything! Is it here!" asked the ogre once more. But no one answered.

Realizing that they had fled, Bokohayumëri came running back and ran all the way to the edge of the river. He wondered where they could have hidden. Cocoa Thrush, White-Necked Thrush, and Mosquito had just swum across the river; their footprints led to the water's edge. The ogre saw only the swirl that they had left in their wake. They were far away by now, but he thought they were hiding under the water. He began to thrash around in the river with his enormous arm: *bou! bou! bou! bou!* Furious that his hunger had not been satisfied he tried in this way to dry up the waters where he thought the fugitives were hiding: *bou! bou! bou!* But he did not find them and had to return to his house, still angry.

The three had long since emerged from the water safe and sound and had fled far away. They returned to their village, frightened by having mistakenly entered the house of a supernatural creature who had nearly devoured them. That's it! That is how the story goes.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Three men, all great singers, attend festival arranged by toad people. Hearing latters' ugly croaking they try to sing their own songs but are pre-

vented from doing so. Finally they sing anyway and then flee, pursued by toad women who are ecstatic over their songs. During their flight they meet cannibal ogre with enormous arm, but manage to escape from him through trickery.

Motif content

A1464.2.1.	Origin of particular song.
D196.+.	Transformation: woman to toad. (D196.
	Transformation: man to toad.)
F516.	Person unusual as to his arms.
F688.	Man with marvelous voice.
G312.	Cannibal ogre.
G360.+.	Ogre with one enormous arm. (G360. Ogres with monstrous features.)
G401.+.	Men wander into ogre's house. (G401. Children wander into ogre's house.)
G501.	Stupid ogre.
K500.	Escape from death or danger by deception.

42. Bat, the Incestuous Son-in-Law²²¹

It was Bat²²² who copulated with the mother of his wife; it was really he who committed the first incest; it was he who taught us to commit incest. He had already married a young woman, but he copulated with her mother. It was during a trip.

It was late afternoon. Bat was traveling in the forest with his wife and his mother-in-law, Giant Anteater.²²³ They were on their way to a *reahu* festival²²⁴ in an allied community which had invited their group. Although they were nearly there Bat let the other travelers get ahead of him and decided to set up camp to spend the night in the forest. Once they were alone he wanted to try to commit incest with his mother-in-law. His wife was carrying a newborn baby, so he did not copulate with her. He began to look lustfully at his mother-in-law's abundant pubic hair.²²⁵ He made her and her daughter halt on the way and began to collect wild *buuashi* honey,²²⁶ cutting down a tree with his axe to extract the bees' nest from its hollow trunk. To waste time he caused it to get entangled in the branches of a neighboring tree, and then cut down that tree as well. Then, pretending that the bees' nest was very long, he made several successive parallel cuts in the trunk of the felled tree in order to extract the honey and the honeycombs.

As he kept hacking away at the trunk his mother-in-law finally grew impatient and told him: "Climb down and let's get going! We're very near our hosts' village, so let's hurry up before it gets dark! We are very near, so leave that honey; I can hear from here the sound of the young men's axes as they cut wood in the gardens²²⁷ to cook the maize for the feast!" *Thikē! thikē! thikē!* This *reahu* festival was taking place among the leaf-cutter ant people, who had a lot of maize in their gardens.²²⁸ "You're wrong, it's only the sound of a red-necked woodpecker²²⁹ hacking on a tree trunk back there!" The sound of woodcutting could be clearly heard, but he was lying to her, pretending that it was a woodpecker. "It's only the sound of a red-necked woodpecker in the distance," he answered his mother-in-law as night began to fall.

It was not until the forest finally grew dark that he ended his pretended honey-gathering: *thikē! thikē! thikē!* He also took the opportunity of lifting out a nest of *birikonashibē* ants²³⁰ from a shrub, and hid them in a small bundle wrapped in leaves. "Let's stay here for the night; we'll arrive at our hosts' house tomorrow," he declared. His mother-in-law wondered why Bat wanted to travel the next day but she did not think that he would try to commit incest with her. She made a fire in the forest. Bat had made a temporary shelter.²³¹ He had slung his hammock above that of his wife, and his mother-in-law's hammock was close by.

During the night he hung the ants' nest from the rope of his hammock near his head. Gradually the ants began to crawl all over him. He complained in a loud voice: "*Ha!* My lip! *Ha!* My nose! *Ha!* My eye! *Ha!* My anus!" He did not stop moaning: "*Ha!* My nose! *Ha!* My ear!" He kept it up. At long last his mother-in-law spoke to him as he had hoped: "Be quiet, I'm sleepy! Put your hammock above mine, and you'll be rid of the ants!" "*Ha?*"²³² replied Bat, in order to hide his impatience. She repeated: "Put your hammock above mine, and you'll get away from the ants!" "*Hāo!*"²³³ he exclaimed. After pouring a gourd²³⁴ full of water over the fire so he would not be seen he quickly moved his hammock above that of his mother-in-law. "It's true! This is the only place where there are no ants!" he exclaimed, feigning surprise. "Sleep now!" she replied. But instead of sleeping he slowly slipped out of his own hammock into that of his mother-in-law and began to copulate with her: *sokē! wa! sokē! wa! sokē! wa!* All night long he kept copulating with her: *thikē wa! thikē wa! kosho wa!* His wife did not have such abundant pubic hair; that was why he did not stop copulating. From so much copulation until dawn his prepuce gradually grew thin, lacerated by his mother-in-

law's bushy pubic hair. His penis had become red and bloody and the glans was exposed. It had no more prepuce; it had become "dry." Do not bats have a penis like that?

Finally it grew light and they resumed their journey. Before entering the house of their hosts they halted in order to paint themselves with urucu²³⁵ and adorn themselves as guests should. Bat had covered his hair with white down²³⁶ and wore armlets of black curassow crests in which he had stuck red macaw tail feathers.²³⁷ His mother-in-law wore heavy necklaces of glass beads, and her ears were decorated with mealy parrot²³⁸ tail feathers. They hurried toward the house where the *reahu* festival was taking place. Bat entered with an energetic step: *thikē! thikē! thikē! thikē! shiri!* The hosts were cooking the ceremonial maize in the central plaza. Bat walked around the plaza, shouting and snapping his bowstring: *thai! aō! thai! aō! thai! aō!* Why did he not understand that he should have entered the house quietly! Now he stood in the center of the plaza²³⁹ with his "dry" penis displayed. The hosts realized quickly that the newcomers had committed incest. Bat stiffened and exclaimed in a nasal voice: "Don't think: 'How dry his penis is!' Don't think: 'How dry his penis is!' " The hosts responded with a scandalized whisper: "Waaaaa! Those two have committed incest! Waaaaa!" and they began shooting arrows at him from all around: *thai wa! thai wa! thai wa!*

The mother-in-law, Giant Anteater, entered the house a moment after he did, for she walked more slowly. Without saying a word to her the people began to beat her with sticks—*thikē wa! thikē wa!*—and someone threw a pointed sliver of wood²⁴⁰ at her which lodged in her rump as she tried to flee: *shiri! wa! kishi!* When it touched her—*krrrrēēēē! krrrrēēēē!*—she turned into a giant anteater, and the wooden splinter became her tail. That is why giant anteaters still have a big flat tail. All the men pursued her in the undergrowth—*waorai! waorai! waorai!*—shouting animatedly: "*Bei yō aē! Bei yō aē!*"²⁴¹ Finally they finished her off with a blow from a club: *ohthahi! kibrikē!*

The woman's son-in-law turned into a bat and suddenly flew off—*sēsēsēsēsē hutututututu*—to hang below the roof of the house. The hunters tried to shoot him with their arrows: *hē! thikē wa! thai wa! thikē wa! thai wa! thaithai wa! tharai wa!* Again he fled—*hutututututu*—and suspended himself outside, head down, very high up in an *arōkōhi* tree:²⁴² *hōōō! yētē!* The hunters were irritated: "*Hē! Waaaaa!*" and began once more to shoot at the bat. In vain the arrows struck the tree trunk one after the other: *tho! tho! tho! tike! tike!* One managed to graze his nose, and that is why bats still have a turned-up nose. But in the end it was Ocelot²⁴³ who succeeded in hitting him:

thaō! kēsssssssi! The bat fell fluttering to the ground—*hutututututu!*—and the hunters greeted his fall with laughter and shouts of triumph: “Ha! Ha! Ha! *Bei yō aē! Bei yō aē!*” They finished him off with a blow from a stick, as he was still moving: *ba!*

The mother-in-law who had become a giant anteater was eaten by the people. The only one who remained was her daughter, who had not committed incest.

This is why the Yanomam commit incest; it was Bat and Giant Anteater who taught us. For do the Yanomam not indulge in incest? Some people constantly have incestuous sexual relations while others do not. Those who imitate Bat’s supernatural image²⁴⁴ commit incest, and those who do not incorporate it do not commit incest. Only a few people commit incest all the time. Perhaps they do it, I do not know. During the night perhaps they commit incest, embracing in their hammocks. That was how Bat was. That’s it.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

During journey to visit another village, man seduces his mother-in-law through deception. When they arrive their hosts discover their misbehavior and chase both transgressors out of village. Man turns into bat, woman becomes giant anteater. Villagers kill them both.

Motif content

A1390.+.	Origin of incest. (A1390. Ordaining of human life—miscellaneous.)
A2213.5.	Animal characteristics from being struck.
A2215.1.	Stick (leaf) thrown at animal’s rump: hence tail.
A2230.	Animal characteristics as punishment.
A2335.2.+.	Why bat has a turned-up nose. (A2335.2. Nature of animal’s nose.)
A2378.+.	Why anteater’s tail is flat. (A2378. Origin and nature of animal’s tail.)
A2378.1.+.	Origin of anteater’s tail. (A2378.1. Why animals have tail.)
C114.	Tabu: incest.
D110.+.	Transformation: man to bat. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D110.+.	Transformation: woman to anteater. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
H50.	Recognition by bodily marks or physical attributes.

K1340.	Entrance into girl's (man's) room (bed) by trick.
K1350.	Woman persuaded (or wooed) by trick.
K2218. +.	Treacherous son-in-law. (K2218. Treacherous relatives-in-law.)
N440. +.	Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)
Q242.	Incest punished.
Q422.0.1.	Punishment: beating to death.
T410.	Incest.
T417.	Son-in-law seduces mother-in-law.

43. Incestuous Love

The villagers had been invited to a feast and were preparing to leave. The old people shouted advice: "Hurry up! Untie your hammocks, and don't forget to take feathers to decorate yourselves with!" They took down their hanging cases and chose their most beautiful feathers. But no matter how much the old people exhorted, Bat remained motionless in his hammock, his head resting on his bent arm. Imperturbable, he acted as if nothing was going on. What he wanted was to leave by himself, after the others, in the company of his mother-in-law. "I get the impression that they are going to a feast," he commented sarcastically. The long line of travelers had already reached the trees, and those who were walking in the lead were already far away. Bat's wife had beautiful pubic hair. He said to her: "You will remain here. Tell your mother to get ready to travel and to take her hammock along. Who do you think has been invited? None other than myself! This invitation may be a trick, and if I am killed it is your mother who will carry home my head in her basket." Bat's wife went to tell her mother: "Mother, he wants you to go with him." At once the mother-in-law got ready. "Give my hammock to your mother; she'll carry it in her basket," added Bat.

The mother-in-law left first, and Bat waited a moment before following her. Then he left the house, and soon they were walking one behind the other. The sun was sinking when they arrived near the house of their hosts where the feast was taking place. Bat stopped and said: "Mother-in-law, we'll spend the night here. Tomorrow at dawn we'll start again." From where they stood they could hear the guests enter the house dancing. They were happy. Impassively Bat cut poles for the shelter and sticks for the roof, and then he built the structure while his mother-in-law looked for more sticks for the roof.

Very near them the festivities continued and the presentation dance was ending; one could hear talking and shouting. Bat broke some dead wood by hitting it against the ground, building up a supply for the night. Then his mother-in-law said to him: "Let's abandon this shelter and go and join the others now. They are so close that you can recognize their voices." The man and his mother-in-law stood motionless for a moment to listen. "They are splitting wood," she pointed out. "It's a woodpecker pecking on a tree with his beak," pretended Bat. "Listen, now the hosts are dancing." "It's a colony of crested oropendolas making that noise." Then they heard the participants in the feast gather in the middle of the central plaza.

Night fell. When it was completely dark Bat moved about near the shelter. He brought a nest of *kōnakōna* ants, placed it on the ground, and opened it with his fingers. Then he brought a second nest and did the same. Disturbed, the ants scattered over the ground and crawled up on the poles of the hut. Bat lay in his hammock for a moment as if nothing was happening, and then he began to complain: "This place is full of ants! There are ants here!" His mother-in-law had her back to him. "There are a lot of ants! I can't sleep! Mother-in-law, mother-in-law!" "What is it?" "Mother-in-law, the place is full of *kōnakōna* ants!" "Move over to the other side of the hut, or could there be ants there as well?" Bat untied his hammock, hung it on the other side of the shelter, and surreptitiously placed an ants' nest under it. Right away he exclaimed: "There are even more of them over here!" "There are none where I am; hang your hammock above mine." That was exactly what he wanted. Once more he untied his hammock and placed it above his mother-in-law. Soon his complaints began once more: "There are ants here as well!" He would not let his mother-in-law sleep. "Mother-in-law, they're tormenting me! There are lots of ants here!" "Well, lie down next to me, with your head against my feet," she finally consented. He was ecstatic. He sat down near her, on the edge of the hammock, and began to talk and move. "Lie down next to me," she finally said. He stretched out against her, facing in the same direction, head against head, breast against breast. This time he was quiet and was no longer heard saying: "The ants are biting me!" His mother-in-law did not resist but opened her thighs. That was what he had been waiting for, and he inserted his penis between her pubic hair. He had long since ejaculated but he did not pull out; his glans was uncovered, like a fishhook stuck in the fleshy lips of a fish.

He did not get up until dawn lit up the sky. Then he untied the hammock, rolled it up, and put it in the basket. He took a ball of

maroon coloring, spat on it, diluted the paint, and traced a few undulating lines on his forehead with his fingertips. They both headed toward the neighboring house. The woman was silent. It was with the intention of having sex with his mother-in-law that he had spent the night so close to the others. No sooner had he entered the enclosed space of the communal house than he was transformed into a bat and flew off to hang from a protuberance on a tree. In the meantime his mother-in-law had turned into an anteater and was striding along the periphery of the central plaza, shaking her thick tail.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Man tricks his mother-in-law into traveling alone with him to feast in neighboring village. During the night he talks his way into her hammock and has sex with her. Both turn into animals.

Motif content

D110. +.	Transformation: man to bat. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D110. +.	Transformation: woman to anteater. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
F547.6.	Remarkable pubic hairs.
K1340.	Entrance into girl's (man's) room (bed) by trick.
K1350.	Woman persuaded (or wooed) by trick.
K2218. +.	Treacherous son-in-law. (K2218. Treacherous relatives-in-law.)
T410.	Incest.
T417.	Son-in-law seduces mother-in-law.

44. Incestuous Love

Long ago Bat was a man; he lived with the people. His mother-in-law was the anteater woman whose pubic hair was so long and thick that it hung between her buttocks. This hair aroused her son-in-law's desire. One day Bat said to his wife: "Tell your mother to be ready to leave tomorrow and to take her hammock along. If I should be killed, if I should be decapitated, she will carry my head in her basket. You will remain here."

Early in the morning Bat set off accompanied by his mother-in-law. They had their hammocks with them. In the house the other residents were removing grains of maize from the ears while talking. Instead of moving on Bat sat down. They were so near the house that they could hear the others chatting. "Let's wait here until the sun goes down," he decided. It was still morning. Bat built a shelter to spend the night. The sounds from the neighboring house could be heard clearly. "We'll go home tomorrow," he said. He finished the shelter. When night approached he brought an ants' nest which he broke and placed next to his hammock. Then he went to look for another nest which he placed on the other side. The ants scattered.

As soon as night had fallen Bat began to complain. "Mother-in-law, there are a lot of *kōnakōna* ants here!" "Spread embers over them and go to sleep." Bat untied his hammock rope. "Mother-in-law, my hammock rope is untied!" "Tie it again and lie down." "Mother-in-law, there are *shiriana* ants here!" "Go to sleep right away." "Mother-in-law, there are *mamisipreinama* ants here!" "Tie the rope again and go to sleep at once." "Mother-in-law, my hammock has no rope!" "Then use your bowstring and doze off; I'm sleepy." "The place is infested with *kōnakōna* and *kanaye nini* ants!" She replied: "Don't keep talking all the time; try to sleep." "Mother-in-law, there are *mamisipreinama* and *yanae* ants!" He did not stop complaining, preventing his mother-in-law from sleeping. Tired of his tricks she finally gave in: "All right, lie down next to me with your head at my feet, and go to sleep at last!" Then, slowly, gradually, the man approached his mother-in-law until his body touched her pubic hair. He penetrated her, and remained like that all night. When it grew light he said: "Let's go!" With a quick gesture he snatched the coloring ball and rubbed it on his chest and face. That is what he did. He had spent the night two steps from the house in order to satisfy his desire. Immediately he turned into a bat and suspended himself from a tree that towered over the surrounding forest. The mother-in-law had just entered the house and she bit into the bark of a shrub. They had just been transformed, she into an anteater, he into a bat.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Man lures his mother-in-law into forest where he tricks her into having intercourse with him. Subsequently he is transformed into bat and she into anteater.

Motif content

D110.+.	Transformation: man to bat. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D110.+.	Transformation: woman to anteater. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
F547.6.1.	Remarkably long pubic hair.
K1340.	Entrance into girl's (man's) room (bed) by trick.
K1350.	Woman persuaded (or wooed) by trick.
K2218.+.	Treacherous son-in-law. (K2218. Treacherous relatives-in-law.)
T410.	Incest.
T417.	Son-in-law seduces mother-in-law.

45. Hewë and His Beautiful Mother-in-Law

Once there was a woman called Tëpë who had a daughter by the name of Sinakori-yoma. A young man named Hewë went to visit them. As he was looking for a wife he stayed in their house and married Sinakori-yoma. But very soon Hewë fell in love with his mother-in-law, for she was beautiful and had a large vulva. He went to bed with her. Of course, because that was a bad thing to do, his punishment was swift. His penis grew and grew until it became enormous!

One day Hewë went to visit the Tororoa-teri. They noticed at once what had happened to him for having taken advantage of his mother-in-law, and as was natural they teased him mercilessly. Offended and furious over what had happened to him Hewë fled far away. In his despair he hid inside a cave in a rocky mountain and turned into a bat.

Tëpë turned into a giant anteater.

Source: Cocco 1972, p. 215.

Motif content

D110.+.	Transformation: man to bat. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D110.+.	Transformation: woman to anteater. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D489.+.	Penis made larger. (D489. Objects made larger—miscellaneous.)
F547.3.1.	Long penis.

F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.
Q550.	Miraculous punishments.
Q551.8.	Deformity as punishment.
T417.	Son-in-law seduces mother-in-law.

46. Poré/Perimbó and Koroyewö

The Surára man Koroyewö had one day raped his mother-in-law Prexemi. As punishment Poré/Perimbó transformed him into an anteater.²⁴⁵ Since that time there is avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and the meat of anteaters may no longer be eaten by members of the tribe.

Informant: Hewemão

Source: Becher 1974, p. 30.

Motif content

C171.	Mother-in-law tabu.
C221.1.+.	Tabu: eating anteater. (C221.1. Tabu: eating flesh of certain animal.)
D110.+.	Transformation: man to anteater. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
Q242.	Incest punished.
Q551.3.2.	Punishment: transformation into animal.
T417.	Son-in-law seduces mother-in-law.
T471.	Rape.

47. Õeõemë, the Child Warrior²⁴⁶

A woman whose newborn child would not stop crying decided angrily to leave the collective house where she lived and go into the forest to catch *shuhu* crayfish.²⁴⁷ The baby had been crying ceaselessly since birth: "Õe! Õe! Õe! Õe! Õe!" He had "become another," and it was from these continual cries that he was given the name of Õeõemë. He was a newborn baby, still very "red." The mother began to search for crayfish in the streams, carrying her baby, and while she was thus occupied some Shamathari²⁴⁸ *okabë* sorcerers²⁴⁹ surprised her. Using blowguns they blew a harmful

powder on her, like that—*brohu!*—rendering her unconscious. Then they attacked her and broke her neck. The *okabē* sorcerers prefer to kill adults, and so they decided to abandon the infant in the forest to die by himself, depositing him on a *kashibē*²⁵⁰ anthill near the corpse of his mother. The burning pain caused by the bites of these ants made the child cry even more loudly: "*Ōe! Ōe! Ōe! Ōe!*" until finally he was transformed into a supernatural being.

When Ōeōemē's mother did not return after a long time, the child's fathers-in-law²⁵¹ began to search for her. Led to her corpse by the baby's loud crying they discovered it. They carried back the crying baby with the body of his mother to the collective house, and then they set off to look for her attackers' trail. They wanted to take revenge, that was why. They followed it all the way to the sorcerers' communal house, while keeping well hidden, and then turned back.²⁵² In their absence Ōeōemē had quickly begun to grow and to become wise. That was because he was a supernatural being. When they returned he asked them to give him some arrowpoints smeared with curare:²⁵³ "Fathers-in-law! Take out some curare arrowpoints from your quivers!"²⁵⁴ The men pulled out a few and handed them to the boy, pointing out the trail left by his mother's murderers: "That way! That's where the people who killed your mother live in the *unokai* ritual state of homicide!"²⁵⁵ Ōeōemē set out and ran all the way to the Shamathari sorcerers' house. When he arrived there he stepped out immediately into the central plaza, hiding the curare-smeared arrowpoints in his armpit. He moved along the circle of hearths in the Shamathari house, pausing in front of each one to exclaim in a small angry voice: "Who was it that 'ate' my mother!²⁵⁶ *Asi!*"²⁵⁷ He kept repeating these words as he circled. He looked only like a small child, all alone, but he had become a supernatural being and was now searching for the man who was in the *unokai* ritual state of homicide after having "eaten" his mother.

In the meantime the elders, who had remained in their house, were preparing for a war expedition to take revenge for the death of Ōeōemē's mother. They were making Ōeōemē a bow. He had left by himself, holding a few poisoned arrowpoints, although he did not know yet how to use a bow for hunting. He did not know at all! The men had stayed behind in order to make him a bow and prepare arrows. They were preparing to undertake a raid against the Shamathari enemies whose house they had already located, following their trail back.

Ōeōemē continued to ask his question tirelessly as he halted in front of each hearth in the Shamathari house, until suddenly the

man who had actually "eaten" his mother, who had actually killed her, answered in a loud, exasperated voice: "It was I who 'ate' her!" Hearing these words Ōeōemē became beside himself with rage. He took one curare arrowpoint from his armpit and plunged it into the base of the man's neck: *kosho! haiii!* and then another one: *kosho!* and yet another: *kosho!* Furious, all the Shamathari ran toward him to try to kill him. But as he was a supernatural being he always escaped: *hōiii!* From all directions they tried to strike him with clubs: *tahi wa! tahi wa! bikē wa! bikē wa!* but they never succeeded in hitting him. He finally managed to flee from the house: *sarai!* while taunting them with his cry: "Ōe! Ōe! Ōe! Ōe!"

Ōeōemē reached the house of his people the same day. He had not slept. As he entered—*shiri!*—he shouted: "I 'ate' this detestable enemy! I really took revenge!" The elders were preparing a bow and making arrows for him in his absence. He sent them to war in turn. When they were about to raid the Shamathari he began to search for *buuashi* honeycombs.²⁵⁸ When Ōeōemē carried out his raids against the Shamathari he was using honeycombs as ceremonial food. The honeycombs were to be gathered to be eaten at his mother's funeral, to accompany her ritual meat. Her bone ashes were to be buried during a *reahu* festival.²⁵⁹ After the ashes were buried he got a stomach-ache, and he stopped raiding the Shamathari. Before that he went raiding many times.²⁶⁰ Then he stopped because he got sick from the ritual state of homicide. His stomach was about to burst. When he stayed to look for *buuashi* honeycombs his fathers-in-law went to war only once.

Ōeōemē's fathers-in-law had first stayed behind to make him a bow, arrows, and curare-smeared arrowheads so that he could participate in raiding the enemies using real weapons, so that he could exterminate them. He took these weapons and went off to the Shamathari village. Although his relatives were also supposed to launch a raid, he had quickly returned to attack the Shamathari in their house before them. He was really a supernatural creature, that's why. During that very same day he attacked his enemies again; he did not sleep. Long after he did his fathers-in-law also raided the Shamathari with *hwaro* spears²⁶¹ which they ran through the rest of the enemies: *hi! kosho wa! kosho wa! kosho wa!* They killed some but it was Ōeōemē who really exterminated the Shamathari. He emptied their house completely, and when he had decimated them he got sick from the ritual state of homicide.

Ōeōemē shot the Shamathari from the plaza of their own house.²⁶² In vain they pursued him in every direction through their enormous

house, trying to hit him with their axes and clubs: *hi! thikē wa! thikē wa! thikē wa!* Only a single arrow touched him, although it did not enter his body: *tha! thikē!* Still, he pretended to be wounded and exclaimed: "I have been touched! I suffer!" Thus deflecting the attention of his attackers he managed to escape from their house: *hi! sarai!* and climbed up a big mountain that is now named after him. Here, far away, he completed his transformation into a supernatural being. In that place the people are still raiding each other, far from here, in the highlands. The mountain is called Ōeōemē and it lies near the headwaters of the Hwara u River.²⁶³ By that mountain, at the same distance as that tree over there, the Shamathari stopped their pursuit of him, but he continued to taunt them with his incessant cry: "Eat me! Try to eat me! Ōe! Ōe! Ōe!" Then he said: "*Hō! Orobo a!*" Having said that he had named a hill that rose in front of him on the other side, at the foot of which lay the Shamathari communal house. It was here that Ōeōemē had waged war against them. When he returned that was where they lay in ambush for him and attacked him again. They tried to catch him but he escaped once more, slipping between their legs as they tried to grab him: *shiri!* He was indeed very small, and he was a supernatural being. They did not succeed in killing him; instead it was he who decimated them. After he had gone back to their house he had made them disappear; he had shot them with his arrows. His fathers-in-law only raided them and killed a few of them with their spears. Ōeōemē alone had decimated them. In the end there were none of them left.

After having gone back and forth to raid the Shamathari Ōeōemē returned in a ritual state of homicide. His stomach was about to burst. It began to swell disproportionately and he ceased to go raiding. He had killed so many enemies that his ritual state of homicide turned bad and made him very sick. As he lay on the ground, helpless and in very bad shape, the ghosts of the Shamathari shamans whom he had killed discovered him and came to make him inhale hallucinogens to take their revenge. Ōeōemē had remained behind alone in the empty house; its inhabitants had abandoned him to go to the gardens and collect manioc tubers. Moaning, he lay there on the ground, very sick, his stomach swollen and distended. It was about to burst because he did not know about the homicide ritual.²⁶⁴ The ghosts of the enemy shamans entered the house while his fathers-in-law were working in their gardens: *shiri wa! shiri wa! shiri wa!* As they entered they uttered their ghostly call: "*Yāri! Yāri! Yāri!*"²⁶⁵ They approached and placed in front of his hearth a *bahanakē* leaf²⁶⁶ on which they had put a small heap of their powerful

hallucinogenic *baara* powder.²⁶⁷ They said to him in their Shamathari language: "*Busiwë!*"²⁶⁸ Come and squat over here! If you inhale this substance you will be able to cure your sickness; you will feel better!" They were Shamathari; that was why they talked like that.²⁶⁹ They were promising him to make him feel good, but in fact they were deceiving him. However, he believed what they said and thought: "They will cure me!" So he went over and squatted down next to them. They then took turns blowing enormous amounts of *baara* powder into his nostrils with a tube,²⁷⁰ all the while repeating: "*Shetewë!*"²⁷¹ Bring your nose closer! This substance will cure your sickness! Little by little you will inhale all this snuff!" Ceaselessly they blew the powder into his nostrils: *shai! shai! shai!* At each inhalation he let out a moan: "*Asiatakë! Aaaaa! Ööëëë! Asiatakë! Aaaaa! Ööëëë! Asiatakë! Aaaaa! Ööëëë!*"²⁷² They did their work so thoroughly, blowing *baara* into his nostrils, that finally he lost consciousness completely and fell on his back: *waaa! kibrikë!* Then they quickly cut him up with their machetes: *kashshshshshi!* and fled.

The people working in the gardens were alerted by his moans. They pricked up their ears and said: "What's happening with Father-in-law? We hear his voice growing strange in the distance! Is somebody killing him over there?" Ööëmë's fellow villagers returned to their house, only to discover his dead body on the ground. They started to comment: "Somebody killed Father-in-law"²⁷³ while we were gone! *Aë!!*"

Ööëmë was very brave and aggressive. Over there where he transformed, do not the Shamathari people continue to this day to make war on each other? And that was how the ghosts of the enemy shamans whom Ööëmë had shot finally tricked him. In revenge they blew their very powerful *baara* snuff into his nose and succeeded in killing him.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Woman is killed in forest by enemy sorcerers. Her small son Ööëmë, left to die on anthill, turns into supernatural creature. After being rescued and given weapons by relatives he travels to enemy house to avenge his mother's death. In successive raids he kills many enemies, and miraculously escapes. Later, ghosts of enemy shamans trick him into inhaling hallucinogenic snuff, then kill him.

Motif content

A527.1.	Culture hero precocious.
A1617.	Origin of place-name.
A1675.	Tribal characteristics—warfare.
C230.+.	Tabu: eating after killing person. (C230. Tabu: eating at certain time.)
C940.	Sickness or weakness for breaking tabu.
D90.+.	Transformation: child to supernatural being. (D90. Transformation: man to different man—miscellaneous.)
D560.+.	Transformation from pain. (D560. Transformation by various means.)
D1246.	Magic powder.
D1840.	Magic invulnerability.
D1841.5.	Invulnerability from weapons.
D2060.	Death or bodily injury by magic.
D2064.	Magic sickness.
E232.1.	Return from dead to slay own murderer.
F600.+.	Mighty warrior. (F600. Persons with extraordinary powers.)
H1385.	Quest for lost persons.
H1397.	Quest for enemies.
K910.	Murder by strategy.
K1010.	Deception through false doctoring.
P231.+.	Son avenges mother. (P231. Mother and son.)
Q211.	Murder punished.
Q411.6.	Death as punishment for murder.
R131.	Exposed or abandoned child rescued.
S301.	Children abandoned (exposed).
T615.	Supernatural growth.
T615.5.	Precocious young child demands weapons.

Commentary on the Origin of Warfare and of the Homicide Ritual

Over there, in the place where Ōeōemē still lives in spirit, the people, the Shamathari, always make war since that time. Over there at the headwaters of the Hwara u the people make war. In that place where Ōeōemē became a supernatural being the people of Shitheetheri²⁷⁴ now live. The ancestors had their garden there, at the foot of a mountain. In the beginning there was no war. It is because Ōeōemē taught the people to make war that they do it now. He made the people warlike; he taught them how to fight. He, Ōeōemē.

After he had decimated the Shamathari he developed a stomachache, and it was while he was lying on the ground that the ghost shamans came to kill

him. At that time the people also did not know how the *unokai* ritual state of homicide manifests itself. That was because the Yanomam did not know how to make war. It was when they saw how Ōeōemē got sick that the Yanomam ceased to eat while in a state of *unokai*. Today when they undergo the *unokaimu* homicide ritual the Yanomam do not eat; they have become wise. They eat only a small piece of boiled plantain, like that. They do not get full. They do not chew tobacco either. That is what people have been doing since ancient times, for if somebody who kills ignores the ritual he will see his stomach begin to swell until it bursts. That was what happened because Ōeōemē did not know the ritual of *unokaimu*.

It was since that time that the people began to make war. And do they not continue to do so today? They still wage war! Warfare²⁷⁵ spread everywhere! That was how the Yanomam began to think straight; that was how they were made to behave toward one another. After the people began to think like that they began to make war, and they do so to this day. Over there the people take revenge on one another. Ōeōemē taught them to take revenge and they still do it.²⁷⁶ That was because of his mother's murder. He avenged his mother, and the people still continue to take revenge on one another in this way. In the place where Ōeōemē used to live, that is how the people still behave toward one another. They continue to take revenge. When *okabē* enemy sorcerers kill their relatives, they launch a raid. They avenge themselves. They do not let the murderer perform the *unokaimu* ritual with impunity; they shoot him with arrows. Then their opponents take revenge in turn, with a raid. That is how the people raid one another. Over there the people make war on one another. Although hostilities cease, as soon as they bury the powdered bone ashes of the victims the people raid one another again. Do the people not still behave toward each other like that? Once the ashes are all buried they stop making war, but later they begin again.

It was Ōeōemē who taught the people to make war. After his death they began to fight ceaselessly, and they still do. In the place where Ōeōemē's ghost still lives, where he died, where his print is, that is where the people constantly make war and "eat" one another. They do not just threaten; they really make war. Where Ōeōemē used to live the people are not wise; they are still very warlike. But although they kill one another their children remain and grow up progressively and continue to make war, for they are indeed numerous. These people make children, one after another, and they fight much. That is where Ōeōemē's ghost lives, where he used to live. It was he who first became a supernatural being, yes, Ōeōemē, and after he transformed he waged war passionately against the Shamathari. That is why the people began to fight all the time over there. Where Ōeōemē did not live we do not make war;²⁷⁷ the people do not engage in warfare. It was there that he transformed; it was from the pain caused by the ants near which he had been placed by the enemy sorcerers who killed his mother that Ōeōemē transformed and became very warlike. It was he who taught the people to

make war, and they still do it. He also taught us the *unokai* ritual state of homicide. He was the first to be in a ritual state of homicide, and today the people enter this condition in turn, just as he did then. As can be seen, certain people in a ritual state of homicide have their stomachs swell to bursting point. That did not happen before Ōeðemē, because the people did not make war on one another then.

48. Poré

Poré²⁷⁸ was made by Omaue. He is very big. He knows many things, and the people learned much from him. His wife is named Poré Hesiobe and his son Poré Ihirube. He lives in the northeast. He let his wife give him a large tonsure with *sunama*. His wife and son also wore tonsures, and that is why the Yanoname wear their hair that way as well. He ordered the Hesbrereweteri to wear tonsures, and they in turn showed them to the Aharaibu. Previously the Aharaibu used to have long hair.

Informant: Daniel

Source: Knobloch 1967, pp. 150–151.

Motif content

A1661.+.	Why some tribes wear a tonsure. (A1661. Hair and beard of various peoples.)
F402.7.	Family of demons.
F413.	Origin of spirits.

49. The Origin of Fire²⁷⁹

This one is about the ancestors, but they were not the ancestors of the Sanema, not our ancestors; they were the original ancestors of the animals. For the tapirs, the marbled wood-quail, the alligators, they were all humans (Sanema) then.

Omao had been about to create the Sanema from hard wood. But Soawe had been asked to help and had done the work badly. So instead of being tough, as we might have been, we became weak.

The marbled wood-quail people²⁸⁰ ate caterpillars²⁸¹ and it was they and the alligator people²⁸² who went to collect them. The

marbled wood-quail people had produced²⁸³ the caterpillars and so they went out to collect them. But they did not know about fire at all. None of the animals knew about fire; at night they were very cold and their food was very tough. Only the alligator, all alone among them, knew about fire while the others, the cold ones, slept without fire.

The alligator had said to the wood-quail people: "Let's go and collect caterpillars to eat!" "Right," the wood-quail people had replied, and so they had gone out to collect them, and the alligator went too. In the forest the alligator elder wrapped the caterpillars in leaves and then cooked them in a termites' nest. So that, when the wood-quail gave him their raw, wrapped caterpillars, they would not know that he had lots of cooked caterpillars, the alligator wrapped the cooked caterpillars in a further layer of fresh leaves.

And so the wood-quail people returned home; their houses were all about, surrounding the central house of the alligator. The children of the wood-quail people scratched about on the ground searching for scraps of food because they were hungry. Then they saw the alligator returning; he was carrying the cooked caterpillars. Then the wood-quail people gave their raw caterpillars to the alligator and he returned them to others of them, having wrapped them in a different sort of leaf.²⁸⁴ So the wood-quail people ate their raw caterpillars and the alligator ate his cooked ones.

Next day they all went again into the forest at dawn in order to collect more caterpillars, and the alligator went too. Meanwhile the little children at home again scratched about on the floor looking for food, but there was none. So they went over to the alligator's house to look there. The alligator's son was lying in his hammock all alone, and they began to scratch about looking for food under where he was lying. There was a charred piece, a tiny fragment, of leaf lying on the ground. The alligator's son noticed it. He stared at it aghast. Then the little wood-quail boy saw it, he grabbed it. Little Alligator jumped down from his hammock. "Where is it? Where is it? Me too! I want to look too! Gimme! Gimme! Gimme!" But the little wood-quail boy kept hold of it and examined it.

When the wood-quail elders returned home in the evening the boy ran up to his father. "Daddy! Daddy! Look at this charred leaf I found," he said. "Where? Where? Where? Where is it?" replied the father. He examined the leaf carefully. "Wiii!" he said, expressing great interest.

Meanwhile the alligator's father also returned to his house. On seeing his father return, the son said: "Daddy, young children were

over here! A young boy found a piece of charred leaf lying on the ground! That's what happened, daddy!" "Really! So it's happened!" replied the father. Then he opened a parcel of cooked caterpillars and ate them. Many of them.

And meanwhile people were saying: "In the old man's house over there, there were some charred leaves lying on the ground. People have just seen them!" "Yes! That lot are really selfish; it's because they have fire that we found burned leaves lying on the ground," added the wood-quail people. "We must organize a dance and have many people come," they said. And they invited many people to come over. The tanager people,²⁸⁵ the *hama cotinga* people,²⁸⁶ the *wagoga* pigeon²⁸⁷ people, the *ashekono* cacique people,²⁸⁸ the *pishakami* people,²⁸⁹ all these and many others thus came visiting.

"People are to dance in the central compound!" said the wood-quail people. "Right!" the alligator agreed heartily and so all the animals began their festival. They danced; the *solagamusi* trogon²⁹⁰ people, the *kul kul musu* people²⁹¹ all began to dance their *hili* dance. People laughed, they laughed hilariously, but the alligator did not laugh at all. "Mm! mm! mm! mm!" the alligator went as he kept his mouth shut. "The old anteater,²⁹² she must dance too!" people said. So the old anteater also came into the central compound carrying a bunch of *nimo* palm leaves on her back like a tail. She had just come back *washimo* with the little *waso* bat²⁹³ who was her classificatory son. He came back with his mother. Little Bat and the old anteater had been just about to copulate. They had been camped nearby. The little bat had pretended that it was smoky and itchy in his part of the shelter. He pretended that tiny ants²⁹⁴ were falling onto him. "Mummy! I'm all itchy! Let me sit in your lap!" "You lie down in my hammock then, we'll share it end to end," she replied. "Mummy! It's all smoky here at this end!" he then said. So he had got to sit in her lap. Little Waso Bat was happy sitting in the lap. "Ah yes! So now I'm about to copulate!" he said.

Just as he was about to copulate, people began dancing in the central compound nearby. Little Bat's penis had become all enlarged and shiny and was sticking right up. "Now's the time to return," the old anteater had said. "We must dance into the central compound," she said, so they entered the central compound. Little Bat kept his hands over his genitals, because his penis was all large and shiny and he had such a small loincloth; his penis was dandling about. "Oh dear! What shall I do!" he wondered. Other people were still dancing and they came dancing over toward them. "You dance too!" they said to the anteater. So the anteater danced first, carrying a

bound bunch of *nimo* palm leaves²⁹⁵ on her back like a tail. As she danced people laughed uproariously, but the alligator did not laugh at all. He kept his mouth closed. "Mm! mm! mm! mm!" he went. "Little *waso* bat! What about you?" people said, so the little bat also danced, his penis bouncing about hilariously. "Ha! ha! ha! ha! ha!" people said but the alligator did not laugh. "Mm! mm! mm! mm!" he laughed behind his closed mouth.

Because he still had not laughed the others wondered who they could get to make him do so. The alligator was sitting down; by his side sat the long-tailed tyrant,²⁹⁶ next to him the tree creeper, next to him *sokimusi*,²⁹⁷ and next *kul kul musi*. They sat close to the alligator's mouth ready to grab the fire. The elders were seated while the young men were fooling about. Everyone had really laughed at the little bat's huge penis. He became shy and transformed, so he flew off: *se! se! se! se!* He flew off all alone into the jungle, all by himself.

"I think we must also invite the antthrush people,"²⁹⁸ people said, and so the antthrush people also came to visit. "Right! They must dance too!" people said. So the antthrush people came into the central compound. One old woman was carrying a back basket like a pretense tail. "You too! You must dance too!" they said to her. So the antthrush carrying the back basket began to dance—*ta! tik! tik! tik!*—then she squirted excrement into the crowd's faces: *tish! shiiiiii!* "Aaa! aaa! aaa! aaa!" everyone laughed, and the alligator laughed too. His huge mouth opened right up; he gave a huge guffaw. "Ha! ha! ha! ha!" he laughed, and as he did so, the tree creeper grabbed the fire and flew off very low: *tchip! tchip! tchip! tchip!* He sat on the waist of a tree. In turn the *kul kul musi* grabbed the fire from him: *krr! krrrr! krrrr!* He flew off very low. The alligator's wife, the *bwii bwii* frog,²⁹⁹ was sitting nearby and was about to jet a stream of urine at the fire: *shiiiiii!* The urine was just about to reach the fire when the long-tailed tyrant grabbed it. With the big fire in his mouth he flew high up, right to the top of a *pooloi* tree.³⁰⁰ "*Mai mai mai pio,*" sang the long-tailed tyrant. "*Mai mai mai pio.*" The birds' tails had all been burned in the fire. The *kul kul musi*'s tail was burned, the tree creeper's tail was burned, the *sokimusi*'s tail was burned by the big fire, and the tail of the long-tailed tyrant was really burned. The fire was placed there high up in the tree, and it came to be in the heart of the bast trees³⁰¹ also. The bird had climbed right up into the upper branches of the *pooloi* tree. Now when the Sanema dig holes deep in the ground and find deeply buried cinders, it is because the long-tailed tyrant took fire from the alligator.³⁰² It is because the long-tailed tyrant put the fire high up in the *pooloi* tree that the Sanema

also got their fire. And this is how the foreigners, who know all about fire, acquired it too.

So the animals had taken the fire. They grabbed it in anger from the alligator. And the alligator was furious. "You, all of you! Your eyes will become all cooked!" he exclaimed. "And you! When you are cooked, the soup will be all black," the wood-quail people shouted back angrily in turn. "You! You! All of you! You will all be cooked up in my fire. All you Sanema looking on, your eyes will turn white when you are cooked." So cursed the alligator.³⁰³

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 75-78.

Summary

Primeval alligator is sole owner of fire which he keeps in his mouth, refusing to share it. When animal people discover his secret they arrange feast, and everyone tries to make him laugh. When he finally laughs, bird grabs fire from his open mouth and places it inside certain trees where it still resides today.

Motif content

A15.2.	Brothers as creators.
A1101.2.+.	Primeval animals human. (A1101.2. Reversal of nature in former age.)
A1210.	Creation of man by creator.
A1252.	Creation of man from wood.
A1390.+.	Why man is weak: made from soft wood instead of hard. (A1390. Ordaining of human life—miscellaneous.)
A1414.	Origin of fire.
A1414.7.1.	Tree as repository of fire.
A1415.0.2.	Original fire property of one person (animal).
A1415.2.1.	Theft of fire by bird.
A1415.4.	Vain attempts to circumvent theft of fire.
A1611.+.	Origin of the Sanema. (A1611. Origin of particular tribes.)
A2218.	Animal characteristics from burning or singeing.
A2412.2.	Markings on birds.
B1.	Animal elders. Mythical ancestors of the present animals.
D110.+.	Transformation: man to bat. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
K300.	Thefts and cheats—general.
K330.	Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner.
N440.+.	Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)

T412.+.
W152.

Lecherous son. (T412. Mother-son incest.)
Stinginess.

50. The Fire Stolen from Caiman³⁰⁴

It was of course Caiman³⁰⁵ who hid the fire in his mouth! He kept it like that in his closed mouth, and that is why the caiman has a short tongue and why the inside of his mouth is reddish. In those days there was no fire; it was at the time of the animal ancestors. The people ate nothing but raw food, uncooked *kasha* caterpillars.³⁰⁶ Caiman would conceal the fire in his mouth and would hide in the forest in order to cook some of the caterpillars he had gathered and eat them. The only one with him would be his wife, whose name was Frog.³⁰⁷ They would go into the forest together to gather caterpillars, and without the knowledge of the other people they would cook them to eat them by themselves. Then they would return to the collective house where they showed only the raw caterpillars that they had gathered, and distributed them all around. The animal ancestors ate only raw caterpillars. Caiman would say to himself: "I am going to eat mine cooked! Only cooked caterpillars are really tasty!" He would bring home caterpillars that he had cooked in the forest, hidden under leaves in his wife's large carrying basket,³⁰⁸ in order to eat them during the night.

One morning when they were again in the forest, after spending a long time eating cooked caterpillars during the night, the wing-banded antpitta people³⁰⁹ and the marbled wood-quail people³¹⁰ began to search thoroughly, scraping the ground under the couple's hammocks. Finally they discovered a few little pieces of cooked caterpillars. Loudly they shouted: "There! Look! They've been eating cooked food without our knowledge! Look at this; it's cooked! They have really been eating cooked food, and we never knew!" All the members of the community gathered around them to examine the leftovers. "It really is cooked caterpillars," they confirmed. They were all Yanomam ancestors who had animal names in those days: Red-Rumped Cacique People, Yellow-Rumped Cacique People, Crested Oropendola People, Blue-Headed Parrot People.³¹¹ All gathered around Caiman's and Frog's living area to take turns examining the cooked crumbs. They concluded: "It's true; they have been eating cooked caterpillars in secret!" In the absence of Caiman and his wife they continued to talk animatedly about their discovery. Then

they said: "We should surprise them while they are eating cooked caterpillars again! They went into the forest in that direction. We should follow their tracks and watch them! The smoke from their fire should be visible!"

Wedge-Billed Woodcreeper³¹² immediately started running, following their footprints. He searched for them in all directions in the forest. At last he discovered them and approached, while keeping out of view. At close range he flattened himself against a tree and observed them. They were eating, sitting near a large fire. Moving even closer he pressed silently against another tree—*hrrrrr!*—and watched them furtively. Then he ran back as fast as he could to announce his discovery: *sarai!* As soon as he arrived he called hurriedly: "Over there! Over there! They are eating over there! A large fire! They're eating by a large fire!" They began their discussion again. At first they said: "What are we going to do? How can we ask him for fire?" Then they thought of another solution: "No, we'll do a presentation dance³¹³ instead, and make him laugh so that the fire will fall out of his mouth!"

While they were still debating Caiman returned to the house. He had been away collecting caterpillars in the forest again and brought back a basket full of them which he set down on the ground: *hĩ!* *thikẽ!* On top lay the raw caterpillars, which he distributed among all the members of the community. They ate their raw caterpillars without saying anything. Afterward they began their presentation dance in the central plaza of the collective house. They were furious, and said to one another: "He gives us only a few raw caterpillars! He is deceiving us by giving us only uncooked ones!"

They painted their bodies red with urucu³¹⁴ and glued white down³¹⁵ on their hair. That is how they taught us to adorn ourselves to do the presentation dance, the way we still do during *reahu* festivals. Every one of them wanted to dance in order to force Caiman to drop the fire from his mouth. He watched them without saying a word, stretched out in his hammock. He kept his mouth closed and his lips firmly together in order not to let the fire he had hidden inside escape. All the animal ancestors painted themselves with urucu and became unrecognizable, painting themselves here, there, all over their bodies. The toucan people put some on their chests, the agouti people on their hindquarters; the marbled wood-quail people painted around their eyes while the crested oropendola people carelessly covered their lower backs with a faded red color.³¹⁶

Once they had completed their body paint they began their presentation dance by gathering near the main door of the house

and shouting. Only Caiman remained inside. Then they entered, dancing one by one around the central plaza of the house³¹⁷ and shouting: "Hōōōō! Wao! Wao! Wao! Kori! Kori! Kori! Wa! Wa! Wa!" Caiman showed no reaction and his mouth remained shut. The animal ancestors continued their presentation dance, running around the plaza and stomping on the ground: *thikē! thikē! thikē!* Earthworm entered and danced, twisting himself in all directions to make Caiman laugh. The latter repressed a smile watching him, simply pressing his lips together. "Why doesn't he laugh?" wondered the animal ancestors. It took very long to make Caiman laugh. The dancers continued their parade: "Wa! Wa! Wa! Wa!" But Caiman simply looked at them with his large, impassive eyes. However, some people placed themselves under his hammock to be ready to seize the fire as soon as he dropped it, and then flee with it.

It was the turn of Rufous-Capped Ant Thrush³¹⁸ to enter and to dance and jump around the central plaza, sticking out his chest. But he succeeded only in making Caiman smile. In the end it was Wing-Banded Wren³¹⁹ who was able to make him laugh, causing the fire to fall from his mouth. Using urucu he was carrying in a basket, Wren had painted a large band on his loins. He was the last dancer, and entered the central plaza when all the others had left. He began to dance with his hindquarters pointing upward, swaying forward and backward, rhythmically swinging his bent arms along his sides. Caiman was amused by Wren's basket, the red paint on his lower back and by his grotesque choreography. Finally he could no longer hold back his laughter—"Hwa! Hwa! Hwa! Hwa!"—thus allowing the fire that he had hidden inside his mouth to escape: *houuu!*

The marbled wood-quail people³²⁰ who were already stationed near his hammock tried immediately to steal the fire which Caiman had just dropped. They ran off with some live coals but Frog, Caiman's wife, blocked their way and managed to extinguish the coals by throwing water on them: *shau! shau! shau!*³²¹ The red-rumped cacique people³²² also gathered embers with which they attempted to fly away, but they failed to escape Frog's attention and again she succeeded in spraying the embers: *shau! shau! shau!* Finally the crested oropendola people³²³ seized the fire, turned into birds, and flew off, very far and very high—*kruuukraku! houuu!*—all the way to an *amahi* tree³²⁴ on which they deposited it. Frog tried to extinguish this fire as well—*houuu! shau! shau! shau!*—but this time her spurts of water fell short and she failed. Thus it was the crested oropendola people who stole the fire.

Furious over her failure Frog cursed the animal ancestors who had stolen the fire: "So keep this fire! You will sleep close to it for warmth, but your children will die!³²⁵ You will burn your children in it when they die! You will grieve when this fire makes their eyes burst!³²⁶ As for me I'll live near the sources of the rivers, in the cold!" That was how she spoke in her anger. Then she went upstream—*yamo!*— and became a frog that hides by the sources of the rivers. As for Caiman he was frightened by the theft of his fire and threw himself into the river: *kobikē!* He turned into a caiman and, like his wife, remained in the cold.

The crested oropendola people who had taken the fire placed it in the heart of the wood where it still is: in the wood of the cacao tree,³²⁷ in the pith of the arrow reed,³²⁸ in the wood of the *washihi*,³²⁹ *shuhuturimēnahi*, and urucu trees,³³⁰ and in the interior of small dry branches. It was the crested oropendola people who put the fire in the heart of the trees and inside the cacao wood drills; that is why it is easy since that time to make it come out of there. These sticks are twisted between one's hands and the fire begins to smolder.³³¹ The crested oropendola people also caused the fire to penetrate the leaves of the *waramasikē* palm³³² and the wood of the *seiseiunahi*³³³ tree. Although Caiman kept it hidden in his mouth it was they who took the fire and put it very high up in an *amahi* tree when he dropped it, and then they caused it to enter the heart of the other trees. After acquiring fire the people began to use it to warm themselves and to cook their food.

In primeval times when the animal ancestors did not have fire they used to eat their food raw. When Frog left she was furious and cursed them before transforming into an animal. She taught them to burn their dead in funerary cremations. Do we not incinerate our dead in Caiman's fire? We burn the dead as Caiman's wife told us when she left; it was she who taught us to do it. That is how it was.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

In primeval times without fire only Caiman and his wife Frog have fire on which they secretly roast their food (caterpillars). To their fellow villagers they give only raw caterpillars. One day their secret is discovered. People perform dance to make Caiman laugh and drop live coals which he keeps

hidden in his mouth. Their plan works, and when coals fall birds pick them up and take them to certain trees where fire still resides today.

Motif content

A1414.	Origin of fire.
A1414.7.1.	Tree as repository of fire.
A1415.0.2.	Original fire property of one person (animal).
A1415.2.1.	Theft of fire by bird.
A1415.4.	Vain attempts to circumvent theft of fire.
A1465.3.	Origin of ornaments.
A1518.	Why food is cooked.
A1542.2.	Origin of particular dance.
A1547.	Origin of funeral customs.
A1592.	Origin of cremation.
A2341.+.	Why caiman has red mouth. (A2341. Origin and nature of animal's mouth.)
A2344.1.+.	Why caiman has short tongue. (A2344.1. Why animal has short tongue.)
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D190.+.	Transformation: man to caiman. (D190. Transformation: man to reptiles and miscellaneous animals.)
D195.+.	Transformation: woman to frog. (D195. Transformation: man to frog.)
K300.	Thefts and cheats—general.
K330.	Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner.
M430.	Curses on persons.
N440.+.	Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)
Q556.12.	Curse for stealing.
W152.	Stinginess.

51. The Origin of Fire

A long time ago when the Yanomami did not have fire they ate all their food raw.

One day they were out in the forest looking for caterpillars, and they ate them raw. Iwariwë was also looking for caterpillars, but he secretly roasted them in the forest so that no one would see. He would roast some caterpillars and place them in his basket, covering them with leaves. On top he would put the raw caterpillars to give them to the people.

In the communal house during the night they could hear Iwariwë eating something crunchy, for it sounded *cra, cra, cra* when he chewed. The people wondered what he might be eating.

One morning Iwariwë and his wife Preiyōma went to the forest. When they had left, Pokorariyoma began to search under Iwariwë's hammock to see whether she could find some remains of what the other had been eating during the night. She looked and looked among the leaves and sticks on the ground. Finally she found the head of a roasted caterpillar. "Aha," said the old woman, "now we know that Iwariwë cooks his food with the fire that he keeps hidden in his mouth!"

All the Yanomami gathered to talk about this, and how to obtain fire for themselves. It was not easy, for Iwariwë was very stingy. Finally they said: "We must make him laugh, and when he opens his mouth we'll steal the fire from him."

In the afternoon when Iwariwë and his wife returned home everyone came to visit them, sitting in a circle around them. Yōrekitirariwë was squatting next to Iwariwë's hammock, and a bit farther behind sat Kanapororiwë. Both wanted to try and steal the fire. Everyone was behaving in a silly way to make Iwariwë laugh, but with no results. He lay in his hammock, seemingly angry, without seeing any of what they were doing.

Tohomamoriwë, clowning, approached Iwariwë and said: "*Preo, preo, preo, preo*," looking to see whether the other would open his eyes a bit. When he did, Tohomamoriwë defecated—*prrr*—dirtying the bystanders. Seeing this spectacle Iwariwë began to laugh loudly: "Ha, ha, ha!" At that moment fire emerged from his mouth. Yōrekitirariwë grabbed it but was not strong enough to lift it. Preiyōma began to urinate profusely to put out the fire, but Kanapororiwë seized it in time and flew to a dry *apia* tree where he left it.

Iwariwë and Preiyōma were furious. "You will suffer a lot with that fire!" she yelled. "When the men are angry with their wives they will burn the skin on their breasts and legs, and when you die the fire will devour your bodies. We, on the other hand, are going to live in the streams where it is cooler!" And at that same moment they jumped into the water to live there forever.

Since then the Yanomami have had fire.

Informant: Monouthëri Hukoshikiwë

Source: Finkers 1986, pp. 171–173.

Summary

Man is sole owner of fire, which he keeps in his mouth. When people find out they steal it from him by tricking him into laughing.

Motif content

A1414.	Origin of fire.
A1414.7.1.	Tree as repository of fire.
A1415.0.2.	Original fire property of one person (animal).
A1415.2.1.	Theft of fire by bird.
A1415.4.	Vain attempts to circumvent theft of fire.
K300.	Thefts and cheats—general.
K330.	Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner.
M300.	Prophecies.
N440.+.	Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)
W152.	Stinginess.

52. The Origin of Fire

A long time ago there was a man called Iwariwë who lived with his people. He was one of our ancestors. They lived very far away.

Iwariwë used to roast his caterpillars. He ate his food roasted, but his people ate everything raw, for they had no fire to roast it. Iwariwë always brought home raw caterpillars to his people. He was deceiving them, for he himself would secretly roast caterpillars; yet he gave them raw to the others.

When Iwariwë ate it sounded: *cra, cra, cra*. The people thought: "What can that man be eating?" They discussed it among themselves.

One day when Iwariwë and his wife had gone to the forest Pokorariyoma searched in the rubbish under Iwariwë's hammock, in his house, looking everywhere until she found a burned leaf. She went on searching and found a roasted caterpillar. "Aha! He eats his food roasted!" they said. They cleaned the patio. Iwariwë was still in the forest. When he returned with his wife his patio was clean. "Ah," he thought, "I'm sure they want fire." He became angry and lay down in his hammock without looking at anyone: he was furious. His people sat down around him and took some snuff. While they sniffed they clowned to make Iwariwë laugh, but nothing happened. They continued with their silliness until Iwariwë began to speak. When he spoke, smoke came out of his mouth. The people said: "Look, it's true, Iwariwë has fire in his mouth!" They were

very happy. Every time Iwariwë spoke smoke came out of his mouth, but no fire.

The last person to clown was Teshoriwë. He began to dance around Iwariwë, singing: "*Tu, tu, tuuu, sii, sii, siiii,*" and acting crudely. Iwariwë began to laugh: "*Ha, ha, ha,*" and fire emerged from his mouth and fell on the ground. It was clean and beautiful. Yōrekitirariwë, who was under Iwariwë's hammock, quickly seized the fire, but was unable to fly with it. Kanapororiwë grabbed it in time and flew high up with it, saying: "*Kia, kia, kia, hutu, tu, tu, tu.*" He put it in the top of a tall tree, and a lot of fire came out.

Iwariwë's wife scolded all the ancient Yanomami. Her name was Pretipretiyōma. "You stole our fire! Now we'll always live in the water!" And they jumped into the river to remain there forever. Pretipretiyōma turned into a frog and Iwariwë became an alligator.

Since that time our ancestors never again ate raw meat, for now they had fire.

Informant: Pishaasithëri Hakokoiwë

Source: Finkers 1986, pp. 171–173.

Summary

Primeval Yanomami steal fire from its sole owner who keeps it in his mouth and refuses to share it.

Motif content

A1414.	Origin of fire.
A1414.7.1.	Tree as repository of fire.
A1415.0.2.	Original fire property of one person (animal).
A1415.2.1.	Theft of fire by bird.
A1415.4.	Vain attempts to circumvent theft of fire.
D194.1.	Transformation: man to alligator.
D195.+.	Transformation: woman to frog. (D195.
	Transformation: man to frog.)
K300.	Thefts and cheats—general.
K330.	Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner.
N440.+.	Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)
W152.	Stinginess.

53. The Origin of Fire³³⁴

The forest with its innumerable plants and fruits had already been created, and the world was also inhabited by people as well as by all kinds of animals. Only fire was lacking. Therefore people were only able to eat raw meat besides their vegetarian diet, and during the night they were cold in their hammocks. But they knew that the alligator³³⁵ had fire in his mouth. In spite of all their pleas he would not give away any. Then the people resorted to trickery. They asked the hummingbird to fly around the alligator and make jokes. At first the alligator was unmoved and took no notice of the little bird. But finally he could no longer suppress his laughter, and fire shot out from his open mouth. The people were very happy and thanked the hummingbird profusely.

Informant: Hewemão

Source: Becher 1974, pp. 33–34.

Motif content

A1414.	Origin of fire.
A1415.0.2.	Original fire property of one person (animal).
B450.	Helpful birds.
K300.	Thefts and cheats—general.
K330.	Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner.
W152.	Stinginess.

54. The Origin of Fire

Long ago one Yanomamo alone had fire: It was Iwa-riwë. He was tall and walked with his legs apart. He guarded his fire so jealously that he kept it hidden under his tongue.³³⁶

Iwa-riwë was the most wicked man among the Yanomamo. He was bad because he was stingy, and would not give anyone even the smallest ember from his fire. The others would return from the hunt and would ask him for a bit of fire to roast the meat. Nothing! They had to wash it well, rub it over a stone, express all the blood, and then eat it raw.

The rains came and it was cold. Iwa-riwë would spit out some fire, light the hearth, cook his food, and then warm himself nicely.

Whenever he wanted to he would put out the fire with his hands. He would not allow the other Yanomamo to even get close to his fire.

Iwa-riwë had no friends, as no stingy men do. By now the people were resigned and expected nothing from him. They were tired of asking him for a bit of fire.

But there was one small man, clever and talkative, who would not give up. His name was Yorekitiramĩ. Iwa-riwë kept chasing him away but he kept on circling the hammock of the owner of fire. He talked a lot to Iwa-riwë and made him laugh with his buffoonery. Whenever Iwa-riwë moved, Yorekitiramĩ did not take his eyes off him.

The rains made the nights very cold. Many Yanomamo had colds and coughed. If they had had Iwa-riwë's fire they would have been able to warm themselves, and that would have been enough to make them well. But the owner of fire continued to be stubborn, and denied even the sick people his fire. In short, he scoffed at all of them.

Then many Yanomamo became seriously ill. Even Iwa-riwë got influenza.

It was a morning with dense fog. Iwa-riwë got up with a terrible headache, but he was sleepy; the influenza had kept him from sleeping. He went back to bed like all the rest. No one went to the plantation;³³⁷ no one went hunting. They were all sick. Desperately some people approached Iwa-riwë and begged him: "We're your relatives. Give us some fire, or we'll die." All was in vain. But Yorekitiramĩ remained near Iwa-riwë's hammock, alert as never before. The owner of fire was dozing when suddenly he sneezed: *atchún!*³³⁸ The fire jumped out of his mouth. Iwa-riwë was in a daze and did not know what was going on. When he realized what had happened Yorekitiramĩ already had the fire in his hands and was running far away, jumping madly with joy.

Iwa-riwë had lost the fire. Furious, he fled far away from the communal house; he did not want to see the Yanomamo any longer. In despair he dived into the river and turned into an alligator.

Yorekitiramĩ returned to the house and distributed the fire among all the Yanomamo. Seeing that everyone had his lighted fire he became even happier and jumped so high that he landed among the branches of a tree. There, and gradually in all the trees in the forest, he left a small spark of fire. That is why wood can be burned. He put more into the cacao tree, which is why this tree is good to use as kindling. Going from tree to tree he was transformed into a black bird with a beak as red as fire.³³⁹

When Iwa-riwë spat out the fire, Pre-yoma, one of the women present, screamed in horror and said: "You will be made to suffer because of that fire which you wanted so badly and which Yorekitiramī took from Iwa-riwë. You ought to have left it in the mouth of its owner, then you would have been happy. Instead you have taken something which is *parimi* (eternal), which will make you suffer forever: all of you, and all your descendants, will be burned by fire.³⁴⁰ I don't want to be burned, I am going to live happily without fire. Fire shall never touch my body."

Thus spoke the woman, and then she threw herself into a stream, turning into a little orange-colored toad.³⁴¹

Source: Cocco 1972, pp. 381–382.

Summary

Iwa-riwë, sole owner of fire, guards it jealously in his mouth, refusing to share it even when sickness strikes entire village. However, one man waits by his hammock, and one day when Iwa-riwë sneezes hard he expels fire. Man grabs it and distributes it among people.

Motif content

A1414.	Origin of fire.
A1414.7.1.	Tree as repository of fire.
A1415.0.2.	Original fire property of one person (animal).
A2343.2.	Why bird's beak is colored.
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D194.1.	Transformation: man to alligator.
D196.+.	Transformation: woman to toad. (D196. Transformation: man to toad.)
M300.	Prophecies.
W152.	Stinginess.

55. Fire Hidden in the Alligator's Mouth

During those days, the alligator was the only one who cooked little leaf wrappings of caterpillars over there. He always did this secretly.

The child of the *pokola* bird man was home lying in a hammock. He looked all around the inside of the house. As he looked he saw a little burned leaf lying on the ground and laid it on his chest. The

father came back home carrying on his back caterpillars wrapped up with a bundle of honey attached.

The child of the *pokola* bird man who was in the hammock prompted some retorts from the alligator: "Only my father went out to get honey." "Oh, the lousy honey makes you itch." "Only my father went out to get *samonama* honey." "Oh, the lousy honey is full of little wood-boring insects." "Only my father went out to get *sapomy* honey." "Oh, the lousy honey makes you itch."

While they were saying that, the father carried in lots of caterpillars wrapped up, made two wrappings of caterpillars and gave them to the alligator. He took the wrappings of caterpillars, and at dusk he cooked them with fire from his mouth.

Now at a festival they were kidding around, but because he kept his mouth closed all the alligator could do when he laughed was to mutter: "*Mhm, mhm.*" Then they called for the little *hiomanimasy* bird and brought him closer to the alligator, all the while laughing hard. As they approached, the alligator said: "I'm going to end up aughing." He told his wife—the frog who goes *pwe, pwe, pwe*—to be alert. "Be alert," the alligator said. She replied: "Okay, okay," but she was not. She was not paying attention and they danced, coming closer and closer.

The little *hiomonimasy* bird stuck some bent *mio* leaves into the side of his basket, and when he finished he let go with excrement on one of them standing there. They all laughed: "*Ha ha ha ha hai. Ha ha ha ha hai.*" Then he defecated on another one standing there. "*Ha ha ha hai,*" they laughed. There where the alligator was standing he defecated on one after another, and each time they laughed. The *hiomonimasy* bird got to the one standing right next to the alligator, defecated, and they laughed around the circle.

He defecated on the one where the alligator was standing and they laughed. Then he defecated on the alligator. The alligator laughed and out of his mouth popped the fire. The *solokamasy* bird immediately landed on it, but right away he fell down with the fire.

Now the *maipiomy* bird snatched it and landed on the stump of an *apia* tree. It was the *maipiomy* bird who got the fire and put it into the stump of the *apia* tree. He put the fire inside the holes of the trees and it multiplied. It went into the *mani* tree, into the inner bark that slings are made of, into the annatto tree, and into the *ylanato* tree. It multiplied all over the forest.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

Alligator, sole owner of fire, keeps fire hidden in his mouth. Villagers make him laugh, fire pops out, and people steal it.

Motif content

A1414.	Origin of fire.
A1414.7.1.	Tree as repository of fire.
A1415.0.2.	Original fire property of one person (animal).
A1415.2.1.	Theft of fire by bird.
A1415.4.	Vain attempts to circumvent theft of fire.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.
K300.	Thefts and cheats—general.
K330.	Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner.
N440.+.	Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)
W152.	Stinginess.

56. The Theft of Fire

Caiman was the owner of fire, and they took it from him by surprise. Caiman and his wife used to go into the forest alone where they would roast their packets of caterpillars over the coals. Caiman kept the fire hidden in his mouth. Every time he left he would repeat to his children: "My sons, I'm going into the forest to look for food. If you must climb a tree while searching for food, hold on firmly!" He would add: "Don't fight while you're traveling!" That was his advice. Then he would go into the forest to cook his packages of food on the embers. He used to eat his food cooked.

One day during his absence the ancestors said to Pokorari's two children: "Little ones, go and see whether some cooked food hasn't fallen on the ground near the old man's fire." The two children remained alone in the house while the other people attended to their tasks. They went and rummaged around near Caiman's hearth and found a cooked caterpillar there. Because of his negligence Caiman had caused a cooked caterpillar to be discovered. "Older brother, the Pokorari have found a caterpillar which is completely curled from being cooked." The child who had made the find tied the caterpillar to his father's hammock rope, wrapped in a leaf. When the father returned the child told him what he had done.

"Children, come and sit here," said an old man. They gathered near him. "Those two over there are eating cooked food." They talked about Caiman. "Tomorrow we'll enjoy ourselves," said someone among them. Then, turning to Black-Faced Antthrush, he added: "Tomorrow you will have fun with us; you will cover him with excrement. When he starts to laugh we'll take the fire from him."

They slept. In the morning the old man said: "You will make merry. You will pass in front of us one by one, circle the house, and then return. You, Tepui Wren, will plait a piece of openwork basketry, and the rest of us will pair off and paint each other's bodies with patterns." Tepui Wren plaited the piece of basketry, and the men covered their bodies with motifs. "Enjoy yourselves!" proclaimed two old men. They gathered. In the center of the assembly brothers were grouped. They danced while performing pranks, and the two old men participated as well. "Yes, that's it!" They filed past, one behind the other. Then they realized that Tepui Wren was not taking part in the merrymaking. "Come on, you too, have some fun! Have you thought about what you are going to do?" "Why are they playing games?" wondered Caiman. He was tall. Now he was watching them, stretched out diagonally in his hammock. The elbow of his bent arm on which his head was resting pointed toward them. Several among them had already danced, affecting grotesque and amusing postures.

That was the moment they chose to talk to Black-Faced Antthrush in a low voice: "Hurry up, now it's your turn. We'll grab the fire and warm ourselves by it." Crested Oropendola and Black Nun Bird (both have a red beak) began talking in whispers. "Go over and squat below him; creep behind him without being noticed and crouch down," whispered Crested Oropendola to Black Nun Bird. Aloud he said: "I'm going to sit next to my older brother." He went over to Caiman and added: "Big brother, let the children have fun; it's not important." And he sat down very close to Caiman. "Play, children!" From then on he watched attentively what was going on. Black-Faced Antthrush presented himself. He shook his tail, lifted it, and showed his anus; his tail was dancing rhythmically. Thus he approached Caiman with his tail in the air. The people burst out laughing: "Ha, ha, ha!" Antthrush slipped and turned, and all of a sudden he spattered Caiman with excrement. The moment the latter began to laugh the fire popped from his mouth. Black Nun Bird, who had been crouching below Caiman pretending not to notice, quickly seized it. He had taken possession of the fire but was not

able to take flight. Prueheyoma, Caiman's wife, nearly succeeded in extinguishing the fire by urinating on it. Then Crested Oropendola rushed over to him, grabbed the fire, and flew and deposited it on the dry branch of an *apia* tree. The fire spread along the dry wood and glowing embers began falling. Prueheyoma cursed them: "By this fire, by this eternal fire you will suffer! You will be reduced to dust! Your charred remains will be gathered and you will crush one another with a pestle!" she predicted.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Before existence of fire, people accidentally discover that Caiman and his wife have secretly been eating cooked food. Knowing that he keeps fire in his mouth they plan elaborate scheme to make him laugh. When he does, fire pops out of his mouth and they seize it. Caiman's wife curses them.

Motif content

A1414.	Origin of fire.
A1414.7.1.	Tree as repository of fire.
A1415.0.2.	Original fire property of one person (animal).
A1415.2.1.	Theft of fire by bird.
A1415.4.	Vain attempts to circumvent theft of fire.
A1592.	Origin of cremation.
K300.	Thefts and cheats—general.
K330.	Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner.
M430.	Curses on persons.
N440.+.	Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)
Q556.12.	Curse for stealing.
W152.	Stinginess.

57. The Theft of Fire

Caiman introduced fire.

In the region of the Waika, Caiman used to cook his caterpillars on the bank of the River of the Two Eaters of Tongue. When the caterpillars appeared in large numbers on the tree trunks along the riverbanks and the time came to gather them, the people would eat them raw. They would chew their food raw. In the morning everyone would go off to attend to their tasks. Caiman would return long after the others when the sun was already setting. Pretending not to

know about fire he would offer them raw caterpillars. Alone in the forest he always put together his packages in the same way: on the bottom he would place the caterpillars that were curled from being cooked, and above them the raw ones, all the way to the rim. It was Prueheyoma, his stocky wife, who would distribute the raw caterpillars. Later they would secretly eat their own.

Thus a long time passed. One day the daughter of Pokorariyoma, who had stayed behind in the house alone, went and rummaged about among the dead leaves near Caiman's hearth. She discovered a caterpillar that had accidentally fallen, all curled from having been cooked. When the men and women had returned to the house after their morning activities she stood in front of them and showed them her find. "Those two are eating cooked caterpillars by themselves," the people concluded immediately. They gathered without losing any time. "All right, children, have some fun!" They formed a group with Caiman in the center, and began to play around. Without even a smile Caiman watched them perform their pranks. They did unusual things. Finally it was Black-Faced Antthrush who succeeded in making him laugh. Lifting his rear end he aimed a stream of excrement at his companions. They shouted, and Caiman lost all control over himself and burst into laughter with them, spitting out the beautiful fire that he was hiding in his mouth. Black Nun Bird grabbed some but was not able to gain much height; his flight was low and clumsy. Prueheyoma pursued him and, arching her body forward, let loose a stream of urine which threatened to extinguish the fire. Then Crested Oropendola took flight, seized the fire, and deposited it on the dry branch of an *apia* tree. Prueheyoma pronounced this curse: "From now on fire will make you unhappy. You have found it, but through it you will know unhappiness and suffering. As for me I will remain in the cool river; I won't die. But you will be unhappy; your burned remains will be reduced to powder, and their fragments will be scattered on the ground. In this fire you will be burned, one after another."

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Caiman, sole owner of fire, is tricked into releasing it. Angrily his wife pronounces curse upon people.

Motif content

A1414. Origin of fire.

A1414.7.1.	Tree as repository of fire.
A1415.0.2.	Original fire property of one person (animal).
A1415.2.1.	Theft of fire by bird.
A1415.4.	Vain attempts to circumvent theft of fire.
A1592.	Origin of cremation.
K300.	Thefts and cheats—general.
K330.	Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner.
M430.	Curses on persons.
N440.+.	Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)
Q556.12.	Curse for stealing.
W152.	Stinginess.

58. Iwariwe and Fire

Iwariwe had fire in his mouth. His wife's name was Iwariome. She said to her husband: "Don't kill anyone with fire; we want to eat our enemies with pure blood." Iwariwe did not care about other people. Whenever someone had bagged some game Iwariwe would always come and eat it. He also ate other people's children. He ate nothing cooked, only raw, bloody meat.

Finally his enemies arranged a feast and invited Iwariwe and his wife. Kasayoe organized the feast. Iwariwe's enemies were called Yoro Kōte Yariwe and Kanaborotaue. They place some *abiu* wood near Iwariwe, and it began to burn. Iwariwe became furious and jumped into the waterfall, turning into an alligator. His wife also jumped into the waterfall and became an alligator.

Informants: Henrique and Matthäus

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 151.

Motif content

D194.1.	Transformation: man to alligator.
G312.	Cannibal ogre.

59. Fire Hidden in Alligator's Mouth

Long ago there was fire in the alligator's mouth. The alligator said: "Your children can get burned by that fire." In response the frogs

that say "*Pwe, pwe*" gave him a tongue-lashing, and the alligator retorted: "You can just stay at home in the upper end of the valley and keep saying '*Pwe, pwe*.' "

There were little coals in the alligator's mouth. The children of the *pokola* bird man found a burned coal on the ground.

After they danced, the *hiimoni* bird defecated on the alligator's body and took the fire up high.

A long time ago the *solokoamasy* bird perched down low with the fire. That fire flew upward from the alligator, and burning coals went right up into the tree (the wood of which is rubbed to make fire). Those burning coals went there, and right then the people learned about fire.

Informant: Sitiho

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

A1414.	Origin of fire.
A1414.7.1.	Tree as repository of fire.
A1415.0.2.	Original fire property of one person (animal).
A1415.2.1.	Theft of fire by bird.
A1415.4.	Vain attempts to circumvent theft of fire.
K300.	Thefts and cheats—general.
W152.	Stinginess.

60. How People Acquired Fire

Horonami said to Poré: "Make fire for us; it's cold." Poré replied: "It's not necessary for me to make a fire. You take a piece of wood, break it, and insert it into a hole in a tree." Then the tree fell and began to burn.

Informant: Wanderley

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 156.

Motif content

A1414.	Origin of fire.
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61. How People Acquired Fire

Pariwa said to Horonami: "You must take the wood of the wild cacao tree. Then drill a hole in the wood with a wooden stick, rubbing it back and forth between your hands. Soon it will begin to glow, and you'll have fire."

Informant: Henrique

Source: Knobloch 1967, pp. 156–157.

Motif content

A1414.1. Origin of fire—rubbing sticks.

62. Hōrōnami

A long time ago, when Hōrōnami was living near Hikarina, people ate only earth. In those days the night did not exist; it was daytime even when people slept.

It happened that Hōrōnami was asleep. The people of Hikarina were having sex and doing a lot of dirty things in the house. Everyone could see them; they were shameless. Those things are done behind the house or in the forest. Hōrōnami's wife, who was awake, made noise to awaken her husband: *boom, boom, boom*. "Don't sleep, don't you see all the bad things the women are doing?" "Oh, leave me alone!" But Hōrōnami got up. Picking up his blowgun he called his son, and together they left the house. First he had told his wife to prepare firewood for the fire.

When Hōrōnami and his son were in the forest they came across a guan (the kind they call *titiri*) in a *paikawa kōhi* tree. The son launched the first arrow, but it barely grazed the bird's wing feathers. Hōrōnami noticed that when the arrow touched the feathers there was a brief moment of darkness, and said: "That's it, that's what we'll do." He shot the guan, which fell to the ground with a thud: *boom*. At once a dark and long night fell. The hunters in the forest lost their way and shouted: "Come and get us, come and get us!" In the house they heard the cries and set off in search of the lost hunters. To light their way they took firebrands from the hearth of Hōrōnami's wife, moving them back and forth in the air. That was the first night.

Hōrōnami returned home. There he lay down to sleep, and dreamed: he saw a large, beautiful place full of bananas, a *nonihioma* place. The people there were eating these tasty fruits; they did not eat earth as he did.

When daytime came Hōrōnami immediately set off in search of the place with all the bananas. He walked and walked, climbing up and down hills, searching everywhere.

One day he met Āsikiemariwē who was sitting in a tree eating guamas. Hōrōnami said: "Throw me some fruit." Āsikiemariwē replied: "No, I won't give you anything." He was very stingy. Hōrōnami said nothing, but he took a liana and caught Āsikiemariwē's neck with it, pulling very hard. Āsikiemariwē cried loudly: "Oh, oh!" The liana penetrated his flesh, and his head rolled to the ground. Hōrōnami pushed Āsikiemariwē's body off the path, and there it remained in the forest like a rotten tree trunk. It can still be found today.

Hōrōnami continued on his way and met Hāshōriwē, who was eating *pahi* guama fruits and crying. "Why are you crying?" he asked. "I don't have any tobacco." Hōrōnami asked him for some guamas, which the other gave him. Looking at the fruits he introduced curare into some seeds. That is why there are worms in those seeds today. Hāshōriwē went on crying. Hōrōnami said to him: "Look what's on the handle of your stone axe!" Hāshōriwē quickly descended and found a roll of tobacco. (Hōrōnami had hidden behind a tree to see what Hāshōriwē was doing.) As soon as he put the tobacco in his mouth he began to feel dizzy. Everything was turning before his eyes and he shouted from excitement. He spat out the saliva which filled his mouth, and where the saliva fell tobacco plants grew.

Hōrōnami went on his way, still searching, and met Ārimariwē who was eating *wakama* guamas. "Throw me some guamas," demanded Hōrōnami. Ārimariwē, who was stingy, threw him a couple, some of which were empty and others still had very small seeds. Hōrōnami put curare in these as well, and that is why we cannot eat them; they are too bitter.

He continued walking, going farther and farther away. Then he heard something, but was unable to see anything. Climbing a tree to see better he discovered Taakaimiriwē sitting in a *hayu* tree and eating fruit. He walked over to him and asked for some fruits. "There aren't any," was Taakaimiriwē's answer, but he let a few fall. Hōrōnami put a bit of curare into these seeds as well, that is why they are somewhat bitter. But if we toast them we can eat them.

Hōrōnami was asking for all these things in order to become familiar with them.

He went on his way, and after a long time he heard the sound of an armadillo. It was Mōrōiwē. "What are you doing?" "E, e, e, e, e." The armadillo was extracting honey from a hollow tree. "I always crawl into hollows like this and eat the delicious honey." He made the hole larger so that Hōrōnami would be able to enter. Once the latter was inside Mōrō began to make magic, and the hole closed leaving Hōrōnami inside, shouting. It was a very large *horoweti* tree. But with his shaman's power Hōrōnami shook the tree until it split open with a dry cracking sound: *plan*. Mōrō grew faint from fear and wanted to escape, but he could not. Seizing Mōrō's stone axe, Hōrōnami hit him several times with it when he tried to hide. Mōrō's intestines came out and were transformed into *shiki natosi*, a plant that grows in abundance in the forest.

Once again Hōrōnami resumed his wanderings, and then he met Wakēhawē, who was singing loudly. He was lying in his hammock, rocking himself gently over the fire which he had prepared. This is how he sang: "*Wakēhaēēē pomoyowēēē!*"

After observing this, Hōrōnami continued walking. Then he saw a house (he did not know that there were people living in that place). He entered. It was the house belonging to Pomoyowē, who now said to Hōrōnami: "Husband of my daughter, come in!" He offered his guest a meal of two kinds of ticks, and after that he gave him his daughter. When they lay in the hammock, the woman grabbed Hōrōnami with both hands to keep him from escaping. Pomoyowē was also watching him. Hōrōnami was awake, and he realized that he was being watched. He took a piece of a *matoya* arm ornament and threw it on the fire. Pomoyowē and his daughter fell into a deep sleep, which Hōrōnami took advantage of to escape and climb a tree. Shortly afterward Pomoyowē's family searched everywhere but failed to find the fugitive. Hōrōnami was laughing. Pomoyowē heard him but could not find him, and she returned home.

Hōrōnami continued on his way, still searching for the *nonihioma* place which he had seen in his dream. On and on he walked, up and down hills. Already he had seen many things.

One day as he walked he heard the sound of approaching rain. Quickly he made a small lean-to so he would not get wet. Without realizing it he was on Pore's path. Then he saw Pore, carrying bananas and blowing on the rain, saying: "Uao, uao, uao." He was walking with his head bent and his hands on top of his head, for the

bananas were heavy. Hōrōnami thought it might be Pore. "Who are you?" he asked. "I'm Pore," was the answer. Pore set down his burden of bananas on the ground. Hōrōnami asked for one, and Pore obliged. Hōrōnami opened the fruit to look at the seeds. Seeing the black thing that is in the heart of the banana he thought it was the seed. "Is this what you sow?" he asked Pore. "No, you must plant the banana seedlings." And he explained how bananas are planted and how to prepare and burn a plantation. "Go away," he then said to Hōrōnami. The latter pretended to leave, but he followed Pore secretly. Walking along, he found Pore's plantation. The birds were singing. Quickly Hōrōnami picked seedlings of each type of banana that Pore had. After cutting off the plant he left the upper part in its place so that Pore would not know that he had taken a few plants.

Then he left. Near Hikarina he prepared a plantation and planted the banana seedlings. As he was a great shaman he blew, and immediately the whole plantation was full of large banana plants with ripe fruits. But he said nothing to his people in Hikarina. He went hunting and killed many peccaries but he brought home only one, a young one. The rest he left in the water.

When he came home he made *kawaamou*³⁴² and said to his people: "Go and fetch the peccaries, and then we'll eat meat with bananas." Everyone became curious and said: "Let's see what Hōrōnami is doing. What are bananas?" And they went to fetch the peccaries that Hōrōnami had killed.

Hōrōnami ate the roasted young peccary with bananas to try it, and it was very tasty. His people came back with the meat, and then went to the plantation to pick bananas. Those that were ripe they ate together with the meat.

Then everyone prepared his own plantation. After dividing up the banana seedlings among themselves they planted as Hōrōnami had told them. Thus they made the first plantations, and to this day we eat meat with bananas.

Informant: Paruriwë

Source: Finkers 1986, pp. 118–124.

Summary

Offended by people having sex in broad daylight, before night existed, Hōrōnami brings darkness by killing bird of night. Later he dreams of seeing field full of bananas (until then unknown to people) and leaves to search for this fruit. Underway he has repeated encounters with mythical creatures

who let him taste their food (plants). Armadillo traps him inside tree, but he magically escapes. He also escapes from creature who wants to marry him off to his daughter. Finally he meets Pore, owner of banana plantation, who teaches him how to plant. After stealing some seedlings from Pore he returns home and introduces bananas among his people.

Motif content

A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
A541.2.	Culture hero as god of agriculture.
A1174.	Origin of night.
A1420.6.	At beginning people start to eat the earth.
A1441.+.	Acquisition of agriculture: plants stolen from supernatural creature. (A1441. Acquisition of agriculture.)
A2687.5.	Origin of banana.
A2755.+.	Why the seeds of some plants have worms. (A2755. Internal parts of plant.)
A2771.8.	Why tree has bitter fruit.
B30.+.	Bird of the night. (B30. Mythical birds.)
B172.	Magic bird.
B191.+.	Armadillo as magician. (B191. Animal as magician.)
B192.	Magic animal killed.
D457.+.	Transformation: intestines to plant. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.)
D908.	Magic darkness.
D1364.	Object causes magic sleep.
D1799.+.	Magic results from blowing. (D1799. Magic results from other acts.)
D1960.	Magic sleep.
D2146.2.1.	Night produced by magic.
D2157.2.	Magic quick growth of crops.
D2165.	Escapes by magic.
D2178.+.	Tobacco produced by magic. (D2178. Objects produced by magic.)
F403.2.3.6.	Spirit gives counsel.
F420.2.3.+.	Spirit has garden. (F420.2.3. Water-spirits have garden.)
F470.	Night-spirits.
F979.17.	Plants grow without being sown.
H1320.2.	Quest for things seen in dream.
K600.+.	Escape by putting captor to sleep. (K600. Murderer or captor otherwise beguiled.)
K700.	Capture by deception.
K714.3.	Dupe tricked into entering hollow tree.
K737.1.	Dupe lured into hole and entrance closed.

K2295. +.	Treacherous armadillo. (K2295. Treacherous animals.)
N770.	Experiences leading to adventures.
Q42.	Generosity rewarded.
Q261.	Treachery punished.
Q276.	Stinginess punished.
Q421.	Punishment: beheading.
R311.	Tree refuge.
T323.	Escape from undesired lover by strategy.
W152.	Stinginess.

63. Horonamí and Ruerí, the Bird of the Night

Horonamí was the husband and brother of Petá, who was the chief of the Ironasitéri tribe. There were also three more brothers, Uruhí, Totorí, and Horemá.³⁴³

One day when Horonamí was out hunting he saw in a tree the black curassow³⁴⁴ which he wanted to kill. But when he had launched his arrow and hit the bird, suddenly darkness fell. Horonamí realized that he had made a mistake and instead of killing a curassow he had killed the bird of the night. He wandered around aimlessly in the dark, not knowing how to get back to his house. He had completely lost his sense of direction, something that had never before happened to him.

Suddenly he saw in the distance a brightly shining fire. As he approached he noticed three hammocks hung around the fire in which lay an old man with a long white beard, a middle-aged woman, and a very pretty young girl. Horonamí realized that they were Poré (the lord of the moon), and their daughter Hetumá (the sky) who looked very much like his own wife, Petá. They greeted Horonamí in a friendly way and Poré urged him to sit down by the fire. Perimbó offered him some steamed bananas, and Hetumá gave him fresh water from a calabash.

But when Horonamí had recovered his strength Poré's face changed from friendly to grave. "You have done something very bad," he said, "for your arrow killed Ruerí, the bird of the night. Since he can no longer return to the underworld through the hole dug by the armadillo,³⁴⁵ eternal darkness must reign on earth."

Horonamí was desperate, and also thought of what would become of his family and fellow tribesmen. He begged Poré and the latter's

wife Perimbó to resuscitate the bird Ruerí. But Poré replied that this would be possible only if he, Horonamí, died, thus avenging the death of Ruerí. Horonamí agreed at once in order to give daylight back to his tribe.

But now Hetumá, who would have liked to marry Horonamí, entered the conversation. She begged her father to have mercy, for after all Horonamí was part of their family, being Poré's son and her own brother. As Perimbó spoke to him in a similar vein Poré finally relented. He asked Horonamí if he wanted to marry his daughter Hetumá. When the other agreed Poré gave him permission to lie down with her in her hammock.

When they had intercourse that night, before Hetumá untied his penis string, Horonamí was under the impression that she was Petá. The next morning the reborn bird Ruerí flew out from Hetumá's vulva, and soon after a bright new day began.

Poré told Horonamí never to speak of this experience.

For breakfast Horonamí was again given bananas, and only then did he notice that this was a fruit that he had never seen before. He asked Poré if he could have some more so that the other members of his tribe might get to know it too. Then Poré gave him a carrying basket full of bananas, and banana plants as well. He also explained how to plant them, and how to care for them and harvest them.

After the meal Horonamí went hunting with Poré, and the two women gathered fruit. The men brought back a curassow which the women then prepared. After dinner Horonamí again lay down in the hammock with his young wife. Because she again reminded him strongly of Petá he took a palm needle during intercourse, while she was very aroused, and pricked her upper lip with its genipap-colored point.

When Horonamí woke up the next morning Poré, Perimbó, and also his young wife Hetumá were gone. Only the banana plants and the basket with bananas were still standing next to his hammock. He picked them up and started walking home, where Petá, his brothers, and the rest of the people had been anxiously waiting for him. Now they told him about a particularly long-lasting, very dark night during which Petá and the other women had been given a pointed tattoo on the upper lip by an unknown creature. Horonamí said nothing, for he had promised Poré not to mention his adventure. But now he knew that Petá and Hetumá were one and the same.

He showed the tribespeople the bananas he had brought, which everyone found very tasty, and explained to them how to plant. From then on bananas became a staple food in the tribe.

Informant: Renato

Source: Becher 1974, pp. 16–18.

Summary

When Horonamí inadvertently kills bird of night, darkness envelops earth. During his wanderings Horonamí meets Poré and his wife and their daughter Hetumá. After he marries Hetumá, bird of darkness resuscitates and daylight returns. Poré gives Horonamí bananas and shows him how to plant them. When he finally returns home he discovers that Hetumá and his own wife are the same person.

Motif content

A181.2.	God as cultivator.
A185.3.	Deity teaches mortal.
A512.3.	Culture hero as son of god.
A541.2.	Culture hero as god of agriculture.
A745.	Family of the moon.
A753.	Moon as a person.
A1441.+.	Acquisition of agriculture: plants stolen from supernatural creature. (A1441. Acquisition of agriculture.)
A2687.5.	Origin of banana.
B30.+.	Bird of the night. (B30. Mythical birds.)
B172.	Magic bird.
B192.	Magic animal killed.
D908.	Magic darkness.
D2146.1.3.	Day produced by magic.
D2146.2.1.	Night produced by magic.
E3.	Dead animal comes to life.
F470.	Night-spirits.
F965.3.	Impenetrable darkness.
H58.	Tell-tale hand-mark.
P700.+.	Woman as chief. (P700. Society—miscellaneous motifs.)
T415.	Brother-sister incest.
Z110.+.	Sky personified. (Z110. Personifications.)

64. Hōrōnami

It was Hōrōnami who made the night long ago. Before that time there was no night; it was always daytime. People used to sleep during the day, for night never fell.

One day while Hōrōnami was asleep the men did a lot of dirty things with the women in the house. Everyone could see it, for it was not dark as there was no night. Hōrōnami's wife, who saw it all, woke up her husband and said: "Don't sleep! Right under your very eyes they're misbehaving! You don't see it because you're asleep!"

Hōrōnami said nothing but he got up, took his blowgun, and went to look for the night. He met Titiri (a large black and white guan), and got ready to shoot. With the shot the big black bird fell, and at the same time night was created. It fell very rapidly, a pitch-black night. Hōrōnami kept on shouting until someone answered from very far away. It was Pomoyowē. When they met he took Hōrōnami to his house. There he gave him some little fruits to eat, but they were not fruits but ticks. Hōrōnami tricked Pomoyowē: he pretended to put the ticks in his mouth but instead he let them drop. Pomoyowē gave his daughter to Hōrōnami and said: "Husband of my daughter, take her."

Night fell. Pomoyowē said to his daughter: "Embrace him!" And she embraced Hōrōnami. Her mother and father were sitting nearby, filled with joy. They were there so that Hōrōnami would not escape. Soon it was nearly dawn, and Hōrōnami had not been able to leave. Finally he took his *matoya*³⁴⁶ in his mouth and threw it on the fire. At once the others fell asleep, snoring. When it grew light Hōrōnami quickly left and hid. The daughter woke up and called her parents: "My husband is gone!" They ran out to look for him, calling: "Husband of our daughter, where are you?" But Hōrōnami was hiding, and laughed: "Ha, ha, ha." Finally they returned to their house.

A jaguar found Hōrōnami hiding behind a tree, and nearly ate him. Then the animal got a thorn from a *paha* palm in his paw, and at the same moment two tapirs passed right in front of him. It was a trap laid by Hōrōnami to make the jaguar go away, and it worked; the animal left, but he nearly ate Hōrōnami.

Calmly Hōrōnami went away. Then he met a man eating *pahi*³⁴⁷ fruit. Hōrōnami took a few seeds and put curare inside them. That is why we cannot eat *pahi* seeds.

Hōrōnami continued on his way and met Taakaitawē, who was eating *hayu* fruits. At first he did not see anyone, but when he climbed up into the tree he saw Taakaitawē. "What are you eating?" he asked. The other was frightened when he heard Hōrōnami's voice. "I'm eating *hayu* fruits." "Give me some," demanded Hōrōnami. "There's only a little," objected Taakaitawē, but he cut a branch with fruits for Hōrōnami. "Do you always eat these fruits and their seeds?" "Yes, but the seeds you have to roast first." And he showed Hōrōnami how to do it.

The latter continued on his way and met Nosiriwë, who was crying. "Why are you crying?" "Because I don't have tobacco." He gave Hōrōnami some *pahi* fruits that he was eating. "Look what's on the handle of your axe," said Hōrōnami. And there was a roll of tobacco. Nosiriwë grabbed the tobacco and put it in his mouth. It was very strong, making him dizzy and filling his mouth with saliva. He spat out the saliva, and where he spat tobacco plants grew.

Hōrōnami continued on to other places, walking far. One day he noticed a sound: it was the approaching rain. Quickly he built a small house of palm leaves (there were many palms all around). When the rain was ending Pore came, carrying a lot of bananas. His head was painted red with onoto. He stopped in front of Hōrōnami and set down his burden on the ground. "Who can this man be?" thought Hōrōnami, and he asked: "Who are you?" "I am Pore." "What's the name of those fruits you've got there? Give me one, I'm hungry. Give me that one, it's ripe." Pore gave a banana to Hōrōnami who peeled it and looked inside, but he did not see any seeds. He asked: "What do you do to get these fruits?" "Find some good soil, fell the trees and burn them. Then clear the area well, and finally make holes and plant the banana seedlings. That's what you must do," said Pore. Hōrōnami asked him how to get back to his house, for he had gotten lost. "Oh," said Pore. "You've lost your way. Look, this is the Atawashipiwei forest. Go through the gorges until you get to that hill, which is called Katitii. From there the hill Merepiwei is visible, and behind it is your house. That's where your people live."

Pore returned home. Without his noticing it, Hōrōnami followed him. When they reached the Hiyëhiyëpiwei River Pore's plantation could be seen. The birds there were singing. Quickly Hōrōnami picked all the different kinds of bananas, and he also gathered ocumo and onoto plants. Finally he covered his tracks and returned home.

Pore nearly found Hōrōnami, but the latter managed to hide behind a tree. Pore went away, walking across a bridge.

Then Hōrōnami encountered a deer, a little animal called *shihena* (a long-tailed agouti), and the *poncha* bird. He also wanted to take home a tapir but could not; it was too heavy.

Hōrōnami returned home and said: "I killed a tapir," and he went off again to fetch it. He came across Kurekurehawë. "Oh, oh, oh!" he shouted, and turned into the little *kurekuremi* bird³⁴⁸ from fear.

Hōrōnami knew many things. When he went far away he looked for all kinds of food for his people. Previously they did not eat these foods, like bananas.

In those days the nine-banded armadillo did not exist either. One day Hōrōnami was making a basket. When it was finished a short little boy came. "Here's a hole, get into it," said Hōrōnami to him. The boy obeyed, and asked: "This far?" "No, your voice is still close. Go on, go on." The boy entered deeper and asked again: "Here?" "Continue," said Hōrōnami. The boy repeated: "Here, here?" "All right," said Hōrōnami. When the boy emerged from the hole he left his tracks, but they were armadillo tracks. "An armadillo passed by here," said Hōrōnami. As he said it the boy turned into an armadillo. When Hōrōnami listened near the hole the armadillo said: "Je, je, jeee." "Oh, oh, there's an armadillo here!" said Hōrōnami. He took a termites' nest and sent a lot of termite smoke into the hole of the armadillo. The latter wanted to get out, but he died inside the hole because of the smoke. "E, e, e, e," said the dying armadillo.

Actually the armadillo is not an animal; it is a boy who was transformed into an armadillo.

Informant: Hakokoiwē

Source: Finkers 1986, pp. 118–123.

Summary

Culture hero Hōrōnami accidentally creates night by killing bird. Wandering around in forest, lost, he meets spirit who takes him to his (spirit's) house and makes him marry his daughter. Hōrōnami escapes. After several other encounters he meets Pore, who shows him bananas and instructs him in their planting. Hōrōnami steals several previously unknown food plants and returns with them to his people. Later he causes boy to be transformed into armadillo.

Motif content

A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
A541.2.	Culture hero as god of agriculture.
A1174.	Origin of night.
A1420.	Acquisition of food supply for human race.
A1441.+.	Acquisition of agriculture: plants stolen from supernatural creature. (A1441. Acquisition of agriculture.)
A1897.	Creation of armadillo.
A2687.5.	Origin of banana.
B30.+.	Bird of the night. (B30. Mythical birds.)
B172.	Magic bird.
B192.	Magic animal killed.

D110.+.	Transformation: child to armadillo. (D110.
	Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D476.2.+.	Edible seeds changed to inedible. (D476.2. Edible substance changed to inedible.)
D908.	Magic darkness.
D1364.	Object causes magic sleep.
D1960.	Magic sleep.
D2060.	Death or bodily injury by magic.
D2146.2.1.	Night produced by magic.
D2165.	Escapes by magic.
D2178.+.	Tobacco produced by magic. (D2178. Objects produced by magic.)
F403.2.	Spirits help mortal.
F403.2.3.6.	Spirit gives counsel.
F420.2.3.+.	Spirit has garden. (F420.2.3. Water-spirits have garden.)
F470.	Night-spirits.
F979.17.	Plants grow without being sown.
K500.	Escape from death or danger by deception.
K600.+.	Escape by putting captor to sleep. (K600. Murderer or captor otherwise beguiled.)
S183.	Frightful meal.
T323.	Escape from undesired lover by strategy.

65. Finally There Was Night

In the forest the large black curassow would always perch in the same place and "cry." His incessant muffled lament could be heard, like that of the black curassows in the mating season. Black Curassow never moved sideways on the branch on which he was sitting; he would turn around where he sat, first in one direction, then another. The people of long ago, our ancestors, did not know about night; they did not know about dusk. In those days there was perpetual daylight, and they slept during the day. They would go hunting, come back, and eat the game they had caught, and never got angry. Whenever they felt sleepy they would sleep. That was how they lived.

Black Curassow is the son-in-law of Darkness and Night, a female spirit. There is Black Curassow's path, in the jumbled vegetation, covered with thorns! Our ancestors no doubt wanted to create spir-

its. In the place where he usually came to perch, Black Curassow would sound a long, muffled lament. This is what he would say:

Titiri, titiri, titiri, wē!
 Here is the Rock of the Revenant!
 Here is the Rock of the Taro!
 Here is the River of the *Thoru* Flowers!

He would name the mountains, the rocks, and the rivers, and his lament never ended.

Here is the River of the Thorns!
 Here is the River of the Nostril!

That was what he would say.

The ancestors heard him. One day one of them declared: "We must try something, children! The one who sings so plaintively without stopping is a spirit."

Here is the Maiyō Rock!

Our ancestors had never witnessed dusk. The sun always remained in the zenith, and they would sleep during the day. Black Curassow was so heavy that the branch on which he was perched bent under his weight. He was sitting very low, close to the ground, surrounded by darkness. "Children, we must try something! My children, my son, we must find a way!" They set off in the direction of Black Curassow and approached with the intention of killing him. He did not fly off when they came but remained perched on his branch, shaking off his parasites. When the men were fairly close one of them shot off a dart from his blowgun. The dart grazed Black Curassow and sent a few feathers flying. Precisely at that moment night fell. The sounds of the night could be heard: *tiri, tiri, tiri*. . . . Those who had remained in the house briefly felt sleepy and began to snore. Very quickly the day returned. "Children, children, that's it! I slept well; for a short instant I slept pleasantly!" Daylight had returned and the lament began again: *titiri, titiri, titiri, wē!*

Then Hōrōnamī declared publicly: "Now I'm the one who will kill him!" He was a skillful hunter, and set off right away to kill the bird. Once more Black Curassow was heard naming a place. He continued to name the different places in the forest. Hōrōnamī blew into his blowgun, and Black Curassow fell to the ground, dead. Instantly a profound darkness fell and the sounds of the night could be heard. Small white feathers detached themselves from Black Curassow's stomach and blew away, one behind the other, carrying with them

the parasites that were clinging to them. They had turned into *weyari*, the spirits that announce the day.

A few men who had gone far into the forest were surprised by the night. Disoriented, they called: "Where is the path by which we came here? Come and get us!" "Go and look for the others, and light your way with firebrands." Several men tied some firebrands together and went off, moving the firebrands in front of them as they went.

Meanwhile, in the house, our ancestors were facing a situation that was still new to them. "I'm sleepy, and the dark frightens me." In the circular enclosure of the large communal house snores were beginning to be heard. "Light a fire, light a fire!" When the night drew to an end the sounds of the morning replaced those of the night, and the old people ordered: "Children, get up! It's daytime! Go hunting, kill some game!" They had a feeling of well-being after being able to sleep at night, and they had already started to dream.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Men try to kill Black Curassow as he sings in forest. Finally Hōrōnamī succeeds. As bird dies night falls, trapping group of men in forest. (Origin of night.)

Motif content

A270.+.	Spirit of dawn. (A270. God of dawn.)
A1174.	Origin of night.
A1617.	Origin of place-name.
B30.+.	Bird of the night. (B30. Mythical birds.)
B172.	Magic bird.
B192.	Magic animal killed.
D437.3.+.	Transformation: feather to spirit. (D437.3. Transformation: feather to person.)
D908.	Magic darkness.
D2146.2.1.	Night produced by magic.
F470.	Night-spirits.
F679.5.	Skillful hunter.

66. Finally There Was Night

Because long ago there was no night, Hōrōnamī shot Black Curassow with an arrow from his blowgun.

The people used to have sex in the communal house in full daylight; it never occurred to them to say: "Let's go into the forest." They would have sex with Hōrōnami's wife while he was asleep. Sleep, then, while you are being deceived! Oh, sleeper, are they not having sex with your eyelids! Sleep! A long time passed before Hōrōnami finally caught them in the act, but then he grew angry.

While Hōrōnami stayed home his son went off with the blowgun which he kept under the roof. He approached the place where Black Curassow was singing plaintively, and let fly a dart which hit the bird on the wingtip. Immediately darkness fell, but soon it was day again. "Maybe that's what has to be done," said Hōrōnami. He took the blowgun and inserted a dart. Black Curassow was perched on a branch which sagged under his weight, his long tail trailing. Hōrōnami's dart entered the spirit's breast, killing him instantly. At once the sounds of the night—*tei, tei, tei*—could be heard.

Some people had gone hunting. Because it was pitch dark they called: "Come and get us!" Everywhere the sounds of the night reverberated. It was night. They chopped some wood and lit fires in every direction. Because it was totally dark they scattered their belongings and overturned their calabashes. They threw out the small cases in which they kept their feathers, which were stored below the roof. While the cases were still in the air they turned into blue-throated piping guans. Only then did it become light.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

By shooting bird Hōrōnami's son causes night to arrive.

Motif content

A1174.	Origin of night.
B30. +.	Bird of the night. (B30. Mythical birds.)
B172.	Magic bird.
B192.	Magic animal killed.
D444. +.	Transformation: container to bird. (D444. Transformation: manufactured object to animal.)
D908.	Magic darkness.
D2146.2.1.	Night produced by magic.
F470.	Night-spirits.
K1569.2.	Husband surprises wife and paramour.
T230. +.	Faithless wife. (T230. Faithlessness in marriage.)

67. Finally There Was Night

Once more the haunting, monotonous lament of Black Curassow was heard. The spirit was giving names to the different places. The day as we know it now did not exist at that time. The day was eternal, and the sun did not move westward but remained immobile in the zenith. In those days the Yanomami were happy; they were never angry and never quarreled. The children and the youths hunted small birds. The people were happy. Everything would have been perfect if it had not been for the terrible voice of the spirit, urgent, near. They wondered: "What can that frightening voice be?" They were happy and never argued, but finally they began to grow tired of a day that never ended.

They began to listen attentively to Black Curassow's voice. Finally they made up their minds: "Go and look for that spirit!" They listened in the direction the lament was coming from: *titiri, titiri, titiri!* They wanted to finally witness a day that came to an end. "What a terrible voice!" *Titiri, titiri, titiri!* "Be on your way! Kill him when you find him! Kill him, but handle your blowguns gently; don't make any sudden movements," advised the people. They wanted to kill Black Curassow at any price.

All around the spot where Black Curassow was sitting there was total darkness. Our ancestors moved toward him. In order to illuminate the spirit they made a large fire. Black Curassow was perched very near the ground. He looked frightening; he really was a spirit. Somebody aimed his blowgun at him, and the dart struck him in the liver. "Night, darkness, night, darkness," said Black Curassow in a dying voice. As soon as he fell to the ground spirits opened his chest, and his blood immediately turned into *weyari*, the morning spirits. From that blood Laughing Hawk, the man-eater, was born. Then Black Curassow returned to his shelter.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Hearing plaintive song of Black Curassow, people set out to kill him. They wound him, and his blood turns into morning spirits.

Motif content

A270. +.	Spirit of dawn. (A270. God of dawn.)
A1174.	Origin of night.
A1617.	Origin of place-name.

B30. +.	Bird of the night. (B30. Mythical birds.)
B172.	Magic bird.
B192.	Magic animal killed.
D437. +.	Transformation: blood to spirit. (D437. Transformation: part of animal or person to person.)
D908.	Magic darkness.
F470.	Night-spirits.
F556.	Remarkable voice.

68. The Origin of Plantations

One day a long time ago Hōrōnami was hungry and went into the forest to look for food. He walked around searching, but failed to find anything to eat. He was tired and on the verge of giving up when he heard a sound resembling footsteps approaching. Hiding behind an enormous tree he saw Poré coming with many fruits on his back, of a kind that he was not familiar with. Hōrōnami emerged from his hiding place and asked: "Who are you?" "I am a man," replied Poré. "And what's that you're carrying on your back?" "Look, they are called 'bananas' and they are very tasty. Take one." Hōrōnami opened the fruit to look at the seeds, and saw something black in the heart of the fruit. "Where are the seeds?" he asked. "No, these fruits don't have seeds." "Well, how do you plant them then?" "First you have to find a spot with very good soil. Then you clear it well, and burn it. When everything is ready you take the seedlings; you dig holes, and place the plants in them, and you cover them well with earth on the sides. The plants will grow and will yield much fruit." "Why don't you give me a few plants?" asked Hōrōnami. "I don't want to. Go back where you came from, for I'm leaving as well."

Hōrōnami was a clever fellow. He pretended to go away, but instead he hid, and then followed Poré. After walking long he arrived at a large plantation where Poré's bananas grew. Since nobody was watching he stole banana seedlings of all the varieties that grew there: *pareami*, *ekoema*, *tate*, *pashopokowě*. . . . He was not able to take everything he wanted for the plants were heavy.

When he got home he did as Poré had said and planted the seedlings. Hōrōnami was a great shaman: he blew, and the entire plantation was filled with fully ripe bananas. He called his wife

Harikariyoma and said: "Let's go and look at my bananas." "What's that?" asked his wife. "It's something delicious."

Hōrōnami picked a few bananas and ate them to see if they were good, and then he went off to hunt peccaries. When he returned he called all the people to arrange a feast and eat meat with bananas.

That is how the Yanomami learned to cultivate plantations and grow bananas.

Informant: Hauyapiweitheri Pokorami

Source: Finkers 1986, pp. 27–28.

Summary

During hunt Hōrōnami meets Poré, who introduces him to bananas and their cultivation. Hōrōnami steals seedlings from Poré's garden and plants them, and from then on Yanomami have bananas.

Motif content

A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
A541.2.	Culture hero as god of agriculture.
A1441.+.	Acquisition of agriculture: plants stolen from supernatural creature. (A1441. Acquisition of agriculture.)
A2687.5.	Origin of banana.
D1799.+.	Magic results from blowing. (D1799. Magic results from other acts.)
D2157.2.	Magic quick growth of crops.
F403.2.3.6.	Spirit gives counsel.
F420.2.3.+.	Spirit has garden. (F420.2.3. Water-spirits have garden.)

69. The Master of Banana Trees

If it had not been for Hōrōnami we would all be living in hunger and misery.

Hōrōnami was traveling along Revenant's path. He was lost. When he heard the sound of approaching rain he picked some leaves and took shelter under them. Then Revenant appeared. Revenant knew about banana trees. On his back he was carrying a load of green plantains over which he had placed ripe bananas. As

the burden was heavy he tried to ease it by keeping his hands on his head. Hōrōnami looked at him closely. "Who are you?" he asked. Frightened, Revenant started. Hōrōnami pointed to the bananas and asked: "What's that?" "Bananas," replied Revenant. "Ah! Give me one of the ripe ones so I can examine it!" Revenant threw him one and Hōrōnami peeled it. He wanted to know whether it contained seeds so he opened it lengthwise and saw that there were none. "That's surprising! You say they're bananas. What do you do to make them grow? Don't you clear the forest to make a garden? Do you perhaps eat them?" "I cut the ferns and fell the trees; I wait for the vegetation to dry; and then I burn it and scatter the ashes. I cut the vegetation in several different places and clear the ground. I burn; I take some seedlings and dig holes to plant them; then I take some more and dig more holes," explained Revenant to Hōrōnami. "So that's what you do! Well, be on your way, I'm returning home," said the latter.

While Revenant continued his journey Hōrōnami pretended to leave, but instead of going home he went back to the path that led to the garden and followed it. Traveling on the plain he soon heard the birds and insects in the garden. There were a large number of banana trees laden with bananas. Revenant had a garden, that was what he lived on. Hōrōnami stole some plants. He took *nomarimi* plants, he took *paushimi* plants, and he also took *rōkōmi* and *pareami* plants. He stole plants of different species in different places, and then he filled in the holes and smoothed the earth in such a way that he left no traces. Quickly he tied the plants together and left. After finding his own road he reached the region where he lived. He was nearly home: *toso*! He did not enter the house right away. First he made a garden and replanted the banana trees without being seen, and when he was finished he returned home.

Within a short time clusters of bananas and plantains were hanging from the trees, for in those days everything grew very quickly. When the bananas were ripe Hōrōnami said to the people: "Sons, go hunting for me. Kill peccaries; I'll drink the broth. Disperse, go in different directions. Kill black curassows and spider monkeys; I'll drink the broth. I need meat to go with the plantains. I got lost in the region of Yakērē, in a distant land where no Yanomami lives. I stole some banana plants in a garden." "We'll go and look at them!" they exclaimed. They brought many black curassows to Hōrōnami's fire. "Come, let's go to the garden," he said. They hurried over there. "Here are the plantains," he said to them. The Yanomami set to work at once, for they all wanted to have a cultivated patch.

Revenant lives back there, on the plain. His plantations are still there; to look at them one would think they are recent. Hōrōnami ate the ripe bananas and hung the skins next to one another.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Having lost his way in forest, Hōrōnami meets Revenant, owner of bananas. He steals several banana plants from Revenant's garden and returns home, where he plants them.

Motif content

A541.2.	Culture hero as god of agriculture.
A1441.+.	Acquisition of agriculture: plants stolen from supernatural creature. (A1441. Acquisition of agriculture.)
A2687.5.	Origin of banana.
D2157.2.	Magic quick growth of crops.
F403.2.3.6.	Spirit gives counsel.
F420.2.3.+.	Spirit has garden. (F420.2.3. Water-spirits have garden.)

70. The Master of Banana Trees

Our ancestors did not know about plantains. They used to eat earth with the game that they hunted. It was Revenant who introduced them to bananas.

Hōrōnami was in the forest. When it started to look like rain he picked some leaves, suspended a stick between two trees, leaned the leaves against the stick, and took shelter underneath. While waiting for the rain to stop he began to scan some *wayamo* words:

A mountain rises up before me,
Before me hangs a liana
Which I will cut.
When I have cut it
I will fell that tree.
A beehive
Is stuck to a tree trunk over there,
I will burn the bees.

Standing up he recited the formulas rhythmically, bowing at each declaration.

Then Revenant appeared. He was carrying a load of plantains, and on top he had piled ripe bananas. When Hōrōnamī saw him he fell silent, wondering: "Who can that be?" Revenant stopped suddenly. In his presence the man was stupefied and as if dazed. Even so he asked: "Who are you?" After a moment Hōrōnamī recovered his senses. "Who are you? Come over here." "I won't come; I'm traveling in the forest." Revenant had a speech problem; he spoke badly. Pointing to the bananas Hōrōnamī was curious: "What can that be? What is it?" "I don't know; they are unknown things," replied Revenant. "They're very ripe. Come on, what are they?" "They're plantains, bananas!" "Bananas?" "They're bananas, bananas! *Pareamī* plantains, *nomarimī* plantains, *paushimī* bananas, *rōkōmī* bananas," specified Revenant. He probably wanted to tell the other about them, for he himself already had them. He had piled ripe bananas on top of the load. "Give me one so I can taste it. They look very sugary," said Hōrōnamī. "They're sugary, they're bananas. Bananas!" Revenant gave him one. Hōrōnamī peeled one end, tore off the skin all around, and tasted it, feeling with his tongue in several places. It tasted good and he ate it. But this food which was still new to him made him sick. "*Yēri, yēri*. . . ." He began to rave.

Revenant burst out laughing. "You're losing your mind; take hold of yourself. The bananas are making you lose your mind. That always happens when someone eats them for the first time." Hōrōnamī recovered his senses. "Break off these and give them to me." Revenant handed them to him. "I'll eat them. Where do you live?" asked Hōrōnamī. "I live on the plain that stretches to the foot of the mountain. There I've got a garden and a house. I've been drinking banana mush for a long time. Right now I'm living in the forest; I went to fetch these." Hōrōnamī said: "When I tell the people in my village this and say: 'I've just found out that these are bananas,' they will certainly want to visit you." "My name is Revenant," said the other. He warned: "If they come to ask for banana plants I won't let them take any. Do you people eat bananas? These plants belong to me. I always come this way when I camp in the forest. I don't take the road, I cut through the forest, I take a shortcut. When you get to my house you will find it empty." "All right, be on your way." "I'm tired of staying home. When I go traveling in the forest I always come this way." Revenant put the load

on his back again and resumed his journey: *tok, tok, tok*. A moment later he started walking along a path.

After he was gone Hōrōnamī returned home. When he arrived the others noticed the ripe bananas and asked him: "What's that? What is it?" He did not answer at once. First he warmed himself for a long time, and hung up the bananas.

"What are those ripe fruits called?" He continued to warm himself and still did not answer. Two men of undetermined age asked again: "What's that? Did you find them?" They really did not know what they were. An old man asked once more: "Did you find them?" "They're plantains, bananas. I was taking shelter from the rain when Revenant arrived. He knew what they were. He began to talk, and said: 'I'm Revenant. I've just found out that they're bananas.'" Hōrōnamī distributed bananas to the people. No sooner had they finished eating than they, too, began to lose their senses: "*Yēri, yēri*. . . ." It was Revenant who introduced plantains.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Hōrōnamī meets Revenant in forest. Revenant gives him some of the bananas he is carrying and explains what they are. Hōrōnamī returns home and introduces bananas among people.

Motif content

A541.2.	Culture hero as god of agriculture.
A1441.+.	Acquisition of agriculture: gift from supernatural creature. (A1441. Acquisition of agriculture.)
A2687.5.	Origin of banana.
D2065.	Magic insanity.
F420.2.3.+.	Spirit has garden. (F420.2.3. Water-spirits have garden.)

71. The Master of Banana Trees

His name was Revenant and he lived alone, over there, in that direction. His wife, Liana Woman, lived separately. He went to join her. "Are you there?" he asked when he arrived. "Yes, I'm here," she replied. He went closer. Then he settled in for good and put the house in order.

Later he said: "Chop some wood; I'm going to work in the garden." He was going to burn in the garden. It was he who first discovered bananas. A turtledove could be heard singing, announcing a garden. Revenant prepared the soil and the banana trees grew by themselves; he did not have to plant them. Here there were *pareamī* plantains, there *hohorimī* plantains, farther away *rōkōmī* bananas. Still in the same place he prepared some more soil. The paca women were coming to eat the plants. Revenant soon discovered that there were large ripe bananas. He was the first who thought of hanging them from a liana. He worked again and planted other banana trees.

When he had finished planting, Yoroporiwē came to visit him. Revenant prepared some plantain mush for him, and set a full container next to his guest. But Yoroporiwē was not familiar with this type of food and thought it smelled bad. "What is it?" he asked. "It's food, just food," answered Revenant. "Eat!" Yoroporiwē left, taking some ripe bananas with him. When he arrived home he said to the others: "My father-in-law eats this kind of food." And he told them what he had seen. Without delay they went to Revenant to be given food. Yoroporiwē asked him: "Father-in-law, how do you plant banana trees?" "You clear the ground. First you cut the undergrowth and the lianas, you fell the trees, and you set fire to them. In the burned clearing you plant the banana trees."

When they had found out how to go about it they took some banana plants back with them. They cleared. Later they went back to Revenant to take some more banana trees. They kept coming and disturbing him, and he finally grew angry and abandoned his plantations. The banana trees turned into *ketipa* plants.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

First bananas magically grow in garden prepared by Revenant. Later he introduces bananas among people.

Motif content

A2687.5.	Origin of banana.
F402.7.	Family of demons.
F403.2.	Spirits help mortal.
F403.2.3.6.	Spirit gives counsel.
F420.2.3.+.	Spirit has garden. (F420.2.3. Water-spirits have garden.)
F979.17.	Plants grow without being sown.

72. The Acquisition of Bananas³⁴⁹

Long ago Surára men were only hunters, and the women gathered fruit in the forest. Any kind of work in a plantation or field was unknown to them. But one morning when the Surára man Horonamú had gotten up especially early and had gone out of the communal house he saw to his surprise strange big plants full of fruit. He was about to pick one but was stopped by the voice of Poré, the lord of the moon, who together with the moon represents the highest divine power. Poré told him in a friendly way that he had planted these for the Surára, and that they were called *kuratá*, bananas. He told Horonamú to show all the people in the tribe how to cultivate them, for with these fruits they would never again have to go hungry and would not be so dependent only on their hunting luck. When Horonamú wanted to express his gratitude, Poré had vanished.

Informant: Hewemão

Source: Becher 1974, p. 34.

Motif content

A181.2.	God as cultivator.
A185.3.	Deity teaches mortal.
A1441.+.	Acquisition of agriculture: gift from supernatural creature. (A1441. Acquisition of agriculture.)
A2687.5.	Origin of banana.

73. How the Yanoname Acquired Bananas

Poré had bananas. At first he had no plantation, but then he planted bananas. Horonami went into Poré's house. Poré was not at home, only his son, Poré Ihirube. Poré and his wife were in the plantation. Horonami pierced the boy's finger with a thorn, and he died. Continuing on his way, Horonami met Poré and Poré Hesiobe. He asked Poré: "How did you plant the bananas?" Poré replied: "First I cleared, then I felled the trees, then I burned everything. Finally I took some banana rootstocks, made a hole in the ground with a stick, and planted them. The shoots grew, and at the top a cluster of bananas developed. It bore a lot of fruit." Horonami went to

Poré's plantation and took a rootstock, and then he returned home and planted it. He got a lot of bananas.

Informant: Pedro

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 154.

Motif content

A1441.+.	Acquisition of agriculture: plants stolen from supernatural creature. (A1441. Acquisition of agriculture.)
A2687.5.	Origin of banana.
F402.7.	Family of demons.
F403.2.3.6.	Spirit gives counsel.
F420.2.3.+.	Spirit has garden. (F420.2.3. Water-spirits have garden.)
S302.	Children murdered.

74. Porehimi

Long ago the Yanomamo did not have bananas. Their children ate dry earth, white clay, and rotten wood. Even Warë-riwë³⁵⁰ ate only clay. Tomi-riwë,³⁵¹ Xihena-riwë,³⁵² and Wayahoromë-riwë³⁵³ ate *wapu*.³⁵⁴ The rest of the ancient Yanomamo ate only wild fruits. In order to eat hearts of palm they would fell the tree with stones and would cut out the desired part, also with stones. No one knew what a plantation was, and no one knew what it was to live in a house. The Yanomamo of those days were always roaming about, looking for mud, gathering fruit. Their chief was called Miyomawë, and therefore they were Miyomawë-teri.

One day when they had gone far away they found human footprints. Next to the footprints there was a felled tree, not broken but felled. The ancestors sat down right there and began talking: "Here's a path that goes in that direction. There must be a Yanomamo living there who has a stone axe³⁵⁵ to fell trees with. Look where he cut this tree."

In those days our ancestors did not have stone axes.

Three of them went to see where that path would lead. They reached a house. Observing it, they also saw shells containing vegetable food. They did not enter but returned to their own camp near

where the path began. After telling the others what they had seen they slept.

The following day the chief again sent a few men to have a look. They reached the house, and entered. Immediately an old man called out in a very ugly voice: "*Hama-kěpě, aĩĩĩ!*" He did this so that we would learn to shout in the same way whenever someone comes to visit our house. At that moment the old man's son came back from the plantation. He asked his father: "Why did you shout, father? I heard you, and came." "I shouted because some visitors have come," said Porehimi, as the old man was called. "Father, why don't you prepare banana liquid for them to satisfy their hunger?" asked the son. "Don't you see that they are very hungry?" "No," said Porehimi, "I don't want to give them anything." In his house Porehimi had many bunches of ripe bananas hanging, but he was stingy and did not want to share them. Seeing the bananas the visitors asked him: "*Xori*, what kind of fruit is that hanging there, so beautiful and ripe?" "What! You don't know this fruit? It's called banana; these are my bananas." "No, *xori*, we've never seen that fruit. We wander through the forest eating dirt and rotten wood; we know only wild fruit. Give us some of those so we can taste them." "No!" said Porehimi in an ugly voice. "I'm not giving you any of what's mine. You're familiar with bananas; you're just lying." Porehimi was presenting an example to those Yanomamo living today who are stingy. But the visitors repeated: "*Xori*, give us some, even if it's only enough for a taste. It smells very good, it must taste delicious. Give us enough to give us a stomachache." Porehimi took three ripe bananas and gave one to each of the leaders. They peeled them and tasted. Then they gave little pieces to their companions. All said: "*Xori*, the fruit is very tasty." "This is what I eat every day," said Porehimi. "It can't be true that you don't know it. It's my bread.³⁵⁶ You're lying; surely you know it." "No, *xori*, we don't. How tasty your bread is!" "All right, go now; the sun is already low." "We're going. Now we consider you a friend, and we know where you live." "All right, come back and visit me some time."

The Yanomamo left. They told the others all about what they had seen and what they had eaten. "Porehimi's relatives are few," they said, "only he, his mother and father, his wife, and his children." Naturally they mentioned that he had a strange and very tasty fruit called banana, but that he did not want to give them any to take with them, because he was a very stingy man.

This is why there are stingy Yanomamo today. They learned it from Porehimi.

Two days later the Miyomawë-teri went back. This time Miyomawë went, too, as well as the old men and three women. Porehimi received them happily, shouting like the previous time. They began the *himou* (ritual conversation). That was the first time the Yanomamo had a *himou*. They taught us so that we would do it when people come to visit our communal house.

Then the visitors began to ask for bananas, but Porehimi replied: "I won't give you any. I won't give you any. I won't give you any." "Give me, give me, give me," repeated the Yanomamo. "I won't give you any. I won't give you any. I won't give you any," repeated Porehimi. "Then take us to your plantation," asked the visitors. "We want to see the plant that bananas grow on." In fact what they wanted to see was the path that led to the plantation so that they later could go and steal the bananas.

Then Porehimi called his wife and said: "Aaahh! Come here. Look, these people want to see your plantation. Take them there to have a look; show them the big plantation we've got." So Porehimi and his wife went with their visitors to see the plantation. The Miyomawë-teri were surprised when they saw all those plants with large bunches hanging from them, supported by sticks so they would not fall. There was *pareami*, *mona-rimi*, *maikoxi*, *rokomi*, *pauximi*. The visitors said to the woman: "Your husband has so much food while we roam through the forest feeling hungry." "This is what my plantation is like," said Porehimi. "When the bananas are ripe I take a bunch home and make a banana drink. I never go out and gather food; I always live here happily, eating my fruit."

Then he explained to them how to make the beverage: "It's made like this. When a bunch of bananas begins to ripen, take it home and hang it in your house. When it's nice and soft take a pan, fill it with water, and put it on the fire. Then peel the bananas and place them in the boiling water. Wait for it to boil fully, and then mash the bananas. When they are very soft you remove the pot and mash everything even more. When the drink is ready, pour it into a gourd and distribute it for people to drink."

The ancestors did not have pots, and therefore Porehimi showed them how to make them: take some clay from a stream, shape it into a pot, and let it dry, first in the sun and then next to the fire.

But they wanted bananas, and asked Porehimi: "Give us some bananas, *xoriwë*!" "How many bananas you've got!" "You work hard, *xoriwë*, that's why you've got so much. We've got nothing, and have to wander around. You, on the other hand, stay in one

place because you've got to work and take care of your plantation. Give us bananas, *xoriwë*."

Porehimi walked over to the banana bunches and said: "I won't give any from this one. Not from this one either. Of that one," he said to his wife, "give that man two bananas. Of this one give two to that fellow over there." Thus he doled out two bananas to each visitor, no more, and only *pareami*, *rokomî*, and *pauximi* bananas. Porehimi was stingy. The visitors asked him for banana seedlings to plant, seedlings from all the different plants. But Porehimi said: "It's time that I'm stingy, that's why I won't give them to you. I won't give you seedlings."

In the end he felt sorry for the visitors and gave them a few seedlings, but only from a couple of plants. Then he instructed them how to plant: "First you clear an area in the forest with an axe. Then you burn, leaving the seedlings in the shade. When the plantation is all cleared and burned you begin to plant. This is how you do it, look, like this."

Mono-riwë,³⁵⁷ who was there, was not looking at Porehimi; instead his eyes were fixed on the nice bananas for which Porehimi did not want to give them seedlings. He thought he would come back at night and steal them.

Before leaving, the Miyomawë-teri asked Porehimi for axes to clear the plantation, and he gave them a few. He made them of clay,³⁵⁸ shaping them and then leaving them to dry in the sun, and thus they became very hard.

This time the people left feeling reasonably content. They slept together with their families. Afterward they left in search of a place where there were no big trees and where *xaroromî* plants grew, for there the earth is soft, suitable for a plantation. They began to clear, and planted the seedlings they had brought.

One night Mono-riwë and a companion went to Porehimi's plantation. There they took seedlings of *maikoxi* and *mona-rimi*, the plants that Porehimi was stingiest with. Whenever they pulled up a seedling another quickly sprang up in its place; thus Porehimi would not find out about the theft. Gathering up the seedlings they returned to camp.

The Miyomawë-teri then planted these types of bananas as well. The plants grew quickly and well.

After some time the son of Porehimi went to visit the place where the Miyomawë-teri lived. Walking through their plantation he saw how beautifully the banana plants were growing. They already bore

fruit, and had offshoots. After returning home he said: "Father, you should see how nice the banana plants that you gave them are looking! Now I don't think the Yanomamo will ever go hungry again."

Later the Miyomawë-teri once more went to visit Porehimi. He asked them: "What about the banana plants I gave you? Are they bearing fruit yet?" "Yes, they are, but the bananas are still green."

The Miyomawë-teri went many times to visit Porehimi. Once he sent them an invitation. They went, and found him very sad. He was crying, his wife and his daughter were crying, everyone was crying. One of his grandsons had died. Porehimi told them what he had done with the grandson's body. In those days the Yanomamo did not burn their dead. Instead they wrapped them in a mat, tied them to a long stick, and suspended them high up between two trees. There they left them to decompose. Later they would remove the bones and leave them on the ground, and the termites would build their hives on top of these bones. That was what they used to do.

Porehimi, on the other hand, had made a hearth, and had burned his grandson on it. Now he was about to grind the bones that he had gathered, and that was why he and his family were sad. He said: "Look, I burned him; now I'm going to grind the bones in this mortar."

His family began to grind the bones in the wooden mortar. Porehimi placed the resulting powder in a gourd, sealed it with bees-wax, put it in a basket which he adorned with *horoi*, and gave it to his wife to hang from the ceiling of their house. Then he cleaned the mortar and the pestles with banana drink, after which he, his father, and his sons drank the liquid. "That's what you must do with your dead," he said. "Burn them and grind their bones, as you saw here today, and then drink the ashes mixed with banana liquid."

The Yanomamo watched and learned. Later Porehimi held a *reahu* ritual and drank his grandson's ashes. It was Porehimi who showed the Yanomamo how to do a *reahu*.

Some time passed, and then Porehimi in turn wanted to go and visit the Miyomawë-teri where they lived. Walking through their plantation he saw that they had quite a few *maikoxi* and *mona-rimi* plants with bunches of ripe bananas, and he realized that they had stolen the seedlings from him. He became angry. He entered the communal house which the Yanomamo had already built for themselves. Now they shouted the way he had taught them: "*Hama-këpë, aaiiïïï!*"

But Porehimi was in no mood for festivities, and began to scold them and insult them: "You thieves, you stole those bananas from me which I didn't want to give you. You weren't content with the seedlings I gave you!" Thus he spoke to them with his ugly voice.

After scolding them he returned home. But he was so angry with the Yanomamo that he no longer wanted to live near them. He abandoned his plantation and went elsewhere, far, far away.³⁵⁹

In time he and his family died there, and that was the last anyone knew of him. When Omawë caused the flood, those people no longer existed. But we Yanomamo began to have plantations and grow bananas, and that way we no longer had to go wandering through the forest to gather food.

Informant: The chief of the lyëwei-teri

Source: Cocco 1972, pp. 464–467.

Summary

Long ago, Yanomamo were nomadic without houses or plantations. Once during their wanderings they meet Porehimi, who reluctantly offers them some bananas from his plantation. Eventually they persuade him to give them some seedlings along with planting instructions. They also steal several seedlings of plants which he has refused to share. When he discovers theft during visit he grows furious and goes away forever.

Motif content

A1420.6.	At beginning people start to eat the earth.
A1426.+.	Acquisition of banana drink. (A1426. Acquisition of food supply—miscellaneous.)
A1441.+.	Acquisition of agriculture: plants stolen from supernatural creature. (A1441. Acquisition of agriculture.)
A1446.2.	Origin of the axe.
A1451.	Origin of pottery.
A1547.	Origin of funeral customs.
A2687.5.	Origin of banana.
D2157.2.	Magic quick growth of crops.
P682.	Greeting customs.
W152.	Stinginess.

75. The Origin of Tobacco

Hōrōnami was walking in the forest. There he came across Hāshoriwē who was sitting in a tree, eating guamas, and crying. "Why are you crying?" he asked. "Because I don't have any tobacco!" "Give me some guamas." Hāshoriwē handed a few to Hōrōnami who looked at them, made little holes in the seeds, and put curare inside. That is why these seeds have worms today.

Meanwhile Hāshoriwē went on crying. Hōrōnami placed a roll of tobacco on the handle of the stone axe that was lying on the ground. "Hāshoriwē, look at what's on the handle of your axe!" The other looked and climbed down at once, and he found the roll of tobacco. He put it in his mouth and immediately began to feel nauseous. Everything was turning around him; he became increasingly agitated and was shouting. He spat out the saliva that filled his mouth, and where it fell tobacco plants sprouted, growing beautifully.

Since then the Yanomami have tobacco.

Informant: Paruriwē

Source: Finkers 1986, p. 40.

Motif content

A2691.2.	Origin of tobacco.
A2755.+.	Why the seeds of some plants have worms. (A2755.
	Internal parts of plant.)
F979.17.	Plants grow without being sown.

76. Caterpillar's Tobacco and the Kernels of Wild Fruit³⁶⁰

It was Caterpillar³⁶¹ who gave tobacco to Kinkajou.³⁶² While Kinkajou was busily eating *bahibē* inga fruits,³⁶³ Caterpillar arrived at the foot of the tree in whose branches he was sitting. Perched on a branch Kinkajou was crying, because he was full of fruits and he badly wanted some tobacco:³⁶⁴ "Sibutu! Sibutu! Sibutu!! Hē! Hē! Hē! Sibutu! Sibutu! Sibutu!" Caterpillar came, and he had tobacco with him. He asked Kinkajou: "What's wrong? Why are you crying so?" Kinkajou did not answer, only went on moaning: "Sibutu! Sibutu! Sibutu!" From the foot of the tree Caterpillar insisted: "Why are you

crying so much and so long?" Finally Kinkajou noticed his presence: "Hāi?"³⁶⁵ Caterpillar repeated his question: "What's the reason for your crying?" Instead of answering, Kinkajou only used his index finger to make his lower lip vibrate: *brrrr! brrrr! brrrr!*³⁶⁶ Caterpillar understood and laughingly said to him: "Oae!"³⁶⁷ So that's why you've been crying all this time! Break off a branch laden with fruits; I want to eat some too!" Kinkajou replied: "All I've got is empty husks!" But Caterpillar insisted: "There are also real fruits!" Kinkajou dropped a few empty husks that were hanging in the branches and said: "Well, there you see!" Caterpillar kept insisting: "Drop some others! There are some over there that are really full!" Kinkajou broke off a couple of branches and dropped more fruits: *krai! huuuuu! boui!* Caterpillar said approvingly: "Yes, that's it!" While he ate, Kinkajou went on crying: "Sibutu! Sibutu! Sibutu! Sibutu!" Caterpillar ate the sugary aril of all the inga fruits to the last one and then he placed the seeds at the foot of the tree, along with an already used tobacco roll. He was full, and said to Kinkajou: "Look at these seeds! Look! I've put a roll of tobacco here; come and look!" Once more Kinkajou made him repeat what he had said: "Hāi?" "There's a roll of tobacco here! You must also boil these inga seeds to eat them. Don't soak them,³⁶⁸ only boil them, and then eat their kernels hot! Look, there's also tobacco here!" Then he left.

Kinkajou descended from the tree: *huuuuu! thikē!* Seeing a large roll of tobacco he immediately placed it under his lower lip. There were also a few tobacco seeds.³⁶⁹ The tobacco was so strong that it made Kinkajou vomit—*uwe! uwe! uwe!*—and put him in a state of extreme exaltation. Gradually he turned into an animal and began to climb frantically in all directions while ejaculating and urinating—*houuuu! shau wa! shau wa! shau wa! shau wa!*—in a state of rapture from Caterpillar's powerful tobacco. He had turned into a kinkajou and continued to move around among the branches at night while calling: "Kuri! Kuri! Kuri! Bra! Bra! Bra!"

After leaving Kinkajou Caterpillar continued on his way, and met some other people who were eating *tohomakē* fruits.³⁷⁰ He went toward them—*brokē! brokē! brokē! thu!*—and saw Beetle³⁷¹ who was also eating. He stopped and asked him: "What are you eating?" Beetle turned: "Hāi?" Caterpillar repeated his question and asked for some of the fruits: "What kind of fruits are these? Break off a couple of branches and drop them! Over there, where there are a lot of fruits!" But Beetle did not want to give him any at all and kept repeating: "Those fruits aren't yet mature; they don't have any pulp!" Choosing a few branches where the fruits were indeed unripe as he had

said he broke them and let them fall: *krai! toho! boui!* Then he called: "Look! Look! You see! They're inedible!" Caterpillar protested: "It's real food! There are really a lot of these fruits!" Again Beetle began dropping the unripe fruits—*toho! brou!*—and again Caterpillar protested as he gathered the fallen fruits: "They are really edible! This is food! They only have to be roasted!" Furious that Beetle would not answer him properly Caterpillar began to throw stones at the trunk of the *tohomahi* tree on which Beetle was perched: *hatututututu! thokē! tō!* The tree began to swell as if it were pregnant. What he really wanted was to make Beetle fall. Then he went far away.

When he was gone Beetle started climbing down from the tree with a *sakosi* basket³⁷² full of *tohomakē* fruits hanging from a liana slung around his neck. Iguana,³⁷³ who was with him, preceded him and managed to descend the swollen trunk by zigzagging and by keeping his neck from being pinched too much by the liana that was also slung around it: *houuuuuu! thikē!* Then Beetle tried it, encouraged by Iguana: "Now it's your turn! Come on, try it!" Beetle, who had very short hands, was pulled forward. Iguana called to him: "Zigzag! Try to zigzag! *Aē!*" But Beetle could not do it, and the string of the basket which hung from his neck almost cut his head off:³⁷⁴ *seki!* He fell to the ground, turned into a beetle, and took refuge inside a rotten tree trunk: *thikē! kikikikikiki!*

That is what Caterpillar did to Beetle. After causing the *tohomahi* tree to swell up he continued on his way. This time he met Yellow-Green Grosbeak who was perched in a *hayihi* tree³⁷⁵ eating its fruits: *houuuuuu! brē! krā!* Caterpillar asked him: "Break off some of those branches so that the fruits will fall! I want to eat some, too!" Yellow-Green Grosbeak, who was generous, wordlessly broke off a few branches laden with fruits, and they crashed to the ground: *krai! houuuuuu! boui!* Then he said to Caterpillar: "*Hayi kiyō! Kiyō! Kiyō!* Is that all right?" Caterpillar nodded and ate for a long time. When he had finished he put down the *hayi* nuts, and as he left he said to Yellow-Green Grosbeak: "Look at these nuts! After roasting them in a pot of baked clay you will eat their kernels! Once they have been dried over the fire you will eat them!" Yellow-Green Grosbeak climbed down from his tree, saw the nuts, and prepared them according to Caterpillar's instructions before eating the kernels. This is how *hayi* fruits are still eaten: the pulp is sucked or pressed and mixed with water to make juice, and then the nuts are roasted, as Caterpillar said. Along with Yellow-Green Grosbeak, the purple honeycreeper people,³⁷⁶ the red-rumped cacique people,³⁷⁷ and the gnat people³⁷⁸ were also eating *hayi* fruits. They were generous, and

Caterpillar did not do anything to them. He gave no tobacco to Yellow-Green Grosbeak because the latter obviously did not want any; he only instructed him how to eat the kernels inside the *hayi* nuts by roasting them in a pot.

Continuing on his way Caterpillar met the blue-headed parrot people³⁷⁹ who had climbed up into the trees to eat *wakamabë* and *krebuubë* fruits.³⁸⁰ They, too, were generous, and Caterpillar did not harm them. He asked them: "Those fruits that you're eating, break off a few branches so that some will fall down to me!" They lowered their eyes to look at him: "*Haï?*" He repeated his request: "Those fruits that you are eating, drop a few for me!" At once they broke off some branches which fell near him: *krai! houuu! boui!* Caterpillar ate for a long time and did not harm them, for they had given him fruits generously. He had caused the tree where Beetle was sitting to swell, for Beetle had turned out to be stingy. Caterpillar ate long, and when he was full and satisfied he simply continued on his way. The blue-headed parrot people were eating the aril of the *wakamabë* and the *krebuubë* fruits, other people that of the inga or *tohomakë* fruits, still others were eating *mōraemakë* fruits.³⁸¹ Yellow-Green Grosbeak was eating *hayi* berries. That is how it was. The blue-headed parrot people gave Caterpillar fruits generously. Then he went very far away, and the ancestors stopped meeting him.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Caterpillar encounters Kinkajou who is crying because he has no tobacco. Caterpillar gives him some in return for fruit, and teaches him to prepare and eat inga seeds. During his further travels Caterpillar meets several people who are eating fruit in trees. He rewards those who share generously with him, teaching them to prepare and eat wild fruit kernels, but punishes Beetle who is stingy.

Motif content

A2691.2.	Origin of tobacco.
D110.+.	Transformation: man to kinkajou. (D110.
	Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D184.1.	Transformation: man to beetle.
D489.+.	Tree magically grows larger. (D489. Objects made larger—miscellaneous.)

D560.+.	Transformation by ingesting tobacco juice. (D560. Transformation by various means.)
D681.	Gradual transformation.
Q42.	Generosity rewarded.
Q276.	Stinginess punished.
Q551.3.2.	Punishment: transformation into animal.

77. In Search of Tobacco

Nosiriwë was weeping because he needed something. Perched in the trees some blue-headed parrots were eating *pahi* fruits, and *moshima* fruits as well. "*Peshiyë, peshiyë, peshiyë*," Nosiriwë lamented. "What are you saying?" the parrots asked him. "It's me! I'm crying because I need something," said Nosiriwë as he walked. "Break off a branch of *moshima* fruits for me." "Here it is," they replied. He continued walking from one place to another. "*Peshiyë, peshiyë, peshiyë*," he began to complain again. He was getting close to some blue-headed parrots who were eating *rëshë* fruits. "What are you eating?" "We're eating *rëshë* fruits." "Break off a piece of a branch for me." "Whom are you crying over?" "I'm crying because there's something I don't have," he said. "Here are your fruits." In each place where there were blue-headed parrots he ate a little. "*Peshiyë, peshiyë, peshiyë*. . . ." He walked on, still lamenting. In another place they asked: "What do you need, since you're crying so?" "It's me, and I am lamenting," said Nosiriwë as he walked.

Finally he reached the place where Kinkajou was eating *këyë* fruits. Kinkajou had left his stone axe at the foot of the tree in which he was sitting, and on the handle he had placed his tobacco cut. The handle was under the effect of the tobacco. "*Peshiyë, peshiyë, peshiyë*. . . ." "What are you saying?" "It's me, and I am crying because I need something." "What do you need?" "I am sad because I don't have a cut of tobacco under my lip. Break off a branch for me." "These fruits are tasteless; the pulp is bland." Nosiriwë ate for a minute. "So you need something?" Kinkajou knew about tobacco, and he guessed right. "You're crying because you need something?" "Yes." "Look over there, on the axe handle." "Where?" "It's hanging over there." A large cut of still green tobacco lay on the handle. He placed it under his lip. "*Ayë, ayë, ayë*," he said with satisfaction.

In the places where Nosiriwë spat as he walked, tobacco plants sprouted in his wake. It was Nosiriwë who caused tobacco to spread everywhere, but it was Kinkajou who discovered it.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Weeping for lack of tobacco, man walks through forest. Finally he meets Kinkajou who introduces him to tobacco.

Motif content

A2691.2.	Origin of tobacco.
F979.17.	Plants grow without being sown.
H580.	Enigmatic statements.
H1370.+.	Quest for tobacco. (H1370. Miscellaneous quests.)

78. In Search of Tobacco

It is thanks to Kuripowë that we have tobacco.

Far away in the forest an endless lamentation could be heard, moving from place to place. "I need something, need something, need something. . . . My need makes me numb to all other feelings," said the voice, getting closer all the time. Following the path the man who was lamenting thus entered the communal house. "What's the reason for your terrible lamentation? What's wrong?" they asked him. "I need something, need something," continued Kuripowë as he walked. "What's wrong with you since you complain so? Speak calmly." All were a bit afraid because of his behavior and did not get out of their hammocks. "Answer!" "I have no intention of blaming you; I'm only complaining that I need something. It's because I lack something that I lament like this wherever I go." He fell silent for a moment. "I lament because I need something," he repeated. "Go and have sex with the women, make them pregnant. They went that way," they told him. "I don't want to have sex; I don't care which way they went."

Farther on in the forest he went on: "I need something, need something, need something. . . ." "Why are you complaining? Are you in mourning? Is it a death that brings you here?" the people asked him. "No. I complain of needing something; I complain because I feel a very great need," he replied. "Oh! Follow the path along the ridge and ask elsewhere; here we don't know anything." He resumed his journey. "I need something, need something. . . ." His lament could be heard traveling along the ridge. The Yanomami fell silent when they heard him approaching. There were many of them, sitting in the trees and eating fruits. Kuripowë arrived. Scraps

were falling to the ground. "Who are you?" they asked. "It's me, and I am lamenting. It's me." "Are you in mourning since you lament like that?" "No, I'm complaining for no reason." "The women are over there; go and have sex with them, make them pregnant." "No, I'm just talking. I'm tormented by a need," he added.

Finally he reached someone who really knew. He, too, was sitting in a tree. "Why are you complaining?" "For no specific reason; I just need something. I feel a terrible need, and so I complain. Break off a branch, brother-in-law, break off a branch and drop it. I'm hungry." The other broke off a branch that was laden with *pahi* fruits and let it fall. The branch hit the ground heavily. "Do you want another?" "That's enough," said Kuripowë. He ate the pulp of the fruits. No one paid any attention to him. When he was finished he said: "Brother-in-law, I've put the seeds here." He urinated on them and then added: "Well, brother-in-law, here they are. Boil them in water, remove them from the water when they are hot, and eat them still warm." "All right. But what were you saying when you came?" asked the other. "I was complaining of needing something," said Kuripowë. "Look over there, near you. There's a stone axe lying on the ground with a cut of tobacco on its handle." "Yes. I'll see if there's some tobacco on it." When Kuripowë saw the tobacco he cried: "Brother-in-law, that's exactly what I need! That's what I needed to be told!" Avidly he grabbed the large wad made from green tobacco, and carried it off. Once more he followed the ridge path, feeling the effects of the tobacco. He probably wanted to spread tobacco, for in every place where he salivated the juice from the tobacco cut a tobacco plant appeared. It grew tall right away and began to flower, and hummingbirds came and sucked honey from the flowers. That was the kind of trail that Kuripowë left as he traveled. Thanks to him tobacco spread everywhere.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Kuripowë travels through forest searching for undefined object. Finally Kinkajou satisfies his need by giving him tobacco. Kuripowë scatters tobacco plants everywhere.

Motif content

A2691.2.	Origin of tobacco.
F979.17.	Plants grow without being sown.
H580.	Enigmatic statements.

H1370.+.

Quest for tobacco. (H1370. Miscellaneous quests.)

79. The Acquisition of Tobacco

The old Yanomamo did not have tobacco. Instead they used to chew *taratara*, an elongated leaf that is rather harmful because it intoxicates. Haxo-riwë³⁸² was sad, and he cried because he could not chew *taratara*.

Seeing him weeping, Tomi-riwë³⁸³ took pity on him. He knew of another leaf which was less powerful than the *taratara* and which did not intoxicate. It was tobacco. So he called Haxo-riwë, took a few tobacco seeds that he had, wrapped them in a banana leaf, put everything inside a tube container,³⁸⁴ and gave it to him, saying: "Take this. Go home, and then go to your plantation and plant these in this way: clear a small area and burn the brush. Then take this package from the container and open it in your hand. When you sow, first blow on the seeds. Cover them with earth, and when they begin to grow, transplant the seedlings and cover them with leaves to protect them from the rays of the sun. Then you wait. When the leaves look large and beautiful, remove the nerves and place the leaves to dry on top of the hearth. After they have been dried like that they last for a long time. When you want to use them, place two in water to soak, pass them through the ashes on the hearth, and form a small roll, which you then place between your gum and your lower lip. When you're sucking tobacco like that you'll have the strength to work and won't feel so hungry."

Haxo-riwë did everything that Tomi-riwë had told him. The plants that he had sown grew. Then he went to the plantation, picked a few leaves, returned home, and made a roll. When he began to suck he felt such great pleasure that he went crazy with happiness. Running off to the forest in big leaps he turned into a kinkajou. Afterward Tomi-riwë also went into the forest where he was transformed into an agouti.

To this day we Yanomamo cultivate tobacco the way Tomi-riwë showed Haxo-riwë. We call on them to make the seeds fruitful. If it rains a lot we harvest only a little tobacco, but if there is a drought we get an abundant harvest.

Source: Cocco 1972, p. 308.

Summary

Yanomamo ancestor introduces one man to tobacco, showing him how to plant it. Since then Yanomamo have tobacco.

Motif content

A2691.2.	Origin of tobacco.
D110.+.	Transformation: man to agouti. (D110.
	Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D110.+.	Transformation: man to kinkajou. (D110.
	Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)

80. The Black Curassow Spirits and the Origin of Night³⁸⁵

At the time when the *titikikë* spirits of the night had not yet been killed the day never ended. The white monkey people³⁸⁶ indeed were obliged to copulate in full daylight! That is true! They would copulate in full daylight, although trying to hide behind a smoke screen. They would light large fires and then choke the flames in order to produce a thick smoke. Finally they no longer wanted to copulate like that; they were tired of copulating in the forest and wanted to do it in their hammocks. That is how they were. They wanted to have night; they were tired of having sex in the forest.

In the end it was Ocelot³⁸⁷ who saw the night spirits in the forest and shot them. He was hunting, and had shot many Spix's guans³⁸⁸ and other game birds. Suddenly he heard the spirits of the night who were perched some distance away.³⁸⁹ Their song could be heard clearly: "*Bei ya shii! Bei ya shii! Bei ya shii!*"³⁹⁰ The river Kokoi u³⁹¹ flows far downstream! *Bei ya shii! Bei ya shii! Bei ya shii!* The river Yanaemë u has its source upstream! *Bei ya shii! Bei ya shii! Bei ya shii!* The river Bami u has its sources farther upstream! *Bei ya shii! Bei ya shii! Bei ya shii!* The river Ukushibi u flows in the center!" That was what the night spirits were saying in their lamentations; they were naming the rivers.³⁹² Their voices could be heard above the plaintive calls of the black curassows which were perched below them: "*Hmmmm hummmm! Hummmm hummmm!*"

Ocelot began to shoot all the curassows and then the other birds that surrounded the night spirits. They were Spix's guans, great tinamous, marbled wood-quails, blue-throated piping guans, and

variegated tinamous.³⁹³ Then he let fly an arrow which traveled across the leaves and branches and grazed the spirits: *thao! bushshsh!* Surprised, they suddenly raised and lowered their wings while calling: "*Shii tititititi!*"³⁹⁴ Immediately it became night under the tree, and Ocelot fell asleep for a few moments. Very soon it was day again.

Ocelot went running back to his village with the news of his discovery. Excitedly he asked his mother: "Mother! Have you just been asleep?" She confirmed: "Yes, I just fell asleep for a moment." He said to himself: "So that's it! Those must be the spirits that cause night to fall!" He decided to really shoot them in order to make a real night fall. He said to his mother: "Mother! Prepare some firewood while I'm gone!" She replied: "All right, I'll cut some firewood and put it next to our hearth." She remained to cut the wood while Ocelot again went into the forest to search for the spirits of the night. Once more he heard their songs which kept endlessly naming the rivers: "*Hmmmm hmmm! Hmmm hmmm!*"³⁹⁵ The river Ishoa u³⁹⁶ flows far downstream! *Hmmm! Hmmm!* Upstream the river Hero u³⁹⁷ flows out of it! *Hmmm! Hmmm!* Even farther upstream the river Shobata u³⁹⁸ flows out of it!" They kept this up incessantly, listing the names of all the rivers in a never-ending lament. Ocelot heard them again. "Isn't that their call again? Aren't they sitting over there?" he wondered. He tried to make them out but they were the night spirits, and he had difficulty seeing them. In the place where they were perched there was a kind of black spot, a spot of night. He bent down and fixed his eyes in their direction just as they began to swing their heads and call again: "*Hmmm hmmm! Hmmm hmmm!*" Then he saw them and said: "Aren't they there! Yes, they are perched over there!" He braced his bow and shot them: *thai! hō! thikē!* They fell to the ground: *houuu! boui!* He fell asleep fill night at once, but woke up awhile later and said to himself: "Yes, they are the ones!" When he got home he asked: "Mother! Did you prepare the firewood?" She answered: "Yes, I put it on the ground near your hammock." He said: "Wasn't it they, the spirits of the night? Yes, it really was!" And the white monkey people were very happy. Then Ocelot made a big fire with the wood prepared by his mother and stretched out in his hammock. Night fell, and he slept. The white monkey people took the opportunity to copulate in the dark. The night was still very short, and dawn came quickly. They said to one another: "We want more of the night!" Night fell again and the people began to think right: "Yes, it was really they; they really were the night spirits!"

That was how it happened a very long time ago. Since then the night spirits remained in spectral form.³⁹⁹ After Ocelot shot them they scattered in all directions. Do not all of us sleep at night since that time when he made the night fall? Their supernatural image⁴⁰⁰ is still here. At first when they had just been shot the night was very short and dawn would come quickly. But the night spirits remained and grew bigger, and now we can sleep long. The night spirits had hidden among the black curassows, the Spix's guans, the marbled wood-quails, and the blue-throated piping guans. They were the supernatural game birds accompanying the night spirits. Only after killing all those birds was Ocelot finally able to shoot the spirits. It was Ocelot who shot them with his arrows. That is how it was.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

In primeval world of perennial daylight man (Ocelot) shoots night spirits who are hiding among birds in forest. Spirits grow bigger, and night begins to fall.

Motif content

A1174.	Origin of night.
A1617.+.	How the rivers received their names. (A1617. Origin of place-name.)
B30.+.	Bird of the night. (B30. Mythical birds.)
B172.	Magic bird.
B192.	Magic animal killed.
D908.	Magic darkness.
D2106.+.	Magic multiplication of spirits. (D2106. Magic multiplication of objects.)
D2146.2.1.	Night produced by magic.
F401.3.7.	Spirit in form of bird.
F470.	Night-spirits.

81. Darkness Descends

Long ago there was continual light. A very long time ago a curassow was shot with an arrow, and right away it got darker and darker. The ancestors cut firewood. A very long time ago, right in

the beginning they cut firewood. As it was getting dark, the ancestors did not know what was happening.

Informant: Sitiho

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

A1174.	Origin of night.
B30.+.	Bird of the night. (B30. Mythical birds.)
B172.	Magic bird.
B192.	Magic animal killed.
D908.	Magic darkness.
D2146.2.1.	Night produced by magic.
F470.	Night-spirits.

82. The Origin of Day and Night⁴⁰¹

Once the ancestors had been created it became night. It was night and the great curassow cried: "Hmmm hmmm! hmmm hmmm!" "There is the great peccary mountain so we called it hmmm hmmm! hmmm hmmm! There lies the long-lips mountain⁴⁰² so we called it hmmm hmmm! hmmm hmmm! There the great forked mountain so we called it hmmm hmmm! hmmm hmmm! There the Kanadakuni⁴⁰³ mountain so we called it hmmm hmmm! hmmm hmmm! There the great tapir mountain so we called it hmmm hmmm! hmmm hmmm! There the great Paru mountain so we called it hmmm hmmm! hmmm hmmm! There the great Merevari so we called it hmmm hmmm! hmmm hmmm!" So cried the great curassow.

And the Sanema heard the great curassow's voice in turn, as the bird named the great rivers of the foreigners—Kanadakuni, Merevari, Cacuri, the Paru mountain, the tapir mountain, and so on. So the Sanema in turn took these names from the great curassow. And the ancestors collected *palalaisi* arrowpoints,⁴⁰⁴ and the great curassow went on crying. And dawn did not come, dawn did not come, dawn did not come, dawn did not come. The *honamawan* tinamou called: "Hona! hona! hona! hona!"⁴⁰⁵ The Sanema cried. The shamans chanted, and still dawn did not come. It did not dawn. It did not dawn. It did not dawn. And the curassow continued mourning, mourning, mourning. People became hungry. The firewood ran out. People shivered with cold.

The Sanema became vexed. "It's that curassow," they said, "that's the trouble!" they said angrily and they in turn mourned. So they collected the *palalaisi* arrowpoints.

"Hmmm hmmm! hmmm hmmm! The *musamai*⁴⁰⁶ tree forest hmmm hmmm! hmmm hmmm! So we called it hmmm hmmm! hmmm hmmm!" continued the great curassow, naming all the forests in turn.

"Let us really kill this one good and proper," said the Sanema,⁴⁰⁷ and then they shot it with the *palalaisi* arrow: *glos!* It stuck in. "Uuuuuu! *bu bu bu bu bu bu!*" went the great curassow, and the feathers scattered from it. The tail feathers became curassows,⁴⁰⁸ the small feathers became songbirds, the wing feathers became the Spix's guans, the primaries became the piping guans, so all the feathers came out and the white down became all the raptors. High up into the sky they flew.

"*Koi! koi! koike!*" they cried. And high up into the trees flew the other birds; all the little birds fluttered about. They were really the great curassow's feathers. It became day.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 39–40.

Summary

After long primeval darkness day is finally brought by killing mythical bird.

Motif content

A605.1.	Primeval darkness.
A1171.	Origin of day.
A1200.	Creation of man.
A1617.	Origin of place-name.
A1900.	Creation of birds.
B30.+.	Bird of the night. (B30. Mythical birds.)
B172.	Magic bird.
B192.	Magic animal killed.
D447.+.	Transformation: feathers to birds. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.)
D2146.1.3.	Day produced by magic.
F470.	Night-spirits.

83. How the Monkeys Got Their Colors

Long ago there was a long, very long, night. Dawn did not come at all. People became hungry, the fires went out. Being cold, Howler Monkey⁴⁰⁹ rubbed himself all over with annatto and then he climbed into the trees. Spider Monkey was also cold. He crushed charcoal and then rubbed himself all over. He painted himself all black and then he too climbed up into the trees. The capuchin monkey did the same, painting himself all black and climbing into the trees. White Monkey rubbed himself with wood ash all over and so he too climbed up into the trees.

Once they had climbed up, still dawn did not come. Some other people climbed up too, but not all of them. Then after these had climbed up the lesser tinamou cried: "*Hona! hona! hona! hona!*" and the people also cried. The great curassow, the source of the night, mourned: "*Mm! mm!*" and people also mourned. They shot the curassow with specially tipped arrows—*sek!* The bird fell: *u bu! bu! bu! bu! bu!* All the feathers became birds. Curassows, piping guans, Spix's guans, all the songbirds. And it became light. Some of the people climbed down again from the trees.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 40–41.

Motif content

A1046.	Continuous world-eclipse.
A1900.	Creation of birds.
A2210.	Animal characteristics: change in ancient animal.
A2217.	Appearance of animal from marking or painting.
A2411.1.5.1.	Color of monkey.
B30.+.	Bird of the night. (B30. Mythical birds.)
B172.	Magic bird.
B192.	Magic animal killed.
D447.+.	Transformation: feathers to birds. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.)
D2146.1.3.	Day produced by magic.
F470.	Night-spirits.

84. Bore and the Origin of Plantains⁴¹⁰

It was in this same forest of the highlands⁴¹¹ that Bore⁴¹² hid the *kuratha*⁴¹³ plantains, and nowhere else. That was the only place

where people were transformed. But although he kept them concealed from view some ancestors discovered them. These people were very hungry, and were searching for food everywhere. They were just eating grasshoppers⁴¹⁴ and kept looking for rotting tree trunks to eat the scorpions⁴¹⁵ they contained. They also ate *moka* frogs.⁴¹⁶ But they did not eat any plantains at all. Plantains did not exist, nor did gardens. Only Bore had a garden and plantains, which he kept hidden in a very steep place. But in the end the crested oropendola people⁴¹⁷ discovered his plantains. At the same time some other people, the red-rumped cacique people, discovered the *naikë* flowers in the same way and began to gather them.⁴¹⁸

So the crested oropendola people discovered the plantains, picked some ripe ones, and took them to Bore. They handed them to him and asked: "Father-in-law!⁴¹⁹ What is that?" In Bore's plantations bunches of nearly ripe plantains were growing one behind the other, and the crested oropendola people were wondering what they were. When they saw round-bellied fruits (papaya) hanging from some trees they wondered: "What are those?" They saw little tubers (sweet potatoes) lying on the ground, and thought: "What can those be?" They saw maize and also said to themselves: "What is that?" They were also intrigued by taros: "Well! What are those big plants with the large leaves?" And by yams: "Well! Those climbing plants with the lobate leaves, what are they?" Above all they saw, scattered all over Bore's garden, a great number of banana trees bearing ripening clusters of plantains. They picked some, took them to where Bore lived, and presented them to him while examining them: "Father-in-law, what's this? What are those things that grow back there?" They handed him one, in the same way that the red-rumped cacique people saw the *naikë* flowers, picked some, and took them to Porcupine. Bore feigned ignorance and only said: "Where did you get that? I want some; give me!" They repeated their question: "Father-in-law, what are those?" The ripe plantains smelled very good, giving off a richly perfumed fragrance. They gave him one, and he brought it to his nose pretending to smell it the way they themselves were doing. As he already knew how to cook them, roasting them in the embers before they were eaten, he said suddenly: "Ripe plantains are gluey!"⁴²⁰ The crested oropendola people exclaimed at once: "Aaaaa! They are plantains! That's what they are called! Aaaaa!" They went immediately to fetch some *wii* carrying baskets⁴²¹ and began to pick Bore's plantains. At the same time Porcupine, who was eating *naikë* flowers, revealed their name in the same way: "Nai! Nai! Nai! Nai! Nai!"

Informant: Kobi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Hungry Yanomam discover ghost's garden hidden away in forest and make him reveal name of plantains which he cultivates in secret.

Motif content

A1423.0.1.	Hoarded plants released.
A2687.5.	Origin of banana.
A2781.	Origin of plant names.
N440.+.	Secret learned.

85. The Acquisition of Maize

Koye-riwë⁴²² was one of the ancient Yanomamo. He lived up there, near where the Warokoawe-teri live today. Koye-riwë worked a lot. He made a large plantation, with maize⁴²³ planted everywhere. While he was working on it the sound could be heard from far away: *tak, tak, tak!* That was how it sounded all the time. He felled trees and burned, returning to his house only to sleep.

One afternoon, seeing him coming back when darkness was already falling, his brother-in-law said: "*Xori*, why don't you come and eat with us? Why do you spend all day in the forest? All day long we hear you cutting and felling trees." "No," answered Koye-riwë, "I'm not felling trees. I was gathering *porekotopë* honey, but the tree where the hive was fell on top of another tree and I had to cut down that as well. Then that in turn fell on another tree and I had to cut down that one. And that fell on another tree. . . . That's why I've had to work so much." Koye-riwë was lying, for he did not want anyone to know that he was making a plantation.

The next morning, before he left, his wife, whose name was Heama-yoma, said to him: "All right, go, but come back early. Why do you work so hard?" "So that you won't go hungry," he answered.

That day Koye-riwë returned earlier, around noon. He brought two ears of corn. In those days our ancestors had the magic power to make plants grow that quickly, and that was why the maize that Koye-riwë had just planted in his garden was ripe already. "Take

those two ears of corn," he said to his wife. "There are many in the plantation, and they are drying. Roast them." Heama-yoma put them to roast on the fire. Soon the kernels began to pop: *pa! pa! pa!* The people who heard it said: "Listen how Koye-riwë's kernels are popping!" His wife asked: "This is what you've been working on for so long?" "Yes," he answered, "so that you won't go hungry."

That afternoon the Yanomamo ate the first maize. Koye-riwë said to his mother-in-law: "There's a lot in the plantation. It's like that. We must go and harvest. There's enough for all."

The following day he invited everyone, and they went off with their baskets to Koye-riwë's plantation. Only his mother-in-law, old Popomari, remained behind in the communal house. When they reached the plantation they were frightened; the maize field was so large that to them it appeared endless. They broke off many ears of corn, filled their baskets, and carried them home. There they roasted the maize and ate it.

Informant: The chief of the Iyëwei-teri

Source: Cocco 1972, p. 183.

Summary

Primeval Yanomamo (Koye-riwë) secretly prepares maize field in forest. At harvest time he introduces his people to maize.

Motif content

A2685.1.1.	Origin of maize.
D2157.2.	Magic quick growth of crops.
W20.+.	Diligence. (W20. Other favorable traits of character.)

86. Leaf-Cutter Ant Loses His Mother-in-Law in His Garden⁴²⁴

Leaf-Cutter Ant⁴²⁵ did not commit incest; he lost his mother-in-law in his maize garden.⁴²⁶ His mother-in-law was Thrushlike Antpitta.⁴²⁷ Ant worked ceaselessly, planting a huge garden of maize.⁴²⁸ He sent his mother-in-law into this garden, saying: "Mother-in-law! Go and gather some maize ears in my garden! Go and see whether my maize is ripe!" He insisted: "Go and see whether my maize is ripe! Go into the middle of the garden, that's where my maize is! Beyond, at the edge of the forest, you will also

find tobacco!" She started out. Ant's maize garden was very large. She entered it, and plunging deeper and deeper into the maize parcels she finally lost her way. She got lost, for she was not very familiar with her son-in-law's garden.⁴²⁹

When her daughter who had accompanied her to the garden did not see her return she began to call: "Mother! Come back quickly!" She wandered through the garden in every direction, calling: "Mother! Come back! Hurry up!" But her mother had gotten lost, and the only answer she received was the call of the thrushlike antpitta: "Boo! Boo! Boo! Boo! Boo!" Antpitta's daughter exclaimed fearfully: "Waaaaa!"⁴³⁰ Mother's voice has gone far away into the maize field! "Waaaaa!" The call went on: "Boo! Boo! Boo! Boo!" Antpitta's daughter set out in its direction, crying: "Mother! Over here! Over here!" But the voice answered her from somewhere else: "Boo! Boo! Boo! Boo!" She went toward it and called again: "Mother! Come back! Over here! Over here!" But the voice answered again from another place: "Boo! Boo! Boo! Boo!" Her mother never came back; she had been transformed into a thrushlike antpitta far away. By getting lost she had lost her human consciousness and had been transformed. She turned into a bird and was lost forever. Only her daughter remained. Tired of calling she finally went back to the collective house.

Ant was very hard-working. The cultivated parcels in his garden were spread out next to one another over a great distance, and the edge of the forest was far away. That was why his mother-in-law got lost. He had planted maize everywhere simply by kicking the ground, and the plants had begun to grow very tall. That was why he sent his mother-in-law to pick ears of maize, and why she got lost. She had picked maize, and had lost her way. Ant had worked in his garden with Three-Striped Flycatcher⁴³¹ and they had cleared a vast garden. Flycatcher was his brother-in-law. There were only the four of them, Ant, his mother-in-law, his wife, and Flycatcher, but in spite of this they had a huge garden. The clearing formed by their parcels was very large, that was why he lost his mother-in-law in it.

Very long ago, in Yamoko,⁴³² our elders used maize as ceremonial food during the *reahu* festivals.⁴³³ But after they had disappeared we lost the habit of using maize.⁴³⁴ When I was a child I used to eat this maize.⁴³⁵

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Man (Leaf-Cutter Ant) with very large maize garden asks his mother-in-law to go and gather maize ears there. She gets lost in field and turns into bird, and her daughter searches in vain for her.

Motif content

D150. +.	Transformation: woman to bird. (D150. Transformation: man to bird.)
D182.2.	Transformation: man to ant.
D2157.2.	Magic quick growth of crops.
F979.17.	Plants grow without being sown.
H1385. +.	Quest for lost mother. (H1385. Quest for lost persons.)
W20. +.	Diligence. (W20. Other favorable traits of character.)

87. Lost in the Maize Field

Atta Ant was felling trees, and as he worked the maize immediately began to grow by itself; that was how he discovered maize. The plantation already covered a vast area when his wife asked: "What are you doing? You always come back at nightfall." "I'm felling trees to gather honey, but unfortunately they all become entangled in other trees, and I return only after trying everything possible to make them fall," he replied. Then he added: "Tell your mother that tomorrow we'll go and pick maize." No one knew yet that there was maize, for he had not told anyone. It was from that time that they began to harvest maize.

They slept. When dawn came Atta Ant's wife called her mother: "Come, mother, we're going to eat maize." They went to the plantation. "Tell your mother to gather these ears," said Atta Ant. "Mother, will you gather these ears?" "They're short!" "Mother, will you please gather them?" "They're short!" Atta Ant said: "Send her over to that tree there which towers over the surrounding vegetation; she can see if the ears are long there."

Atta Ant's mother-in-law entered among the maize plants, leaving a trail as she passed. At that moment rain could be heard falling far away. "Call your mother and we'll leave," said Atta Ant. "Mother, come back, it may rain!" "Popopopo," she replied. Because of Atta Ant his mother-in-law had gotten lost; she had turned into a chestnut-crowned antpitta.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

- | | |
|------------|--|
| A2685.1.1. | Origin of maize. |
| D150.+. | Transformation: woman to bird. (D150.
Transformation: man to bird.) |
| F979.17. | Plants grow without being sown. |

88. A Myth about Maize

Koyeriwë went to clear ground for a plantation. He wanted to have a very large one. He worked, and wherever he had finished an area he saw maize growing. He did not stop but went on preparing a small area every day, and when it was ready maize sprouted.

Finally the plantation was very large. Koyeriwë finished, and saw how the entire field was the beautiful green color of maize. The first piece of ground he had worked had the tallest maize, the second a bit smaller, the next even smaller, but there was maize growing everywhere. And that is what the Yanomami must do in order always to have maize to eat.

When Koyeriwë's first maize was full-grown he called his mother-in-law and said: "Take some maize to eat." She went, and when she was already inside the plantation she said to herself: "It's still not quite ripe here." She continued on into the field from one side to the other, looking for the biggest maize, on and on, until she was lost in Koyeriwë's enormous plantation.

When she was late coming back her daughter went looking for her, calling: "Mother, mother, mother!" Finally the mother replied: "Po, po, po." The daughter realized that her mother had been transformed into a wryneck, and she returned home crying.

The mother remained in the plantation forever as a bird.

And the maize keeps growing as before.

Informant: Raemawë

Source: Finkers 1986, pp. 33–34.

Motif content

- | | |
|----------|--|
| D150.+. | Transformation: woman to bird. (D150.
Transformation: man to bird.) |
| D2157.2. | Magic quick growth of crops. |

89. A Myth about Maize

Popomariyoma was the woman who got lost in the maize.

Koyeriwë was in his plantation, working hard. His wife was with him. Then Popomariyoma came, and her daughter asked her: "Mother, mother, why have you come here?" "I've come to pick maize." "Then go and pick over there," said her son-in-law. She went looking, saying: "Still very small," going deeper and deeper into the maize field. All the while she was searching and saying: "So small!" Finally she got lost, and turned into a bird.

It was getting late, and Koyeriwë said to his wife: "Call your mother; we should leave." She called: "Mother, mother, come, it's late!" But her mother did not answer. The sun was setting, and the woman was still calling. Finally the mother answered in a bird's voice, saying: "Po, po, po." Her daughter began to cry, for her mother had turned into a *popomari* bird, a wryneck.

Informant: Hakokoiwë

Source: Finkers 1986, pp. 33-34.

Motif content

D150.+.

Transformation: woman to bird. (D150.

Transformation: man to bird.)

90. Bwobwomane⁴³⁶

The husband had gone off hunting in the forest and killed an armadillo.⁴³⁷ He then returned home and set to cooking it up by himself, for, meanwhile, his wife and daughter had gone out.

"Girl! Let's go and collect crabs!" the mother had said. So the two of them, mother and daughter, had gone off crab collecting. Once they had collected the crabs they returned home. Their way took them by their cultivated plot, where the track went by the bottom of the garden. There was a lot of maize planted there. "Girl! Wait here, I'm just off to collect some corncobs so we can eat them with the crabs!" said the mother to her daughter. So while the daughter waited the mother went into the corn. She went farther and farther into the clearing and then disappeared into the forest on the other side. The daughter looked on aghast. She called out to her mother,

to call her back. "Mummy! Mummy!" she cried. "Bwo! Bwo! Bwo! Bwo! Bwo!" a voice replied. "That's really bad, how frightening," exclaimed the girl and she ran home to her father's house. She arrived to find him cooking up the armadillo.

"Daddy! My mummy's lost! In the forest something's making a noise—*bwo! bwo! bwo! bwo!*—like that. Go and look!" she cried. So the husband ran off to look for the wife. But just as his wife had changed into a *bwobwomane*⁴³⁸ so he did too. Now those birds that you hear in the forest going "*Bwo! bwo! bwo!*"—that's them.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 90–91.

Motif content

D150. Transformation: man to bird.
H1385.3. Quest for vanished wife (mistress).

91. The Bo-Bo Being

A woman and her daughters had gone crab collecting.⁴³⁹ After they had finished collecting and had just wrapped the crabs in leaves they heard a noise: *bo! bo! bo! bo! bo!* The children ran off scared but the mother refused to go, saying that she was too tired.

The children reached home and told their father what had happened. He ran back to find his wife, but when he got there he only found his wife's empty skin. For the *bo! bo! bo!* being⁴⁴⁰ had grabbed the old mother and sucked the life out of her.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 90.

Motif content

G310. Ogres with characteristic methods.
G332. Sucking monster.

92. The Old Woman and the Origin of Cultivated Yams⁴⁴¹

One day the yams⁴⁴² entered a Yanomam communal house by themselves. An old woman who had remained there alone had

called them: "*Hiyō! Hiyō! Hiyō!*" They were wild yams that grew in the forest. The old woman had remained alone in the collective house, and she was emaciated and starving. She began calling the yams: "*Hiyō! Hiyō! Hiyō! Waaa! Waaa!* May the yams come! May the yams come!" Tormented by hunger she was very impatient: "Yams, come here to me! I'm really very hungry! I'll boil you!" Then the yams pulled themselves out of the ground—*hī! houuuuu!*—and began to move in the direction of the house: *hī! brē! brē! brē! brē!* You would not have much success trying to call them like that today! Finally they entered by the main door of the house: *hōōō! brou! thikē! thikē! hōōō! thikē! thikē! thikē!* The old woman had called the yams and they had eventually come to her. When they entered the house at the end of the trail she immediately grabbed them one after the other: *hī! hatētē! hī! hatētē!* Then she broke off the upper part of the tubers to detach them: *hī! krōhō wa! krōhō wa! krōhō wa!*⁴⁴³ All the yams that she had thus captured she piled into *shotehe* baskets.⁴⁴⁴ They had arrived in large numbers. She was very happy. Having thus gathered them she went to the river to fetch water, boiled them, and ate them.

When the old woman had broken off the biggest yams she had set aside the small tubers,⁴⁴⁵ and she replanted them. That is how our ancestors have planted them in their gardens ever since and have continued to eat them. Do we not still eat those yams that people ate long ago? She was only an old woman who had stayed behind alone in the collective house. She really felt like eating yams so she called them, and that was how she made them come to her. They were yams that had grown in the forest without anyone knowing it. Previously there were no cultivated yams; it was that woman who called them. That was how the yams came into the house when the inhabitants were out. Now they do not come anymore, even if you try to call them! It was an old woman who called them, and they came. As for the other cultivated plants it was of course Tēbērēsikē who brought them to Omamē: plantains, manioc, arrow reeds, sugarcane, plants for sorcery and for love, all the cultivated plants.⁴⁴⁶

Informant: Hewēnakē

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Starving old woman left alone in house calls wild yams to come to her from forest, thus introducing their cultivation among Yanomam.

Motif content

A2684.	Origin of cultivated plants.
A2686.4.3.	Origin of yams.
D983.2.	Magic yam.
D1600.+.	Yams come when called. (D1600. Automatic object.)

93. The Origin of *Pendare*⁴⁴⁷ Fruits

The *hekula* people⁴⁴⁸ went raiding. They were Sanema *hekula*. They went far across the forest. As they arrived they were shouting: "Ai! ai! ai! ai! ai! ai! ai!" and they clashed their arrows: *dau! dau!* They loosed their arrows—*daia! weeeee*—and transfixing other *hekula*: *gloso!*

One *hekula* loosed his arrow: *daninininini!* It flew quivering and transfixing four *hekula* in turn⁴⁴⁹—*gloso! gloso! gloso! gloso!*—the hummingbird *hekula*,⁴⁵⁰ the *moka* frog *hekula*,⁴⁵¹ the *waika* tanager *hekula*⁴⁵² and the *shamatali* tanager *hekula*.⁴⁵³

The enemy got up again and shot their arrows in turn at the raiders: *gloso! gloso!* The spider monkey grabbed his staff, the *sua* vine. That is called the spider monkey vine, the original vine, the *hekula* vine. The spider monkey struck at the raiders—*pa!*—and ripped them apart: *gledididididi!* He struck their shoulders and so dismembered them: *pa tu! gledididididi!* People were shooting off arrows all over the place.

When the raiders returned home they came to a big, clear⁴⁵⁴ river and they plunged into the river to wash: *koolu!* Downstream the *kaimani* tree⁴⁵⁵ had fallen into the river: *gloo!* The *hiuliuna*⁴⁵⁶ tree too, and the *asmada*⁴⁵⁷ tree had all fallen across that river.

The *hekula* washed their wounds and the blood poured out, into the water. As the blood flowed through their branches the trees sprang back up, upright: *pau!*⁴⁵⁸ The *kaimani* tree bore much fruit, the *hiuliuna* tree bore much fruit, and the *asmada* tree bore much fruit. The fruits were the Sanema's blood. And the bird that goes *ta ke! ta ke! ta ke! ta ke!*⁴⁵⁹ is the signal of the blood.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 61.

Summary

After battle, spirits wash off blood in river. Blood causes trees magically to bear fruit.

Motif content

A2687.	Origin of fruits.
D1571.+.	Magic blood revivifies trees. (D1571. Magic object revivifies trees.)
D1576.+.	Magic blood causes tree to spring up. (D1576. Magic object causes tree to spring up.)
D1602.2.+.	Fallen tree raises itself again. (D1602.2. Felled tree raises itself again.)
E2.	Dead tree comes to life.
F402.1.11.	Spirit causes death.
F402.1.12.+.	Spirits fight. (F402.1.12. Spirit fights against person.)
F403.2.3.7.	Army of spirits and ghosts.
F971.4.	Fruitless tree bears fruit.
F1084.	Furious battle.

94. The Acquisition of *Ocumo*

Totorihana-riwë⁴⁶⁰ had a very small plantation. While the other men would fell the trees at the level of their bellies when they were preparing their plantations, he would fell them at ground level.

Totorihana had noticed that Warë-riwë's children cried a lot because they were hungry. He felt sorry for them and said to Warë-riwë: "I'll give you my plantation, but you must plant it!" He showed Warë-riwë how to plant *ocumo*; that way his children would not go hungry.

And that is what happened, for Warë-riwë's plantation yielded a good harvest of *ocumo*. From him we Yanomamo learned how to grow it.

Source: Cocco 1972, p. 185.

Motif content

A2686.4.+.	Origin of <i>ocumo</i> . (A2686.4. Origin of edible roots.)
W11.	Generosity.

95. The Acquisition of Sweet Potatoes

Poxe-riwë⁴⁶¹ was the brother of Warë-riwë, and resembled him in every respect. Like his brother he was very lazy. He grew nothing in his plantation, and therefore his children were always terribly hun-

gry. The earth that they ate did not do them any good; they were still hungry.

Opo-riwë⁴⁶² knew about sweet potatoes and had some growing in his plantation. He was well fed and felt sorry for Poxe-riwë's children. "Take these," he said to Poxe-riwë one day. "Plant them."

The other did so, and his children no longer had to go hungry. After Poxe-riwë all of us Yanomamo learned to cultivate the sweet potato.

Source: Cocco 1972, p. 185.

Motif content

A2686.4.1.	Origin of sweet potato.
S11.	Cruel father.
W11.	Generosity.
W111.	Laziness.

96. The Acquisition of *Mapuey*

Warë-riwë⁴⁶³ was one of the ancient Yanomamo, a very lazy man. He never planted anything. His children were crying because they were so hungry. They cried and cried, but Warë just ignored them. He was not even thinking of having a plantation.

Then Kayu-riwë⁴⁶⁴ took pity on the children and told Warë, their father: "I'll give you my plantation, but you must plant it." He taught Warë how to plant *mapuey*. If his children had that to eat they would not be hungry.

Warë planted *mapuey* and got a good harvest. Later he showed the rest of the Yanomamo how to do the same.

Source: Cocco 1972, p. 185.

Motif content

A2686.	Origin of vegetables.
S11.	Cruel father.
W11.	Generosity.
W111.	Laziness.

97. How the Yanoname Learned to Plant Pupunha

It was Omaue who showed the Yanoname the pupunha palm and said to them: "You must take the seeds and put them in the ground. Then pupunha will grow." The Yanoname did as he said, and since then they have lots of pupunha palms.

Informant: Daniel

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 157.

Motif content

A541.2.	Culture hero as god of agriculture.
A2681.5.	Origin of palms.
N838.	Hero (culture hero) as helper.

98. The First Pupunha Palms⁴⁶⁵

The Surára were already familiar with the banana plants, which were the first plants that they cultivated. One night a *japím*⁴⁶⁶ bird came flying, and on Poré's instructions he planted pupunha palms⁴⁶⁷ in between the banana plants. Early in the morning he awoke the Surára by singing particularly loudly. When they came out of the communal house in surprise he told them that this palm was called *komonamá*, and that its fruits not only were edible but also could be made into a refreshing drink.⁴⁶⁸

Informant: Hewemão

Source: Becher 1974, p. 35.

Motif content

A2681.5.	Origin of palms.
B122.1.	Bird as adviser.
B450.	Helpful birds.

99. The Acquisition of *Huriya* Fruit

Long ago the Yanomamo were not familiar with the *huriya* fruit. One day a Yanomamo named Hutumi appeared in a village carrying a bundle wrapped in leaves. The Indians asked him whether he was bringing game. "No, it's fruit," he answered, and opened the bundle to show them.

He threw the contents into a pot of water and boiled it, after covering the pot with a *yawatoa* leaf. Then he poured out the water and emptied the fruit into a basket. All the Yanomamo came to taste it. Hutumi said to them: "You have a lot of *huriya* around here which you let rot because you don't know how to eat them. Just do as I did!" He left, and turned into a bird.

The shamans invoke Hutumi-riwë to make the *huriya* plants bear a lot of fruit. *Hutumi* is what the criollos call the *pájaro león* and the ornithologists the *momotus momota*.

Source: Cocco 1972, p. 167.

Motif content

A2687.	Origin of fruits.
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.

100. The Origin of the *Pijiguao* Palm

Ayakora-riwë⁴⁶⁹ was an ancestor of ours. His son was good-looking, and was the son-in-law of Haya-riwë.⁴⁷⁰ It was the time of the *reahu* festival.

Ayakora-riwë's family lived in a communal house near that of Haya-riwë. When they returned from the hunt Haya-riwë heard them making noise in the plantation. They were gathering *pijiguao* fruits. Haya-riwë also wanted to eat *pijiguaos*, and told his daughter Warorari-yoma to go with her husband to the plantation to gather *pijiguao* fruits. He asked them to bring clusters of fruit from the tree closest to the path, for that was the one that had the tastiest fruit. He himself remained in the house taking snuff. "Go and pick *pijiguaos* from my tree," he said, "for my neighbor will celebrate the *reahu* without giving me anything."

They went. The boy asked his wife: "Which tree is it?" "This one," she said, pointing to a *macanilla*⁴⁷¹ tree with large, ripe fruits. "No,"

he said, "that's *macanilla*, not *pijiguaos*. We had better go to my father's plantation. He has a lot of *pijiguaos*, real *pijiguaos*. This is *macanilla*. Your father eats *macanilla* fruits thinking that they are *pijiguaos*; he doesn't recognize them." The young woman felt a bit offended, but she went with her husband, carrying his basket.

They arrived where the people were gathering *pijiguaos*. What noisy people! Going straight over to his father the young man said: "I've come to gather *pijiguaos*. Her father sent us to gather some in his own plantation, but all he has are *macanilla* fruits." The old man replied: "My poor daughter-in-law, picking *macanilla* fruits! Those are wild fruits. Come here and pick some real *pijiguaos*!"

They did so, filling the basket; and then they returned to the house. Haya-riwë was intoxicated by the snuff. The woman set down the basket, and her husband said: "Here they are, father, the *pijiguaos* fruits that you told us to get."

The old man looked and said nothing. Then he rolled up the skin on his arms and legs so that it would be very delicate, and started running toward the forest.⁴⁷² Crying "See, seeeee," he turned into a deer. He went on running, and some distance away he turned into a large rock the color of deerskin. From that hill far away the *hekura* spirits come today when we invoke them. The girl's mother ran in another direction and turned into a doe. The daughter was also about to run off in yet another direction, but her husband caught her in time.

After gathering the *pijiguaos* the rest of the people returned with their burdens to the communal house where they were transformed into mockingbirds. Their singing made a great noise: "Aya, aya, aya, aya, kora, kora. . . ." This is why mockingbirds live in flocks and sing like that. Immediately they began to fly. Then the young woman's husband also turned into a mockingbird and flew up to join the flock. All together flew to an *abiya* tree. That is why the fruit of this plant is yellow, the color of the mockingbird, and a bit pink. If some mockingbirds have some pink feathers behind, instead of yellow ones, it is because the *abiya* also has pink fruit.

Seeing herself alone the girl went running off like her parents, and like them she turned into a beautiful doe.

Source: Cocco 1972, pp. 363-364.

Summary

Haya-riwë sends his daughter and her husband to gather fruit. When they return with fruits from plantation of husband's family, Haya-riwë and

his family turn into deer. Their son-in-law and his relatives are transformed into mockingbirds.

Motif content

A2411.2.	Origin of color of bird.
A2426.2.	Cries of birds.
A2681.5.	Origin of palms.
A2791.+.	Why certain fruit is yellow and pink. (A2791. Sundry characteristics of trees.)
D114.1.1.	Transformation: man to deer.
D114.1.1.2.	Transformation: woman to doe.
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D421.5.+.	Transformation: deer to stone. (D421.5. Transformation: deer to object.)
F402.6.	Dwelling of demons.
F575.2.	Handsome man.
J1800.+.	One kind of fruit mistaken for another. (J1800. One thing mistaken for another—miscellaneous.)

101. The Origin of the *Pijiguao*

The Ayākorarithēri were the first to eat *pijiguao* fruit, and also the first to have fiestas with this fruit.

Hayariwē had a son-in-law by the name of Ayākorariwē. The latter was married to Hayariwē's daughter. Hayariwē called his daughter and said: "Daughter, go and gather *pijiguao* fruit with your husband." So the woman said to her husband: "My father told me to gather *pijiguaos*." "All right, let's go." They set off. After a while they heard shouting, and Ayākorariwē said to his wife: "Listen to those shouts; it's my people having a *pijiguao* feast."

Finally they came to a place, and Hayariwē's daughter said: "Look here, these are *pijiguaos*." He replied: "No, those aren't *pijiguaos*, they're *manacas*. You don't know what *pijiguaos* are. Let's go to my father, he has real *pijiguaos*." They went to the plantation of Ayākorariwē's father. "Look, these are *pijiguaos*, take a good look!" They picked a lot. Ayākorariwē said to his wife: "Pick a leaf as well so your father can see what the plant is like."

When they returned home the woman said to her father: "Look, father, these are real *pijiguaos*; what we have been eating is *manacas*." Then Hayariwē became very angry. Picking up a snail shell he cut into the calves of his legs and scraped off all the flesh from there

upward. Then he started running and turned into a deer. His daughter also began to run, but her husband Ayākorariwë was able to grab her in time.

Informant: Juan Irowë

Source: Finkers 1986, p. 39.

Motif content

A2681.5.	Origin of palms.
D114.1.1.	Transformation: man to deer.
J1800.+.	One kind of fruit mistaken for another. (J1800. One thing mistaken for another—miscellaneous.)
S160.1.	Self-mutilation.

102. Red Brocket and the False Palm Fruits⁴⁷³

Pretending to tell the truth, Red Brocket⁴⁷⁴ deceived his son-in-law Silver-Beaked Tanager.⁴⁷⁵ The latter had married Red Brocket's daughter. His father-in-law decided to send him on marital service⁴⁷⁶ to gather *rashasikë* palm fruits⁴⁷⁷ in his garden. He said to his daughter:⁴⁷⁸ "Daughter! Go and gather my *rasha* fruits; I want to eat some!" He pointed toward the palms: "It's the ones you see over there! Go and pick my *rasha abiakikë*⁴⁷⁹ fruits and don't say that they are of poor quality!" He was lying to her; the palms were in fact *manakasikë*!⁴⁸⁰

The man's son-in-law and daughter went off on marital service to gather his *rasha* fruits as he wanted. Silver-Beaked Tanager climbed up into the palms and began to break off clusters of fruits, throwing them to the ground: *krōhō! bouuu! bikë!* Red Brocket thought he had real *rasha* fruits, but in fact they were only *manaka* fruits. After gathering a few clusters Tanager took a bite of one of the fruits and called down to his wife: "They're only *manaka* fruits! They've got no pulp; they're bitter!" He climbed up into some other palms and broke off more clusters of fruits: *krōhō! bouuu! bikë! krōhō! bouuu! bikë!* Again he exclaimed: "They're really only *manaka* fruits! There are only these inedible fruits!" He knew that *rasha* fruits were different: "Real *rasha* fruits aren't like that! The palms on which they grow have spiny trunks! Shall I go and gather my own *rasha*? Real *rasha*! My father-in-law's are only *manaka*!" Throwing away the *manaka* he and his wife went to his garden which was situated a bit farther away at the

foot of a hill. He showed her his own palms: "That's what real *rashasikë* palms look like! Their trunks are spiny! One climbs up using *rasha akë* pieces of wood."⁴⁸¹ They gathered the fruits and returned to the collective house.

Then they went to Red Brocket's hearth and set down the fruits: *hōōō! kura! hōōō! kura!* "Here are the *rasha*," they said. Red Brocket's daughter began to boil them, and when they were cooked she brought a basketful to her father. They were real *rasha* gathered in Tanager's garden. He started eating them and said with satisfaction: "That's the delicious taste of my *rasha abiakikë*! Did you keep the stones? Take a few so you can plant some, too!" Irritated by hearing this lie the girl retorted: "What I prepared was my husband's *rasha*! You told us to pick *rasha* although yours are only *manaka*! Those are my husband's *rasha*! *Rashasikë* palms obviously have spiny trunks." Thus she argued with her father. But Red Brocket stubbornly stuck to his lie: "This is exactly what my *rasha abiakikë* are like! They are of good quality! I hope you did not spoil them." His daughter answered in an angry tone of voice: "You say that, although we threw away your *manaka*, your inedible fruits that had no pulp! These are real *rasha* that I prepared! Real *rashasikë* palms have spiny trunks! Obviously you lied to us! These are real *rasha* that my husband gathered in his garden!" Offended and furious, Red Brocket lay down in his hammock and turned his back to her.

Still angry, the following day he painted his body with urucu⁴⁸² and called his son-in-law for a shamanic session. "Son-in-law! Come and squat over here! Come and inhale some *yākōana* snuff;⁴⁸³ we are going to have a shamanic session!" Red Brocket was a great shaman. Silver-Beaked Tanager thought it really was *yākōana* they were going to use, so he went to his father-in-law's hearth, squatted there, and presented his nostrils. Red Brocket placed near his nose a gourd⁴⁸⁴ closed with beeswax which he now opened. It did not contain *yākōana* but intestinal gas which he had gradually collected during the night. He wanted indeed to take revenge, for he was furious that his son-in-law had thrown away what he himself thought was his *rasha* fruits. Now he made the other inhale his intestinal wind instead of *yākōana* snuff. Silver-Beaked Tanager took a deep breath through his nose from the opening in the gourd. Surprised and repelled by the strong, pestilential stench which arose from it he spat, feeling nauseous: *wa! ushë! ushë! hē! kusha! uwë! kusha! uwë! uwë! uwë!*

A while later Tanager gradually began to recover. Now it was his turn to be very angry. He prepared his own *yākōana*, taking some

arrowpoints that had been coated with the substance,⁴⁸⁵ and then passing them through the fire and scraping them over a *mahe* plate.⁴⁸⁶ Finally he took his snuff tube⁴⁸⁷ and vigorously began to blow the hallucinogen into Red Brocket's nostrils—*shai! shai! shai! shai!*—one dose after another. Each time Red Brocket groaned with pain: "*Asiatakē aaa! Asiatakē aaa!*"⁴⁸⁸ Finally he fell back, unconscious: *hōōō! brikē!*

After regaining consciousness he got up and began to chant: "*Brrr! Brrr! Brrr! Brrr!* That's how I want to transform myself!" Animated by the hallucinogen he had inhaled he slashed his arms and legs with his machete: *shōe! shōe! shōe!* His limbs grew thinner and thinner, and thus he began to be transformed into a red brocket. That is why these deer have thin legs; it is since that time. He kept intoning his own shamanic chant:⁴⁸⁹ "*Hayari! Hayari! Hayari! Brrr! Brrr! Brrr!*" His hands shrank and split in two. He said: "That's how I'm eager to look! That's how I want to transform my limbs! *Brrr! Brrr! Brrr!*" He completed his transformation into a red brocket and left, saying: "*Brrr! Brrr! Brrr!* I'll go and look at the leaves and walk around the garden! Let's go! I'll eat the manioc leaves, and I'll sleep in the garden!"

As soon as he had left, his daughter exclaimed to her husband: "Father will ruin your manioc plantation! His voice is moving toward the garden; he'll eat the leaves of your manioc plantation!" Silver-Beaked Tanager's mother-in-law urged: "Go and see whether he is eating the leaves of the manioc plants!" Tanager inserted a lanceolate point⁴⁹⁰ into the shaft of one of his arrows and set off in his father-in-law's footsteps.

Red Brocket's stomach was full after he had eaten manioc leaves all over the garden, and he lay stretched out on the ground in a new garden. He was being transformed while continuing his shamanic chant: "*Brrr! Brrr! Brrr! Hayari! Hayari! Brrr! Brrr!*" That is the chant of the shamanic spirit helper⁴⁹¹ which is also called Red Brocket, Hayari. He was singing his own song, and that is how the spirit Hayari still sings. He was performing shamanism on himself: "*Brrr! Brrr! Hayari! Hayari! Brrr! Brrr!*"

That was when Silver-Beaked Tanager shot him. Walking toward his garden he thought: "His voice is coming from this direction. He is eating my manioc leaves!" He bent his bow and left fly an arrow: *thai wa! thikē!* Red Brocket cried out: "*Wēēēēēē!*" He was wounded, and fled into the leaves: *hatututututu! shiri! waorai! waorai!* Following his trail Tanager killed him and he finally fell on the ground: *brikē!* Tanager cut him up and carried him back to the communal house.

The people ate Red Brocket and Tanager gave the stomach to his wife. That is how the people used to behave! The people ate Red Brocket; they did not scorn his flesh! In those days there was no game, that was why. After Tanager had eaten Red Brocket he became a bird and flew away. That was how our ancestors were. Some of them turned into game and the others would eat them, although they were related. They would eat one another, for they did not yet have funeral rituals; they did not yet know how to mourn the dead.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Man (Red Brocket) sends his daughter and his son-in-law to his garden to gather palm fruits, which he misidentifies. When they return and point out his mistake he becomes angry. In revenge he tricks son-in-law into smelling his intestinal gas. After son-in-law in turn makes him inhale hallucinogenic snuff he gradually turns into red brocket deer. Son-in-law kills him, and people eat his flesh.

Motif content

A2371.2.+.	Why deer has thin legs. (A2371.2. Shape of animal's legs.)
D100.	Transformation: man to animal.
D114.1.1.	Transformation: man to deer.
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D523.	Transformation through song.
D681.	Gradual transformation.
D1275.	Magic song.
D1781.	Magic results from singing.
G70.+.	Flesh of relative transformed to animal eaten. (G70. Occasional cannibalism—deliberate.)
J1800.+.	One kind of fruit mistaken for another. (J1800. One thing mistaken for another—miscellaneous.)
K1040.+.	Dupe tricked into inhaling intestinal gas. (K1040. Dupe otherwise persuaded to voluntary self-injury.)
K2218.2.	Treacherous father-in-law.
S160.1.	Self-mutilation.

103. The Deer and the Peach-Palm Fruits⁴⁹²

The deer was the original shaman. He snuffed a lot of *sakona* snuff.⁴⁹³ This original deer⁴⁹⁴ was the father-in-law of Ashekonomai.⁴⁹⁵ "Girl,"⁴⁹⁶ said the deer, while sniffing his *sakona* all by himself. "Girl, go and collect my peach-palm fruits."⁴⁹⁷ "Right!" replied Ashekonomai, and with his wife, the deer's daughter, he went out. They collected the real peach-palm fruits. They carried them home. They cooked them up. The deer then ate a lot of the fruits. "Mummy! Mummy! These peach-palm fruits are really delicious," said the deer. "On the contrary. They're from a different palm altogether. That Ashekonomai brought back a different fruit!" said his daughter. "Really!" replied the deer. "Well, you chuck that fruit right out!" he said. "Now! Where's my peccary tooth?"⁴⁹⁸ he asked. Taking the peccary jaw he scraped his lower legs: *ho'oni! ho'oni! ho'oni! ho'oni!* The calf became all thin and misshapen. Then he rubbed himself with annatto: rub! rub! rub! He stuck a bunch of cotton in for a tail. *Hwww! hwww!* He ran off into the jungle.

That's how he turned into an animal. The deer ran off!

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 54.

Motif content

D114.1.1.	Transformation: man to deer.
J1800.+.	One kind of fruit mistaken for another. (J1800. One thing mistaken for another—miscellaneous.)
S160.1.	Self-mutilation.

104. Deer's Mistake

Long ago those *rasha* palms all around us with the light-colored fruits used to belong to the yellow-rumped cacique people. The red-rumped caciques owned the species with the red fruits.

One day Deer said to his daughter: "My daughter, my child, go and gather my *rasha* fruits. When you enter the road you'll find a path with shrubs that have been broken by hand. Follow it, for it leads to the palms. You'll see: the clusters hang low on the stems, and the fruits are light in color. They are ripe, so pick some; I feel like eating them." Deer was getting the species mixed up; he was convinced that the *manaka* palms were *rasha* palms. The palms to which he was referring grew on a hill. The clusters of fruits were

distributed in a circle all around the stem, right in the middle, just like the fruits on young *rasha* palms. Thus it was possible to confuse the two species. Deer's daughter said to her husband: "Father asks us to hurry up; he wants us to go and gather *rashas*. He says that a path with broken shrubs leads to the palms, over there, in that direction. I know that path; it was I who made it by breaking the plants with my hands."

They set off. After a while the woman said: "This is where the path is; it leads in that direction." They walked on, following the path marked by broken shrubs, and reached a small hill. Cacique was very familiar with *rashas*. They looked for the palms. "There are broken shrubs everywhere; this is where the palms should be. Couldn't your father have confused *manaka* with *rasha* palms?" "This is where I broke the shrubs." "These palms aren't *rasha* palms but *manaka*. *Rasha* palms are different, and the fruits are a pale red. Come, let's go to where my parents live and beat the *rasha* palms in my garden."

They arrived in the garden of the cacique people where the *rasha* palms grew. "You'll see, your father is wrong. Here are the *rasha* palms; look at them!" "That's a surprise." They picked the fruits, using a long stick to bring them down. Deer's daughter filled her basket. Her husband carried two clusters on his back side by side. "Let's go back." They left. When they arrived she wanted to show her father the *rasha* and placed some in front of him, saying: "Father, here are some *rashas*. This is what they look like; look at them! What we picked before were *manaka* fruits." Deer looked confused, his eyes shifting in this and that direction. Suddenly he asked: "Where's the snail shell in which I keep some hallucinogen? Give me the shell!" He took some of the substance and rubbed it vigorously on both legs, causing his calves to rise all the way up to his thighs. Then he rubbed his arms with it, moving the muscles up to his shoulders. He was transforming, turning into an animal. Cacique watched. Thinking that his wife might try to flee with her father he had put his feet on the edge of the hammock in which he was lying, ready to jump. As soon as Deer had completed his transformation he started to run quickly. His daughter wanted to follow him but Cacique held her back. "Father! Father! Let me go with him! Father!" she cried, sobbing.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Deer sends his daughter and son-in-law to gather fruit. When they return and tell him that he is confusing two different kinds of fruit he turns himself into deer and runs away.

Motif content

D114.1.1.	Transformation: man to deer.
D594.	Transformation by rubbing with ointment.
D681.	Gradual transformation.
J1800.+.	One kind of fruit mistaken for another. (J1800. One thing mistaken for another—miscellaneous.)

105. Deer's Mistake

Long ago Deer was human (a Yanomami). He used to eat *manaka* fruits, believing them to be *rashas*. Yellow-Rumped Cacique was his son-in-law.

One day Deer said to his daughter: "My child, go in the company of your husband and gather my *rasha* fruits in the garden. Also bring back bananas." The couple set off. When they reached their destination Deer's daughter pointed to some *manaka* palms: "There are the *rashas*." "Is that really true? Is that how *rashas* look?" said Cacique dubiously. "Those are *manaka* palms." He climbed up on one palm and bit into several fruits. Then he climbed down, and they returned home. When they arrived Cacique's wife told her father immediately: "Father, it seems the palms aren't *rasha* palms, they're *manaka*."

Then the couple went to visit the yellow-rumped caciques. Many *rasha* palms grew around there, with abundant clusters hanging on the stems. They picked some and prepared two loads to carry on their backs, and then the daughter of Deer broke off a thorn and the tip of a palm leaf. When they arrived home she said to her father: "Father, it seems that these are the real *rashas*. The palms have thorny stems, and the leaves bend softly toward the ground."

Deer did not even look but called his wife: "Give me the snail shell in which I keep my hallucinogen. Give me that shell." When his wife handed it to him he placed the hallucinogen in the palm of his hand and rubbed himself. He made all his leg muscles move up toward his thighs, rubbed his neck, and scraped his arms to gather all the muscles at the shoulders. As soon as he had finished he fled. The

daughter wanted to flee with her father, but at the very moment when she was going to take off Cacique seized the twisted cord she wore around her breast and held her back. He returned to the house of the yellow-rumped caciques.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Having mistaken one kind of palm fruit for another, man transforms into deer and runs off.

Motif content

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| D114.1.1. | Transformation: man to deer. |
| D594. | Transformation by rubbing with ointment. |
| J1800.+. | One kind of fruit mistaken for another. (J1800. One thing mistaken for another—miscellaneous.) |

106. Hayariwe and Anya Konyariwe

Hayariwe wanted to eat *manakas*.⁴⁹⁹ He did not have any at home, so he sent his son Haya Rioma to go and gather some. Haya Rioma met Anya Konyariwe who was out hunting. They found *manakas*, which they carried back to Hayariwe's house. The latter ate some, and then took some snuff and performed the Hekura ritual. After pulling the flesh from his legs he turned into a deer and ran off.

Anya Konyariwe could do everything. First he cleared the forest and burned the dry trees, and then he planted pupunha palms. Now he is a bird.

When Hayariwe performed the Hekura ritual he knew everything. When someone is sick and the Hekura is performed, the *uhutibi* (the soul?) of the patient is supposed to be prevented from leaving the body.

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 153.

Motif content

- | | |
|------------|--|
| D114.1.1. | Transformation: man to deer. |
| D150. | Transformation: man to bird. |
| D1810.0.2. | Magic knowledge of magician. |
| D2161.4.+. | Magic cure through ritual. (D2161.4. Methods of magic cure.) |

S160.1.

Self-mutilation.

107. The Origin of a Honey⁵⁰⁰

A girl was about to have her first menses. She said to her brother: "Go and collect me some honey." He went into the forest to collect it. First he bound up some burning leaves, and then he climbed up the tree. He was about to start chopping when he looked down at the ground. He began to transform. His tongue became the honeycomb, his skin became the honey, and his mouth became the bees. His sister cried greatly, for she had liked him very much.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 51.

Motif content

A2813.	Origin of honey.
D447.+.	Transformation: mouth to bees. (D447.
	Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.)
D457.+.	Transformation: skin to honey. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.)
D457.14.+.	Transformation: tongue to honeycomb. (D457.14.
	Transformation: tongue to other object.)

108. Honey Magic

Some people had gone *wāshimo*. There was a girl with them who was just about to celebrate her first menses. Since they were *wāshimo* the people were hungry.

"Boy! Collect some honey,"⁵⁰¹ the girl said to her brother. So the brother went off down the hill. He bound a liana about his waist and climbed up the tree, with a bunch of leaves hanging down below him. He was going to burn the leaves to smoke out the bees. The bee-people pulled at his lower leg and turned him upside down. The boy turned into the honey. His sister mourned: "O boy! O boy! O boy! My little one! Come back down alright! O boy! O boy! O boy!" So she mourned.

Much later on that tree died and fell down.

Later still people again came *wāshimo* in that place. The people installed themselves on the other side of the stream right near where that tree had been. The one who had climbed the tree long ago began to chant. The song came down from up above where the leaves had been:

B - b - b - b - b - b - b - b - b - b - b
su-ni na-gi wasu ha-sa-ha po-le-mo - se
 (alawali leaves really strong I'm really jaguarizing)⁵⁰²
*B - b - b - b - b - b - b - b - b - b - b!*⁵⁰³

Those people who were *wāshimo* heard the song. "There are people nearby," they said. "Long ago a Sanema climbed the tree and never came back down. That's who it must be," said one of them.

Sanema nowadays are able to take in all these *hekula* and the Sanema chant. That Sanema, who climbed up the tree, he first chanted. The Sanema of today chant a lot because the one who transformed sang from where the leaves of that tree had once been.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 59.

Summary

Boy climbing tree in search of honey turns into honey. Later, people hear him singing from tree.

Motif content

A1460.+.	Origin of singing. (A1460. Acquisition of arts.)
D210.+.	Transformation: man to honey. (D210.
	Transformation: man to vegetable form.)

109. The Honey Boy

During those days one of the ancestors, Honey Boy, got fouled up. Here's how: He was beginning the puberty rite. He had small feathers for decoration, new cotton string (for arms and legs), and his head had just been shaved. He took his sister out into the forest to look for food.

The honey boy was up in a tree. The ancestors say so. The Waika boy said: "I'm going to get some honey," and he climbed up to get some honey. He failed to throw the vine correctly, so he said: "The vine isn't being thrown right."

Meanwhile, as his sister sang on his behalf, the honey boy said: "I'm getting fouled up! I'm getting fouled up!" Just as he said this, his sister saw her brother's legs go above his head. Bees had fallen into his mouth and he, the ancestor, said: "Sister, I'm going to drop the honeycomb. I'm going to drop the honeycomb."

As he said this and as she was still looking, he dropped his liver. His liver fell down to the ground, and so his sister immediately stamped up and down, groaning with pain.

The *hekula* spirit songs about the sister's stamping up and down in pain are still learned.

That tree is not standing any more. There is the song about the honey boy's being made to get fouled up.

Informant: Sitiho

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

D1275.	Magic song.
D2063.	Magic discomfort.

110. *Tayra Puts the Talking Honeys to Flight⁵⁰⁴

It was Tayra⁵⁰⁵ who frightened the supernatural honeys and made them flee because he was angry over having stumbled.

Tayra gathered honey going from tree to tree all around the forest, filling a leaf package here, another there, then yet another over there.⁵⁰⁶ The honeys called him from everywhere, asking him to choose them: "Here! I'm the *tima* honey,⁵⁰⁷ I'm here!" "I'm the *mashibomē* honey!⁵⁰⁸ Over here!" He would gather each of the talking honeys which thus signaled its presence to him as he went from tree to tree—*krikē!* *krikē!* *krikē!*—going around in the forest. The calls went on: "Here! I am the *himoto* honey!⁵⁰⁹ Here!"

In primeval times all the honeys were easily accessible and would call out their names. That was before Tayra frightened them. Here, at the foot of the trees, next to one another, was where all the

*Cf. narrative 180 among the group of narratives relating the origin of insects.

honeys were, the *yamanama* and *yoi* honeys;⁵¹⁰ here at the foot of the tree were the *yërîma*,⁵¹¹ the *tishobomë*,⁵¹² the *hwashiashi*,⁵¹³ the *batareakasi*.⁵¹⁴ Calling Tayra's attention they kept naming themselves: "Over here! It's I, the *shaki* honey!"⁵¹⁵ "Here! I'm the *buuashi* honey!"⁵¹⁶ In those early days the honeys could talk and would draw attention to themselves. Tayra answered each of their calls, collecting here *shaki*, *batareakasi*, and *rebomë*⁵¹⁷ honeys; there *mashibomë*, and *tima* honeys; and over there *hiboro*⁵¹⁸ honey. Then he would cut open trees where there were *yamanama* and *yoi* honeys. He was increasingly heavily laden, his back bent under the leaf packages in which he gathered all the honeys.

Yes, the honeys were talking: "Over here! I'm the *mashibomë* honey!" "Here! I'm the *tima* honey!" Tayra answered each of the honeys that hailed him, moving tirelessly from tree to tree, as the calls went on endlessly. He would go in the direction of one call: "I'm the *yërîma* honey! Over here!" Then he would retrace his steps: "Here! I'm the *tishobomë* honey!" He would return to where another voice sounded: "Here! It's I, the *hrarimë*⁵¹⁹ honey! Here!" His eyes would be drawn to other honeys, one below, the other a bit higher up: "Here! It's I, the *ôi*⁵²⁰ honey!" "Over here! I'm the *koshoro*⁵²¹ honey!"

From collecting all these honeys that called him from every direction, and from coming and going, turning around and looking up, his vision began to blur. Finally he stumbled. The honeys did not stop calling him from everywhere. He felt dizzy, and on top of that he was weighed down by the enormous burden of honey packages. Suddenly his foot was caught in a root and he stumbled and fell with a resounding crash: *wa! houuuuu! thuuuuura!* Furiously he burst into violent recriminations against the overzealous honeys: "Honeys! You say you're here, there, and over here! Who asked for you!"

Frightened by this angry outburst the honeys suddenly fell silent and fled in all directions. They scattered to hide everywhere—*wēēēēēēēē!*—the way they are hidden today. The *ôi* honey clung to the top of the tall trees; the *rebomë* honey fled into the earth; the *yoi* honey hid in the hollow branches. The honeys fled and hid because Tayra reproached them for their incessant calls in his anger over having stumbled. They all disappeared, and their voices can no longer be heard. From then on they have been difficult to find. In primeval times the honeys were very near the ground, next to one another, in young trees, and the entrances of the bees' nests that contained them were very visible.⁵²²

Finally Tayra returned to his communal house with his burden of leaf packages full of honey. That's it.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

While gathering honey in forest man (Tayra) is assailed from all sides by calls from different kinds of honey, all clamoring for his attention. Dizzy from the noise and burdened with heavy load of honey, he shouts at them. Frightened, they run away and hide, and since then honey has been difficult to find.

Motif content

A1420.4.+.	Honey originally obtained without effort. (A1420.4. Food originally obtained without effort.)
A2770.+.	Why honey is difficult to find. (A2770. Other plant characteristics.)
D1610.+.	Speaking honey. (D1610. Magic speaking objects.)
D1641.+.	Honey removes itself. (D1641. Object removes itself.)
W141.	Talkativeness.

111. *Black Barbet and the False Honey⁵²³

Black Barbet⁵²⁴ built a scaffolding around a big tree as if he were aiming for a bees' nest located high up in it. Then he climbed up and began to hack at the tree with his axe, pretending to extract honey:⁵²⁵ *krikē! krikē! krikē!* His two wives were sitting at the foot of the tree, waiting for him. After hacking away a long time he pretended to have reached the bees' nest and its pocket of honey: *koshshsho!* He exclaimed: "How thick this honey is!" and asked for *yaahanakē* leaves⁵²⁶ to make a honey package. It was he who taught us to make leaf packages like that for gathering honey; is that not what the Yanomam do since then?⁵²⁷

Dropping a liana he said to his wives: "*Hwei!*"⁵²⁸ Attach some *yaahanakē* leaves to the end of this liana! I'm going to make packages to put the honey in!" They did not hear his order clearly: "*Hai?*"⁵²⁹ He repeated: "Attach some leaves to this liana!" They obeyed, and he pulled up the leaves: *shai! shai! shai!* Spreading them out in front of him so that they formed a sort of cup he took his axe and struck himself hard on the nose several times: *hī! wa! thaaa! wa! thaaa!* Bloody mucus began to flow from his nostrils in abundance—

*Cf. narrative 297.

serooooo!—and his leaf package was filled to the brim very quickly. That was what Black Barbet did to gather honey.

What he actually collected was his blood mucus with which he filled a leaf package. Afterward he tied the package, attached it to the end of the liana, and began to lower it gently, calling to his wives: "*Ha!*"⁵³⁰ Try to catch this package of honey as its reaches you! The liana may break!" The package was indeed too full. He was telling them to take precautions although it was only bloody snot! So he lowered his package with mucus carefully: *hitho! hitho! hitho!* But the liana broke anyway—*hĩ! brikẽ!*—and the package crashed to the ground noisily: *houuu! brouuuusiiii!* The blood mucus leaked out of the broken leaf package and splashed onto the ground, foaming. Black Barbet had said to his wives: "Catch it!" They had tried to hold on to it but had dropped it, and it had fallen on the ground, spreading its contents all around. Then the women realized that it was not honey, and exclaimed: "*Waaa!*"⁵³¹ It's only blood, bloody mucus, full of clots!" As soon as they had uttered these words they suddenly heard the call of a bird from the high branches where their husband was sitting: "*Huture! Huture! Huture!*" They raised their eyes and saw a small bird, a black barbet, sitting where previously their husband had been.

That was how it happened; that was how we learned to cut into the trees in order to gather honey from them. Thus Black Barbet turned into a bird forever, and his wives fled fearfully: "*Waaaaa!*" He was the only one left in the forest: "*Huture! Huture! Huture!*" This happened after the honeys had already fled.⁵³² So Black Barbet remained and he transformed himself. He taught us to dig into the trees to gather honey. He made a scaffolding to collect honey. But he struck his nose with the blunt end of his axe, making the mucus flow from his nostrils, like this: *thaaa! serooooo!* He showed us how to make honey packages and how to lower them at the end of a liana, the way we still do. That was also when he closed the openings of the bees' nests by gluing shut their entrance tubes.⁵³³ It was he, Black Barbet, who hid the openings of the bees' nests so the bees would not fly out, so that no one would see them. That is what the old people say. That was how the people were! In primeval times the people used to transform a lot. That is how the old people told this story in their *hwereamu* speeches.⁵³⁴

Informant: Hewënakë

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Man pretends to gather honey in tree but instead gives his wives package full of nasal mucus. When they discover truth he turns into bird.

Motif content

A1520.+.	Origin of food-gathering customs. (A1520. Origin of hunting and fishing customs.)
A2770.+.	Why honey is difficult to find. (A2770. Other plant characteristics.)
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
K2210.+.	Treacherous husband. (K2210. Treacherous relatives.)

112. *Small Armadillo and the False Honey⁵³⁵

Small Armadillo⁵³⁶ went into the forest to gather honey, pretending that he was going to open a *tima* bees' nest.⁵³⁷ But he did not find any honey, and finally he grew impatient and decided to fill a leaf package⁵³⁸ with nasal mucus instead of honey. Spreading out a few large leaves on the ground he emptied first one nostril, then another, like this, pressing them alternatively with his finger: *shiiiii! shiiiii! hē! ba!* An abundant stream of gluey mucus poured out: *serooooo!* He wrapped it carefully and brought it back as part of his marital service,⁵³⁹ in order to deceive his father-in-law.⁵⁴⁰ Today people simply return empty-handed and never think of deceiving their fathers-in-law with nasal mucus!

Armadillo's father-in-law was very hungry and opened the leaf package as soon as his son-in-law gave it to him. That was how Armadillo deceived his father-in-law. The people transformed in those times; that is why this happened. The leaf package was full, and the surface of the liquid was covered with foam which the father-in-law assumed was from the honey. As he was very hungry he was impatient to taste it, and he moistened a leaf in it and sucked it eagerly: *shuiiiiii!* The mucus had a salty taste and right away he was overcome by nausea: *uwē! uwē! uwē! uwē!* Furiously he shouted to Armadillo: "It's salty! It's not honey! Armadillo! Real honey is not like that! Have you perhaps expelled mucus from your nose instead?" Without answering Armadillo withdrew into his hammock where he transformed into an armadillo.

*Cf. narrative 297.

That was how it all happened in primeval times, over there, in the highlands.⁵⁴¹ That was how it happened, yes.

Informant: Hewēnakë

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

After treacherously offering his father-in-law nasal mucus instead of honey, Armadillo turns into animal.

Motif content

- | | |
|----------|--|
| D110.+. | Transformation: man to armadillo. (D110.
Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).) |
| K2218.+. | Treacherous son-in-law. (K2218. Treacherous relatives-in-law.) |
| S183. | Frightful meal. |

113. Mouse and the Origin of Urucu⁵⁴²

In primeval times the urucu⁵⁴³ which we have now used to be blood. It was Mouse⁵⁴⁴ who was the first owner of urucu and urucu shrubs. He also owned blood. He made urucu, and that was also how our bodies acquired blood. That was while he was still unharmed, before he was thrown far away by the tree which he was trying to climb in order to reach Opossum's hiding place.⁵⁴⁵ It was Mouse who created urucu. Do the Yanomam not paint their bodies today with this red paint? Mouse was the first owner of urucu, which he made from blood. He caused himself to bleed profusely, collected the blood in a gourd,⁵⁴⁶ and covered his body with it, thus teaching the Yanomam the use of red body paint. Is urucu not red? First he rubbed his hands together with the blood before continuing with the rest of his body. From the blood he also made seeds, and that was how he caused the urucu shrubs to appear in the gardens. From the blood he created the urucu shrubs. He was the owner of urucu, which was made from his blood. When it dried and he was transformed into an animal his blood remained scarce.

Informant: Buushimë

Source: Albert ms.

Motif content

A1319.6.	Origin of blood.
A1465.+.	Origin of body paint. (A1465. Origin of decorative art.)
A2600.+.	Origin of urucu. (A2600. Origin of plants.)
D117.1.	Transformation: man to mouse.
D457.1.+.	Transformation: blood to plant. (D457.1. Transformation: blood to another object.)

114. The Acquisition of Snuff

Ihama-riwë⁵⁴⁷ was familiar with the *pararo* plant. He would gather the seeds and use them to prepare snuff. Afterward he would take the snuff and become intoxicated. He was the only ancestor who used to do this in those days.

One day Ihama-riwë gave some *pararo* seeds to Koetema-riwë⁵⁴⁸ so the latter would sow them and make snuff. Koetema-riwë sowed the seeds. In time the plants grew, and he went to gather the pods. After taking out the seeds he prepared his snuff, and took it to Ihama-riwë for the latter to blow it into his nose. Ihama-riwë blew for him, and he blew for Ihama-riwë. As it was the first time Koetema-riwë used snuff he reacted violently; he became like a crazy man, rolling around on the ground, and then went running off, flying, transformed into the sparrow hawk which we call *koetema*.

The other ancestors all learned from Ihama-riwë how to prepare snuff from *pararo*. Today we do exactly as he taught.

Source: Cocco 1972, p. 317.

Motif content

A1490.+.	Acquisition of snuff. (A1490. Acquisition of culture—miscellaneous.)
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.

115. The Acquisition of Cotton

Texo-riwë and Maikoxemi-riwë were ancient Yanomamo who knew about cotton.⁵⁴⁹ They cultivated it in their plantation, and

knew how to spin it and make penis strings and decorative girdles.

In those days the Yanomamo used to leave the penis untied. Texo-riwë and Maikoxemi-riwë had theirs tied with their penis strings. Texo-riwë did not like to see the men going around like that, so one day he took a cotton ball that he had and said to them: "Look, it's ugly to leave the penis untied. Take this cotton ball and make yourselves strings to tie your penises with, the way I have it." Then he gave them seeds so that they could plant cotton in their gardens. Since then the Yanomamo began to wear penis strings and to cultivate cotton.

Texo-riwë also taught us how to make the *wao* girdle. Wao-riwe⁵⁵⁰ made his quite large, the way some of us do occasionally. In those days, since cotton grew from one day to the next, the women went to Texo-riwë's house and learned to spin. Texori-yoma had made a girdle for herself and that is why there are women today who wear it; they learned it from her. Texo-riwë's wife taught all those women to make loincloths and breast ornaments. Texori-yoma looked beautiful with all those cotton adornments. That is how our women look today.

Source: Cocco 1972, p. 131.

Motif content

A1453.1.	Origin of spinning.
A1453.2.	Origin of weaving.
A1590.+.	Origin of custom of tying up penis. (A1590. Origin of other customs.)
A2684.3.	Origin of cotton plant.
†D2157.2.	Magic quick growth of crops.

116. Poré Hesiobe Teaches the Women How to Make Baskets

Long ago Yanoname women did not yet know how to make baskets. Then Poré Hesiobe, Poré's wife, came and taught them this art. She said: "Can you make baskets?" The women answered: "No, we can't. Show us how!" Poré Hesiobe said: "You must take fibers and do as follows: split the fibers and make sure that they are of equal length. Color them red with urucú by pulling them through your hands repeatedly. Then start to plait, three skeins lengthwise and

two breadthwise. Plait very tightly so that the basket will be nice and sturdy." Poré Hesiobe taught the women everything, how to make *wü'ü soto, pari kama, yorchi kesi, mora, warama, yokaro, and yoro siema* baskets.⁵⁵¹

Informant: David

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 157.

Motif content

A1446.5.5.	Origin of baskets.
A2828.	Origin of particular kinds of basket.

117. *Sipinapada* Provides Baskets⁵⁵²

A *sipinapada*⁵⁵³ was carrying a huge satchel. "Come here! Come here!" the ancestors said to the monkey friendlyly. "Alright," the monkey replied.

The ancestors killed the *sipina*. They shot him with many palm-pointed arrows: *sek! sek! sek! sek! sek!* The *sipina* fell; he was dead: *titi!* He was carrying a big satchel. They looked in the satchel. There were many small baskets inside. There were many manioc presses⁵⁵⁴ and other baskets.⁵⁵⁵ The Sanema did not know how to use them. The Yekuana took many baskets and a manioc press. The Sanema then took one basket, too.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 67.

Motif content

A1446.5.5.	Origin of baskets.
B90.+.	Mythical monkey. (B90. Other mythical animals.)
B192.	Magical animal killed.
K800.	Killing or maiming by deception.
K810.	Fatal deception into trickster's power.
K815.	Victim lured by kind words approaches trickster and is killed.

118. The Yekuana Learn of Hammocks and House Construction

Originally the Yekuana ancestors did not know how to make big houses. It was originally the *koli* people⁵⁵⁶ who knew all about house construction. Their houses were the *wanimegi* trees,⁵⁵⁷ and the great spreading branches were the rafters. When the Yekuana looked up and saw the huge houses of the *koli* people they wanted to have houses like them.⁵⁵⁸

Now the *koli* people became lazy and instead of making big houses collected bunches of *asakus*⁵⁵⁹ leaves to live in. But the Yekuana did not become lazy at all. So the Yekuana and the *koli* people exchanged houses so that today the Yekuana make very large houses and the *koli* just make small nests. "It's really smoky in these little huts," the Yekuana had said, so the *koli* people gave them their big houses.

After giving the Yekuana their huge houses made of the branches of the *wanimegi* tree, the *koli* people also gave them the long scale lines for their hammocks. Originally the *koli* people used to plait their hammock's scale lines very well; it was from them that the Yekuana learned how to plait them in that dividing fashion.⁵⁶⁰

Originally the Yekuana made small houses but the *koli* people became lazy so the Yekuana made the large houses instead of them.

"We work really hard," said the Yekuana, so the *koli* people gave them hammocks and big houses.

Now the Yekuana had originally been as numerous as the *koli* are today, spread out all over the forests and living high up in the small branches. The Yekuana used to be as numerous.⁵⁶¹ Now they have changed roles with the *koli*. It is the *koli* today who make simple nests of *askadus*⁵⁶² leaves that are dispersed all over the forests, and it is the Yekuana who work hard.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 66-67.

Summary

People exchange traits with birds, learning how to weave hammocks and build large houses.

Motif content

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| A1430. +. | Acquisition of hammock. (A1430. Acquisition of other necessities.) |
| A1435. | Acquisition of habitations. |
| A1445. | Acquisition of building crafts. |

A1445.2.2. +.	Man learns house-building from birds. (A1445.2.2. Man learns house-building from wasp.)
A2431.3.	Origin of birds' nests.
B450.	Helpful birds.

119. Parewa Pene Learns How to Build Bridges

Previously the Yanoname did not know how to build bridges. Parewa Pene said: "When you cross the big river you must build a bridge the way we do. You must attach it firmly with lianas so that the children won't fall in the water. Tie it to strong trees on both sides."

Informant: Martinho

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 156.

Motif content

A1445. +.	Origin of bridge-building. (A1445. Acquisition of building crafts.)
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120. The Origin of Arrows

It was Xoro-riwë⁵⁶³ who taught us to cultivate bamboo on our plantations. He showed us how to make the shafts of our arrows using the stem of the bamboo. Xoro-riwë showed Omawë, and the latter made arrows with the stems he was given. Armed with these arrows Omawë then set out to kill Ira, who had eaten his mother while he was still in her belly.⁵⁶⁴ That is what Omawë did so that we Yanomamo of today would learn to avenge our dead by making war. Afterward Xoro-riwë went to the river and turned into a swallow.

The one who showed us how to make the *rahaka* point was Omawë. He also showed us how to place it on the stem, and what it could be used for: to shoot, and to cut things with.⁵⁶⁵

It was Homiatawë who showed us how to make the *atari* point. After telling us what it was to be used for he went into the forest and turned into that sparrowhawk which calls: *ho! ho! ho!*

Omawë taught us how to make the *pei-namo* point, the one that is poisoned with curare. But before Omawë the snakes made the curare, especially Aroami.⁵⁶⁶ He knew about the *mamokori* liana, and used it to make the poison. Xiho-riwë⁵⁶⁷ helped him as well. One day many of those ancient Yanomamo who were familiar with curare gathered together to make it. They made a lot, all together, as when we gather to take snuff, and afterward they drank it. Immediately they threw themselves headlong outside the house and were transformed into snakes. Those who came too late to drink any curare were also transformed into snakes, but nonpoisonous ones. Those who tried to lick the powder that remained in the *kai-hesi* turned into wasps. That is why wasp stings are painful today.

Since all the people who knew how to make curare had turned into snakes, Omawë came and finished instructing the Yanomamo in how to make the curare and how to use it when hunting.

Source: Cocco 1972, p. 200.

Summary

Primeval Yanomamo are taught how to make arrows and curare by people who afterward turn into birds, snakes, and wasps.

Motif content

A157.2.	God's arrows.
A185.3.	Deity teaches mortal.
A541.	Culture hero teaches arts and crafts.
A545.+.	Culture hero establishes custom of avenging the dead through war. (A545. Culture hero establishes customs.)
A1440.+.	Acquisition of curare. (A1440. Acquisition of crafts.)
A1459.1.1.+.	Origin of arrows. (A1459.1.1. Origin of bows and arrows.)
A2235.	Animal characteristics caused by animal's lateness at distribution of qualities.
A2346.+.	Why wasp's sting is painful. (A2346. Origin and nature of insect's sting.)
A2531.+.	Why some snakes are not venomous. (A2531. Why animal is harmless.)
A2532.1.	Why snakes are venomous.
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D180.+.	Transformation: man to wasp. (D180. Transformation: man to insect.)
D191.	Transformation: man to serpent (snake).
F831.3.	Poisoned arrows.

121. The Origin of Curare

Some Yanomami claim that it was Omawë who made curare. That is not true. However, Omawë made many things for the Yanomami, such as the fish, the snakes, stingrays, and many more things. Once a snake bit Yoawë and he screamed from the pain, but Omawë blew on it and made magic in order to explain to the Yanomami what to do when a snake bites someone.

Omawë also made the first arrowhead. He shot a deer which ran off shouting: "I'm not going to die, I'm not going to die!" This is what the Yanomami must say to their people when wounded by an arrow: "Don't worry, be calm, I'm not going to die."

Omawë was good; he taught us many things. So did Yoawë, for instance, how to be angry with the women when they behave badly.

Hörõnami and his brother Hutumiri lived long after Omawë. In those days all the animals and birds were Yanomami. Hörõnami was a great shaman who was always thinking about how to do good things for his people. One day he called Ripuhusiriwë and said: "Go to the forest and fetch a certain liana. Its color is dark, and its branches grow downward. Bring me a few pieces of that liana." It was the *mamokori* liana.

Ripuhusiriwë went to the forest and came back with the liana. Hörõnami scraped off the bark, let it dry on the hearth, and then mixed it with the bark of the *ahakama këki* and the *yoawë sihi*. He prepared everything very well. Then he went to gather *miyõmay* leaves and made a funnel with them. After putting the mixture inside he added some hot water, first a little and then more. The resulting liquid was very dark and bitter, and he poured it into a gourd. Then, using a little stick, he impregnated the *pei namo* arrowpoints with the liquid and let them dry by the fire.

Informants: Pokorami and Hoariwë

Source: Finkers 1986, p. 68.

Summary

Culture hero introduces curare among Yanomami.

Motif content

A157.2.	God's arrows.
A185.3.	Deity teaches mortal.
A541.	Culture hero teaches arts and crafts.

A545.	Culture hero establishes customs.
A1440.+.	Acquisition of curare. (A1440. Acquisition of crafts.)
A1459.1.+.	Origin of arrowhead. (A1459.1. Acquisition of weapons.)
A2100.	Creation of fish.
A2145.	Creation of snake (serpent).
D2161.1.+.	Magic cure for snake bite. (D2161.1. Magic cure for specific diseases.)
F831.3.	Poisoned arrows.

122. The Acquisition of Curare⁵⁶⁸

No one knows when Omawë and Yoawë were born. It was Omawë who taught us how to shoot and how to evade arrows by throwing oneself to the ground or withdrawing. Omawë was good. Yoawë was the opposite; he would harm people. Omawë knew how to do everything. Whenever he wanted fish to appear, many fish would appear. When a Yanomamo died, Omawë would take the dead body and shake it, pulling one of its arms and one ear, and the dead person would come back to life.

In those days there lived an old woman by the name of Mamokori-yoma. Her face was painted black as is the custom when a woman is mourning a dead relative. Her grandchildren were three jaguars. Calling one of the jaguars she said to him: "Sleep, grandson, and keep your mouth open." The jaguar came and leaned his head against the knees of the old woman, who then scraped off the black paint on her cheeks in order to put it in the jaguar's mouth. He swallowed it, stood up, went away stumbling, and died. In this way the old woman killed the three jaguars.

Mamokori-yoma was the creeping plant that is used to prepare curare. Before turning into a plant she explained to Yoawë which two plants had to be mixed to make curare: *axokama-kehi* and *yoawë-sihi*. The latter is a very bitter plant.

The old woman said to Yoawë: "Look for the dark-colored creeping plant which grows in the hills and whose leaves grow downward. Cut it, scrape it, and place the scrapings over the fire to dry well. Then place everything in a big leaf, put it over the fire, rub it and the scrapings from the *axokama-kehi* plant, and rub hard." She explained everything to Yoawë, and then she turned into a creeping plant, her legs, arms, and fingers becoming offshoots and roots.

So Yoawë cut the creeping plant and scraped it, experimenting as the old woman had told him to. He prepared a blowgun. In those days the Yanomamo did not have blowguns. Then Yoawë shot a dart against a young Yanomamo using a small blowgun (a *yoroama*) made of *macanilla* wood. The dart hit him between the ribs. The man began to run, but soon he fell dead to the ground and turned into stone. That is the stone which even today looks like a fallen man. If that man had not been shot nobody else would have died, as we do now.

The old woman showed Yoawë how to make curare. Omawë did not need to learn. Seeing Yoawë prepare the curare he asked him: "Yoawë, what's that?" "No," continued Omawë, "don't say it. Don't you think I know? It was Mamokori-yoma who showed you how to do it."

Yoawë lowered his head, feeling ashamed. Omawë added: "If it hadn't been for that old woman you wouldn't have known how. It was I who sent her to you to teach you how to make curare."

Without Yoawë's knowledge Omawë called a Yanomamo, showed him a climbing plant, and said: "I'll teach you about this poison, and you will show it to all the Yanomamo, including those not yet born, so that they will know how to hunt for food. The foreigners have weapons to hunt with, and now the Yanomamo will have this curare with which to hunt for food. But it's a secret; the foreigners mustn't know. My brother doesn't want to show you; with this poison he killed a man. If he realizes that you people know how to prepare curare, don't tell him that it was I who showed you how."

Then Omawë demonstrated how to mix the different plants, how to burn them, and how to wrap them in leaves. He also said that none of those who assisted must get wet.

The man prepared the poison and tested it on a monkey. The animal died. And that was how the Yanomamo learned how to make curare.

Informant: The mother of Fusiwë, the chief of the Namowei-teri

Source: Cocco 1972, pp. 319-320; Biocca 1965-1966, 2, pp. 502-503.

Summary

Old woman teaches Yoawë how to prepare curare, and then transforms herself into plant needed to make this poison. To test it Yoawë shoots man, who promptly dies. (Origin of death.) His brother Omawë shows Yanomamo how to make curare, swearing them to secrecy.

Motif content

A185.3.	Deity teaches mortal.
A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A515.1.1.2.+.	Culture heroes brothers—one foolish, one clever. (A515.1.1.2. Twin culture heroes—one foolish, one clever.)
A525.	Good and bad culture heroes.
A541.	Culture hero teaches arts and crafts.
A974.	Rocks from transformation of people to stone.
A977.5.	Origin of particular rock.
A1335.	Origin of death.
A1440.+.	Acquisition of curare. (A1440. Acquisition of crafts.)
A1459.1.+.	Origin of blowgun. (A1459.1. Acquisition of weapons.)
D213.4.+.	Transformation: woman to vine. (D213.4. Transformation: man to vine.)
D231.	Transformation: man to stone.
D2074.1.2.	Fish or sea animals magically called.
E1.	Person comes to life.
E10.	Resuscitation by rough treatment.
F831.3.	Poisoned arrows.
K800.	Killing or maiming by deception.
K810.	Fatal deception into trickster's power.
P251.5.4.	Two brothers as contrasts.
P681.	Mourning customs.
S41.	Cruel grandmother.
S111.	Murder by poisoning.

123. The Origin of Curare⁵⁶⁹

The Sanema like to kill tapirs.⁵⁷⁰ In their hearts⁵⁷¹ they are extremely fond of tapirs, but they do not try to kill many tapirs at a time, just one singly. So it was with Omao.

One day Omao decided to hunt tapir; as he left the house he said to his mother, Curare-Woman:⁵⁷² "Mummy! I'm off to kill tapir. Stay where you are, mummy!" So the mother stayed behind, while Omao went off hunting. Shortly he came on some tapir tracks. He followed them and came on a tapir lying on the ground. Omao drew his bow. He was just about to shoot the arrow at the tapir, when, close by, a little bird⁵⁷³ sang: "*Ishi ek! ek! ek! ek! ek!*" (penis, the glans revealed). Omao lowered his arrow. He did not shoot the tapir, unlike Sanema

who would have done so. "My penis is about to peel back!" said Omao, and rather than kill the tapir he ran off home.

He soon approached the house where Curare-Woman was. "Mummy! Mummy! The little bird said my penis was about to peel back!" said Omao. "Mummy! Why will it do so?" he asked urgently. "Go and jump into the river!" said Curare-Woman. So Omao and Soawe went and jumped into the river: *kopu! kopu!*⁵⁷⁴ Curare-Woman then turned into the curare vine.

The Shamatali know of this vine. Over here there is none; they use the juice of the vine to put on their arrowpoints. They have many such arrowpoints. And that is why the vine is called *maakoli*.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 33–34.

Summary

Bird's song deters Omao from killing tapir. Subsequently his mother turns into vine.

Motif content

A1440.+.	Acquisition of curare. (A1440. Acquisition of crafts.)
B143.	Prophetic bird.
D213.4.+.	Transformation: woman to vine. (D213.4.
	Transformation: man to vine.)
F831.3.	Poisoned arrows.

124. Borebatari and the Origin of Curare⁵⁷⁵

It was Borebatari⁵⁷⁶ who discovered the *maakorithotho* curare shrubs,⁵⁷⁷ and who taught the Yanomam how to use curare. It was back there, in the highlands,⁵⁷⁸ that he showed our ancestors the curare shrub.⁵⁷⁹ He said to them: "You must scrape these climbing stems into tiny chips from which you will draw a substance to be used for shooting Yanomam!" The people did as he said, and that was how they began to prepare curare, a very long time ago.

Borebatari was a supernatural being, a Yanomam ghost who had assumed the form of an evil spirit. It was he who showed our ancestors how to coat their arrowpoints⁵⁸⁰ with curare. Today he still lives in his house over there, very far away, in the deep forest.⁵⁸¹ The call that announces his approach is powerful and sounds like this: "Yāri! Yāri! Yāri! Yāri!"⁵⁸² When you are preparing curare and

you see him approaching you should place a roll of tobacco inside your lower lip. You place a large roll of new tobacco⁵⁸³ in your mouth when he calls: "*Yāri! Yāri! Yāri! Yāri!*" and shows his presence by whistling like this: *shuuuuu! shuuuu!* When you see him like that it is in reality he, Borebatari, who coats the arrowpoints with curare and makes them very dangerous. When someone is hit by a curare arrowpoint he dies quickly. When someone is pierced by such an arrowpoint he dies and decomposes very rapidly.

Informant: Warasi

Source: Albert ms.

Motif content

A1440.+.	Acquisition of curare. (A1440. Acquisition of crafts.)
F402.	Evil spirits.
F408.+.	Spirit lives in forest. (F408. Habitation of spirit.)
F419.+.	Call of spirit. (F419. Spirits and demons—miscellaneous.)
F419.+.	Whistling spirit. (F419. Spirits and demons—miscellaneous.)
F831.3.	Poisoned arrows.

125. Rufous Piculet Discovers Curare

Who pecks the trees with his beak everywhere?

Rufous Piculet (Woodpecker) climbed up on a curare liana and remained hanging there, rapidly pecking with his beak. But Curare Woman detested Woodpecker. She took away his strength, and he fell to the ground. His body turned blue immediately, as if afflicted by ecchymosis all over. The people were distressed. "What a great misfortune has befallen us," they lamented. Blue as he was they carried him by his arms and legs, and wept over him. It was you, Woodpecker, who discovered curare first. "We must place him on a platform. Build a platform quickly!" They constructed a platform, not a very large one, as Woodpecker was small. But then his body began to swell, to become distended, and the platform grew proportionately.

Woodpecker was about to resuscitate. Suddenly the vibrant call to the *hekura* spirits burst from his lips, and he said: "I intend to resuscitate!" It was as if some Yanomami had cut the lianas that pro-

vided a protective cover around him, and he emerged at once. "What dangerous substance can have affected me that much?" he wondered. He went to look for the liana again and discovered the substance he was looking for. He scraped the bark and reduced the scrapings to powder by rubbing them between the palms of his hands. While doing so he spoke the following invocation: "*Kushu ha, kushu ha!* From that celestial disk, from the celestial disk from which the flashes of lightning burst, may the lightning fall. Travel on that celestial disk, Anteater, and close up your gland. *Kushu ha, kushu ha!*"

Woodpecker, you are the promise of curare, the curare which you brought.

It was Woodpecker who discovered the poison.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Woodpecker accidentally discovers curare. It kills him, but he resuscitates.

Motif content

A1440. +.	Acquisition of curare. (A1440. Acquisition of crafts.)
D489. +.	Platform grows larger. (D489. Objects made larger—miscellaneous.)
D1273.	Magic formula (charm).
E1.	Person comes to life.

126. The Origin of the Blowgun

In the beginning the people were afraid of thunderbolts, thunder, and lightning. They did not know what these things were, and only saw the lightning and heard the thunder from a distance.

There was a man who was master of the thunderbolt, thunder, and lightning. He used to spend his time hunting in the mountains. When he hunted he would hide, and then a thunderbolt would strike. No one had seen him or knew how he did it. He did not kill animals with arrows or spears like the other hunters.

That man had a yuca plantation. He would not let his sister gather yuca there. "If you do it again I'll punish you," he said to her. When the sister returned to the plantation the man became furious. At dawn he went hunting in the mountains, taking with him his two

small nephews, his sister's sons. Now he took them to the headwaters of the river Wiwe at the mountain of Antawari. When they were far away he unleashed his thunderbolt weapon, killing the children. Then he cut them up as if they were animals, opened their chests, and cut out their hearts. Placing the two hearts in a basket he exhibited them in the fork of a very tall tree called *kudi*.

The two hearts turned into two young harpy eagles. They grew at once into huge birds with hooked beaks, curved talons, and red eyes. They looked at the man and he looked back askance at them, very frightened.

When those two eagles were created the *kudi* tree turned into a high mountain called Kudi-huha. As I recall it can still be seen today near the headwaters of the Wiwe. The birds had their nest on that mountain.

"They'll grab me, they'll eat me," thought the man. "I'll kill them right away." He sent his thunderbolt against them, but nothing happened; it rebounded. Those birds had an ironlike armor, and the thunderbolt could not harm them. Terrified, the man ran away without looking back. He ran all the way home. "What happened?" asked his wife Enneku when he arrived. "I found two young harpy eagles on the mountain. They were huge, and tried to grab me," replied the owner of lightning. His name was Kasé-nudu. "Well," said Enneku, "why didn't you bring them back? I want to raise them. Go back and get them." Kasé-nudu did not want to go; he was afraid. "All right," he answered, "if you want to raise them, you go and get them yourself."

Enneku went alone to the mountain Kudi-huha. When she got there the two huge eagles looked at her, swooped down from their nest, and seized her and devoured her. They were called Dinoshi.

Then the two went flying over the earth, over the paths, the houses, the plantations, looking for people to grab, to carry them off to their nest and devour them. "Time of Dinoshi, time of fear," it was said. Everyone lived in fear because of those birds. The people hid in caves, among trees, looking askance wherever they went. They were afraid of going out.

Then a few men secretly began to make bows, arrows, spears. "Let's go and kill the birds," they said. They shot off their arrows and threw their spears, but to no effect; they merely bounced off the iron armor of the Dinoshi. No one could kill them. The birds caught many of them, devouring men, women, and children.

There was a clever man by the name of Kudene, who resembled a water snake. He made a thick, black mixture called curare and

cooked it in a pan. That was the first curare. He made it in order to kill the Dinoshi. This he gave to the trumpeter bird who went to Kudi-huha to secretly look at the Dinoshi. When he returned he said: "I saw them, and now I know how to kill them. They have no armor on their backs; that's where I can shoot them."

Kudene prepared an arrow with the curare and sent him off again to shoot the birds. When he arrived he shot at the backs of the Dinoshi from above. When they were hit they first screamed and took flight, flying around in circles. Then they descended, circling, losing feathers. As the feathers fell they reappeared transformed into *kurata* cane. That was the origin of the *kurata*, the blowgun bamboo. That is what we use today to make our blowguns. The first feathers fell in Merewari, and then in Antawari. Today, good blowgun cane grows wild there.

Dying, the Dinoshi descended above the mountain Mará-waka. They circled over T'damadu, Tahashibo, and Tonodo-hidi, the three tops of the mountain. Then they fell on Tahashibo, their bones penetrating the ground. Today the tallest and straightest blowgun cane grows over there.

The feathers and bones of the Dinoshi fell only in our land, and that is why we alone have blowguns. We are the owners. When other people want blowguns they travel here to ask us for *kurata*, bringing things to trade with. Long ago the ancient Yanomamo did not have blowguns, but when the Dinoshi died they learned about curare and blowguns. The particular top of Mará-waka called Tahashibo is the mountain of blowguns, and no one except us knows the way. It is our mountain, with much tall, straight bamboo.

When the Dinoshi fell, Kahuakadi was living on Tahashibo. He said: "All right, now that cane is mine. I am the owner of blowguns." Today when we go to gather *kurata*, when we reach that mountaintop we ask permission of Kahuakadi, its owner. We arrive and say: "We come to ask you for blowguns; we haven't eaten, we haven't touched our wives." When we arrive we plant stakes in the ground, as offerings to Kahuakadi. We sing in low voices, without shouting, making our request without angering the owner. We never cut off more than four stalks together. That way we do not bother the owner; that way we get *kurata* to make blowguns.

That is how it was in the beginning. That is all.

Summary

To punish his sister, owner of thunder kills her two children and places their hearts in tree. Hearts transform into two young harpy eagles which magically grow into enormous birds. After trying in vain to kill them with thunderbolt, man flees. His wife, who tries to catch them, is devoured by them.

Birds tyrannize people, abducting and devouring them. Because of their ironlike armor, all attempts to kill them fail. Finally one man discovers their one vulnerable spot, and kills them. Their feathers turn into bamboo, from which blowguns are made today.

Motif content

A157.1.	Thunderweapon.
A284.	God of thunder.
A960.	Creation of mountains (hills).
A1440.+.	Acquisition of curare. (A1440. Acquisition of crafts.)
A1459.1.+.	Origin of blowgun. (A1459.1. Acquisition of weapons.)
A2681.6.	Origin of bamboo.
B16.3.	Devastating birds.
B33.	Man-eating birds.
B450.	Helpful birds.
B524.	Animal overcomes man's adversary.
B872.	Giant birds.
C44.	Tabu: offending guardian spirits.
D447.+.	Transformation: heart to bird. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.)
D451.1.+.	Transformation: tree to mountain. (D451.1. Transformation: tree to other object.)
D457.+.	Transformation: feather to bamboo. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.)
D1840.2.	Magic invulnerability of animals.
F824.	Extraordinary armor.
F831.3.	Poisoned arrows.
F983.0.1.	Extraordinary quick growth of animal.
G353.1.	Cannibal bird as ogre.
G512.	Ogre killed.
G512.9.	Animal kills ogre.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.
N440.+.	Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)
Q325.	Disobedience punished.
Q402.	Punishment of children for parents' offenses.
R13.3.	Person carried off by bird.
S71.	Cruel uncle.
S139.2.	Slain person dismembered.

S302.
Z310.

Children murdered.
Unique vulnerability.

127. The Origin of Modern Goods

In the time when Omao killed the jaguar there were still no Sanema. Omao was yet to create them; there were just Omao and Soawe.

It was way downstream that Omao created the original Sanema. He created many of them. He created the Shamatali people and also the *sednabi*.⁵⁸⁴ He created many groups of Sanema, all speaking the same language. Omao also originally created us too. It was other people who chased us into the highlands from there beyond.

Once Omao had created the Sanema he thought to himself: "Now that I've really created these Sanema people, these incomplete⁵⁸⁵ Sanema, I must introduce them to airplanes, and pens and paper so that they can live like *sednabi*." For Omao knew all about all these things—like airplanes and shotguns.

So it was that Omao offered books to the Sanema. "Here! Take this book! With this book you can be like a foreigner, really properly so. Learning to say 'A,' 'E,' 'U,' in the way of these foreigners, you can become like the missionaries." But they did not accept the gift. "Wii! But what should we do with a book! How does one work this pen? We don't know how to write at all!" Thus replied our ancestors.

"What about this shotgun?" asked Omao. He fired the gun: *to!* "It kills game really efficiently, taken!"⁵⁸⁶ Do you like this? Take it!" said Omao. "This thing? It's stupid and heavy!" they replied. "How does one work it? This ridiculous, black thing; it's really tricky! And you might hurt yourself firing it! It's enough to make you run away!" That was how our ancestors replied. "Oh, dear! This is really bad. These Sanema don't want to be like Yekuana at all, I'm afraid." So said Omao. "Not yet, it seems. I think it must wait until later."

"What about an airplane, then. I'll give them this now, I think, but not a big plane, just a little one," said Omao. "What about this thing that flies? This is the tail that waves about. Here are the wings sticking out. You pull this little switch—*gli!* *eeeeeeee!*—then this other switch: *gli!* *eeeeeeee!* *krrrrrrr!* Then the Sanema climbs in—*tolo!*—and another one can sit here. In front of you is a little radio. You fly off. 'Where to?' you ask. 'This way!' a foreigner replies." So said God.⁵⁸⁷

That is what Omao said. But our Sanema ancestors did not accept it, they did not like it at all. "Wii! People clambering about like that high up, in this flying tree. That's really nasty!" replied we Sanema.

"What about this? Do you like this?" said Omao, putting a cloth hammock and rolls of cotton cloth on the ground: *blo! blo!* "Oh no! We don't like it at all. This hammock, it's all close woven. We'd be cold in this!" they said. "No! It's not cold at all. You can wrap yourself in a sheet and thus get warm. You don't need to fan the fire at night because you are enveloped in this sheet and blanket. When you wake up in the morning you aren't cold at all. And if you're a little cold you can put on a shirt." Thus explained Omao.

But the Sanema did not take them; the ancestors accepted none of these things.

"Oh! My turn, it seems," said Soawe. He pulled down some lianas:⁵⁸⁸ *selulo! selulo! selulo!* He waxed some hammock bindings and bound them on. Then he bundled up the hammock and slung it on his back.

"Right! Arrows! They didn't like guns," said Soawe. So saying he collected some arrow canes⁵⁸⁹—*pliki! pliki!*—straightened the arrows carefully; made the arrow notches⁵⁹⁰—*pakeke! pakeke!*—ripped down the *shitokolia* bark⁵⁹¹—*gledididi!*—and spun it for a bowstring, bound on the arrow bindings, stuck in the *laka* arrowhead⁵⁹²—*gloso!*—stuck in the *arali* tenon⁵⁹³—*gloso!*—attached the bone point:⁵⁹⁴ *gloso!*

"Dogs next, I think. They didn't like cows," continued Soawe. He collected a *kasha* mouse, a *kasna* mouse, a *kashtali* mouse⁵⁹⁵ and an arboreal opossum⁵⁹⁶ and dragged them after him. He painted his face black with charcoal and painted his arrowheads red with annatto.⁵⁹⁷

Omao had decided to prepare the Sanema really slowly. "Later on, I think," he had said. Soawe clashed his arrows: *da'u!* "*Heu ho! heu ho!*" he called out fiercely; then he pulled at the leashes of his little dogs. "*Wa! wa! wa! wa! wa!*" the dogs barked.

Thus it is that when the Sanema come visiting they cry out: "*Heu ho!*"⁵⁹⁸ And the dogs bark at them. Soawe made it so. He painted one dog black, one white, one red; so it is that the Sanema have lots of thin dogs all over the place. These dogs the Sanema received instead of cows. It was the *sednabi* who received those. And the Shamatali, they too had been sitting by and looking on.

"Give it to me!" said the Shamatali people ancestors. "I'm really hungry." "And this book?" said Omao. "Oh, yes! Me too," they said, "all that strange writing, though I don't know how to write at all!" "And this little airplane? You too?" "Yes. Me too! Though if we

try flying in that plane we'll probably crash!" they said. "And this shotgun?" "Oh, yes! Though I don't know about guns at all, all these silly bits and tricky operations!" So said the Shamatali people; and so replied the *sednabi* also.

High up in the sky—*m m m m m m m m*—they go flying by. Things, things they go by! Go by! Go by! And here are we, we children below.

"Oh! Woe! My ancestors, they really make me *angry*!" That is what we say now. "Walking slowly along on the ground—over mountains, along the trails, crossing rivers!—it's all really tiring. And all the while those others go swiftly flying by. And all thanks to our ancestors." That's what we say now, and we are really angry too.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 67–70.

Summary

Omao offers Sanema ancestors modern goods such as guns and airplanes. Sanema refuse them, accepting instead items from their traditional culture offered them by Soave.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A545.	Culture hero establishes customs.
A1400.	Acquisition of human culture.
A1611.+.	Origin of the Sanema. (A1611. Origin of particular tribes.)
A1614.9.	Origin of white man.
A1618.	Origin of inequalities among men.
A1689.11.	Why one people is superior in power to another.
P682.	Greeting customs.

128. Omamë and the Origin of Metal⁵⁹⁹

Omamë existed in the beginning, the very beginning, when there were no women. In those days when Omamë did not know the *kraiwa* foreigners⁶⁰⁰ he created the metal machete from one of his ribs. He created the metal from his own bones. From his shoulder blades he made steel axes, metal hoes and the digging stick.⁶⁰¹ As for Yoasi, his older brother, he created the bow.⁶⁰² That was how both of them were in those times.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Motif content

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| A515.1.1. | Twin culture heroes. |
| A1432. | Acquisition of metals. |
| A1446. | Acquisition of tools. |
| A1459.1.1. +. | Origin of bow. (A1459.1.1. Origin of bows and arrows.) |
| D457.12. +. | Transformation: bones to tools. (D457.12. Transformation: bone to other object.) |

129. Sanuma Turn into Animals

Long ago the Sanuma people turned into animals. They turned into armadillos, they turned into curassows, into the jaguar, and into the tapir. The tapir was a Sanuma and the jaguar was a Sanuma. The *manasi* guan was a Sanuma. The spider monkeys were Waika. The woolly monkeys were Waika. That's how it was. The alligator was a Sanuma.

Informant: Sitiho

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

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|-------|--------------------------------|
| D100. | Transformation: man to animal. |
|-------|--------------------------------|

130. Opossum, the Supplanted Suitor, and the Origin of Sorcery⁶⁰³

Although Opossum⁶⁰⁴ tried to perform premarital service⁶⁰⁵ for the girls whom he wanted to marry, they held his bad odor against him. They were the graceful daughters of White-Tipped Dove,⁶⁰⁶ and lived in another community. They had no names; they were simply dove girls. Realizing how ugly Opossum was, they rejected him. Although he was lazy and did not have a very prepossessing appearance Opossum had decided to begin to perform premarital service

for them on his own accord,⁶⁰⁷ in spite of the fact that it was Honey,⁶⁰⁸ one of his co-residents, who actually was supposed to marry them. Honey smelled good and was a good hunter. Only he was handsome and a hard worker.

While Honey was working in his new garden, felling trees, Opossum went to the other's hearth to borrow, without telling him, his arm adornments made of macaw tail feathers.⁶⁰⁹ He detached them from a beam from which they were hanging, replacing them with some tail feathers of the blue-crowned motmot⁶¹⁰ which he himself owned. Then he hung the macaw feathers in front of his own living area for all to see, thinking thus to attract the daughters of Dove.⁶¹¹ Before the girls went to visit the house of their future husband they had been told by their brother who had seen Honey's macaw feathers during a visit: "You will recognize brother-in-law Honey's hearth by the abundant macaw tail feathers that are hanging there! They are very visible! In Opossum's living area you will see nothing but a few thin tail feathers of the blue-crowned motmot!" Having thus informed them he had sent them off to join Honey.

When they reached Honey's house he was busy felling large trees in his new garden; he was very hard-working. During the same time Opossum was cutting *abinasikë* plants⁶¹² only to pretend to be working. Upon arrival Dove's daughters noticed the macaw feathers at Opossum's hearth and thought: "That's Honey's living area! Those are the feathers that our brother mentioned!" But in fact it was the living area of Opossum, who had deceived them by hanging Honey's macaw feathers there instead of his motmot feathers. Passing Honey's hearth the dove girls hung their hammocks in Opossum's living area. Thus while Opossum was away they chose his hearth to settle in.

Later he joined them there and lay down in his own hammock. The two women were lying down in theirs. Opossum thought exultantly: "My two wives have moved in! I stole them away from Honey!" Noticing how ugly he was they whispered to each other: "We've made a mistake! It's someone else; we must have chosen the wrong hearth!" Then Opossum made a show of offering them some game as premarital service. He had cut a piece of his thigh and offered it to them, saying: "Here's a piece of smoked tapir meat. Please eat! I'm an excellent tapir hunter!"⁶¹³ Contentedly he rocked in his hammock. Bothered by his nauseating smell the daughters of Dove exclaimed: "Something smells rotten here!"⁶¹⁴ He tried to explain it away, in a small nasal voice: "That smell comes from the meat. It

went bad; my fire has gone out! That makes me angry! It really stinks!" He was lying to them, for he wanted to begin premarital service in order to marry them. He wanted to come between Honey and his future wives to take them for himself. That was why he tried to deceive them with the macaw feathers, but they smelled his foul odor first.

After this incident Opossum stretched out in his hammock in a rage. Then Honey returned from his garden and went to his living area: *shiri! wa! tere!* He asked Opossum: "Was it you who took my macaw feathers? Give them back!" Opossum lied: "I took them from your area because the *rēikosi* crickets⁶¹⁵ were eating them!" Honey recovered his macaw feathers and Opossum had to take his motmot tail feathers and hang them back in his living area. Thus the two dove girls confirmed their mistake: "He is not the real Honey, he is someone else!" Gathering up their belongings they left Opossum's quarters for those of Honey. Now he hung the older girl's hammock under his own, and invited the younger woman into his. Soon night fell. They fondled each other, laughing all the while.

Opossum was angry and jealous, and although he and Honey were co-residents he decided to blow a *hēri* sorcery substance on his rival.⁶¹⁶ He made it with some malodorous hair from his armpits, after charring and pulverizing it. While he worked, crouching near the embers of his fire, he occasionally dropped some fragments on the ground—does the opossum not have small paws? To look for them he would blow on dry burning leaves which he would constantly extinguish and light again: *tuuuuu!* Thus the light rose and fell in his living area while he burned the hairs from his armpits and crumbled them between his fingers in order to make his evil substance. This went on for a while, and finally Honey became intrigued and asked: "Opossum! What is it you keep illuminating like that?" Opossum lied: "I'm burning leaves to get rid of the chigoes⁶¹⁷ around here. I pass burning leaves over the floor in order to burn the chigoes!" Opossum and his brother Ringed Antpipit⁶¹⁸ already owned some *hēri* sorcery substances.

When he had finished his preparation Opossum slipped furtively toward Honey's area. His brother Antpipit followed him but kept stepping on dry twigs which cracked and snapped noisily: *kri! krihi! kri! krihi!* Annoyed, Opossum halted and sent him home: "Go home, Antpipit; go and lie down in your hammock! I'll continue by myself!" Then he went very close to Honey's hearth and blew his evil substance at him, using a *horoma* blowgun.⁶¹⁹ *brohu! brohu! brohu!* That was how he killed Honey in his hammock. Dove's younger

daughter who lay with him and the older daughter who slept below them also died. They did not just get sick; he actually killed all three of them. In those days real sorcery substances did not yet exist, and Opossum had made his with the stinking hair from his armpits. Later on Omamë would receive the *arowari* magic plants from his father-in-law Tëbërësikë, along with the other cultivated plants.⁶²⁰

Having committed his crime Opossum fled at once, taking care to obscure his path. His trail circled around and seemed to lead in every direction. It ascended a large tree, came down again, zigzagged, went away, led up into another tree, came down once more, doubled back, ascended again, descended, then followed a twisting route.⁶²¹ Finally Opossum found refuge in a *masihanarikohi* tree.⁶²² During his flight he saw this large tree towering in the forest, and he climbed up and hid in a hole very high up.

Honey's co-residents were pursuing him, although they had lost the trail of his brother Antpipit who had also fled.⁶²³ It was Ant⁶²⁴ who was following Opossum's trail to avenge Honey. He had been in pursuit of Opossum for a long time, probing the hollow trees where he might have hidden, listening with his ear pressed to the trunks. After a moment he heard the sound of rain approaching in the forest. The drumming of the rain came closer and grew very loud. Ant probed the tree trunk and listened. He could hear the rain coming nearer and nearer: *sherererere! hōōōōō!* Suddenly he heard the voice of Opossum calling out, chasing away the rain: "*Hēhū!*"⁶²⁵ May this rain return to Honey's place!" "That's Opossum's voice! It's coming from that hole!" Ant said to himself at once. Hastily he descended from the tree—*hōōōōō! shiri! thikē!*—and returned to his communal house with the news of his discovery. He told Mouse⁶²⁶ and Pygmy Anteater:⁶²⁷ "He is over there! I just heard his voice emerging from a tree trunk!"

They set off, and reached the large tree. There they debated what to do next: "What shall we do to catch him? This tree is so large!" They found a solution when they saw a young tree that grew near the one where Opossum was hiding. "Look at that tree! We'll bend it and tie it to the trunk of the big tree!"⁶²⁸ They built an *īrakē* scaffolding⁶²⁹ and managed to bend the young tree and tie its top to the trunk of the bigger tree. Then they climbed over to reach Opossum's hiding place. But the liana that held the bent tree broke suddenly, and Mouse found himself catapulted far away:⁶³⁰ *krai! houuuuu! thikē! hutututututu!* He let go and was thrown far away: *bē!* In spite of the tree snapping violently back and forth Pygmy Anteater and Ant remained firmly hanging on. When the swinging

of the trunk slowed—*brokë! brokë! brokë!*—they resumed their work and again tied the young tree trunk to the large tree. Then they took a huge stone to throw at Opossum. It was Ant who carried it on his back, and that is why the *hibëëshi* ant, the spectral form⁶³¹ of Ant, still has a concave back. He approached the hole where Opossum was hiding in the large tree, pretending to be looking for honey in order not to alarm him. "There is certainly honey in this hollow tree! We'll cut it open!" Furious at having been found, Opossum shouted: "*Hëhū!* Ant! Your back is hollowed-out! You are grayish! What are you doing here?"⁶³² Ant replied in the same vein: "Opossum! You smell rotten!" They kept on insulting each other. In the meantime Ant and Pygmy Anteater continued their efforts to bring the stone all the way over to Opossum's hole: *ae! ae! ae!* Finally they climbed over from the bent tree to the other trunk, reached the entrance to Opossum's hiding place, and suddenly hurled the rock into it: *thë! tha! thë! tha!* That was how Opossum finally was crushed inside the trunk of the large, hollow *masihanarikohi* tree.

All Honey's co-residents wanted to avenge him, for he was very handsome, and they were furious over his death. They gathered and began to cut down the big tree all together: the parrot people, the macaw people, the toucan people, the grey-winged trumpeter people, the marbled wood-quail people.⁶³³ Ant and Pygmy Anteater had summoned them all to bring down the enormous tree in which they had crushed Opossum. Gathered around the *masihanarikohi* tree they began to chop, taking turns: *thikë wa! thikë wa! thikë wa! thikë wa!* This tree is very hard, and after a moment the parrot people, the macaw people, the trumpeter people, and the marbled wood-quail people found their axes gradually becoming dull. Finally only the toucan people managed to cut into it: *thei! thei! thei! thei!*⁶³⁴ Little by little the tree began to lean. Long after that it fell, finally crashing to the ground where it broke: *houuuuu! thëëëë!*

Opossum's blood, brain matter, and gall spurted out and spread over the ground. Then the animal ancestors began to paint their bodies with these substances. First they wanted to use Opossum's blood to paint their bodies. "We are going to paint our mouths red!" said the black curassow people. "Let's dip our rumps!" called the toucan people and the red-rumped cacique people. "As for us, we'll paint our legs and throats!" announced the Spix's guan people. That was how they all spoke. Then they painted themselves with the blood: the macaw people covered their breasts and backs, the blue-throated piping guan people only their legs; the marbled wood-quail people painted circles around their eyes; the agouti people painted

their hindquarters, and the red-necked woodpecker people their faces. The red brocket people, the howler monkey people, and the puma people bathed themselves completely.

After Opossum's blood had dried they used his brain matter to paint themselves. The black curassow people dipped their bellies in it; the trumpeter people covered their legs and backs with it, and the toucan people their breasts. The piping guan people speckled their arms with the brain matter while the tayra people put some on their throats and the sloth people and the white monkey people covered themselves completely. Then they painted themselves with Opossum's gall. The spider monkey people and the capuchin monkey people painted themselves all black.⁶³⁵ The trumpeter people and the Spix's guan people put some on their bodies. Finally all finished their body painting,⁶³⁶ at which point they turned into the animals that they are today. They scattered all over the forest, some on the ground, others in the trees, where they live today as game animals.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Opossum tries to steal two young women from their prospective husband (Honey) by posing as latter. When his trickery is discovered women go to their real husband. Angrily Opossum kills all three and then flees, taking refuge in tall tree. There Ant discovers him. Honey's co-residents manage to kill him and fell tree. People paint themselves with his body fluids, after which they all turn into animals.

Motif content

A2217.	Appearance of animal from marking or painting.
A2217.1.	Birds painted their present colors.
A2343.3.	Origin of other features of bird's beak.
A2356.2. +.	Origin of shape of ant's back. (A2356.2. Origin of shape of animal's back.)
A2411.	Origin of color of animal.
A2411.2.	Origin of color of bird.
D100.	Transformation: man to animal.
D1246.	Magic powder.
D1402. +.	Magic substance kills. (D1402. Magic object kills.)
D2061.	Magic murder.

F575.2.	Handsome man.
F576.	Extraordinary ugliness.
F679.5.	Skillful hunter.
F687.	Remarkable fragrance (odor) of person.
H30. +.	Recognition by smell. (H30. Recognition through personal peculiarities.)
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
J647.	Avoiding enemy's revenge.
K983.1.	Tree cut down to get at victim in top.
K1041.	Borrowed feathers.
K1910.	Marital impostors.
K1950.	Sham prowess.
Q411.6.	Death as punishment for murder.
R260.	Pursuits.
R311.	Tree refuge.
S116.	Murder by crushing.
S160.1.	Self-mutilation.
T70.	The scorned lover.
T75.2.	Scorned lover kills successful one.
T75.2.1.	Rejected suitors' revenge.
T92.10.	Rival in love killed.
W181.	Jealousy.
X1100.	Lie: the remarkable hunter.

131. Naro

Naro was one of the ancient Yanomamo.⁶³⁷ He lived with the rest of the people. But he did not have a wife; the women would flee from him because he smelled bad. In the same communal house lived Yamonamana-riwë.⁶³⁸

The son of Yamonamana-riwë had gone to a *reahu* feast. When he returned he was followed by a very beautiful girl whom he had seduced in that other house. Her name was Warëna-yoma, and she came to stay with him. When she arrived she did not know in which house her beloved lived, so she went into the first one she found and stayed there.

Before the boy noticed her arrival Naro noticed it. He had attended the same feast but had not seduced any woman. (Of course not, the way he smelled!) So he thought: "Now I'll grab her." Placing a few tobacco leaves in a gourd full of water he carried it to the

girl and asked her to prepare a tobacco roll for him. Laughingly he handed her the gourd, and waited. His intention was this: When the girl handed him the tobacco roll he would seize her wrists and carry her off to his house.

Warëna-yoma prepared the tobacco roll, but instead of giving it to Naro she placed it on the ground. Then, without even looking at him, she went to the neighboring house and sat down. On top of everything else, by now the other people had told the son of Yamonamana-riwë that his girl had come and that Naro had gone to fetch her. The young man looked. Seeing Warëna-yoma he went straight there and took her to his house.

When Naro saw this he grew even angrier, and he took his bow and arrows and went to his plantation. He wanted to make *aroari*⁶³⁹ to kill that young man. In the afternoon he returned. Because the *aroari* has to be prepared on an empty stomach and he had eaten he waited until the following morning. Very early he disappeared, and there in his plantation he made his *aroari*. Around midmorning he heard the voices of people coming down the path; it was Yamonamana-riwë and his family returning from their plantation. Behind came Warëna-yoma followed by her husband. Naro stood close to the path, hidden behind a tree. He placed the *aroari* at the mouth of his tube container, and when the man presented a target he blew it at him.

In doing this, Naro was presenting an example to us Yanomamo, showing us how to take revenge with *aroari*. His *aroari* was very strong, so strong that when the young man arrived home he felt extremely thirsty. He drank, and soon died.

Naro had stayed in the forest. Taking another path he came across Reha-riwë⁶⁴⁰ who was sitting in a tall algarroba tree, digging out *oi* honey. Under the tree his wife Xexehari-yoma⁶⁴¹ was waiting. Again Naro placed some *aroari* in his tube container and blew it at Reha-riwë who bent backward, half fainting. But as he was sitting in the kind of liana sling which is used for climbing trees to knock down beehives, he remained hanging there. However, soon he regained consciousness, pulled himself together, and looked down. "Who blew *aroari* at me?" he asked. Seeing Naro down there he added: "It was you who did it, Naro."

Naro started walking and returned calmly to the communal house, as if returning from hunting. Reha-riwë descended from the tree, wrapped the honeycombs in the leaves which his wife had broken off, and went home. Before arriving he heard shouting and weeping

in the house. When he entered he asked: "What has happened? When I left this morning everyone was healthy." Yamonamana-riwë answered: "My son has died." "What can have caused his death?" said Reha-riwë. "Can it have been Naro blowing *aroari*? Back there, while I was gathering *oi* honey, he blew some at me, too."

But no one suspected Naro. In fact the latter was calmly dancing, weeping, holding the dead man's *rahaka* arrows. Reha-riwë kept insisting that it was Naro who had killed him, and his certainty grew even stronger. As Reha-riwë went on repeating this Naro began to feel in danger, and he handed over the arrows and said that he was going out to urinate and defecate. By now the old men were beginning to grow suspicious and they sent a couple of boys after him to see where he was going. The boys left. Reha-riwë said: "Don't you see? It was Naro who did it. If it hadn't been he, he wouldn't have fled."

The boys pursued Naro all afternoon, all night, and the following day. He kept hiding among tree roots and under dry leaves, gradually turning into an opossum. To make their pursuit easier the boys were transforming into the little bird called *yokohimi* which climbs up tree trunks so easily, and that way they could clearly see from high up where Naro was hiding. Afterward the birds turned into boys again and returned to the communal house. It was afternoon, and the people were gathering the bones of the dead man whom they had burned in the morning. When the boys arrived they said: "Naro has gone very far away but we pursued him. We know where he is, over there in the dense forest on a hill." Naro's relatives said: "He'll come back; it wasn't he who killed with *aroari*."

To give him time to return, the next day the people began to prepare the mortar and sticks to grind the dead man's bones. But Naro did not return. Finally they all said: "Let's go and get him. It was he who did it; let's kill him."

Everyone left, and went far away. They had to sleep along the way. Reaching the foot of a tall *mai-kohi* they said: "Naro must be nearby; let's see. Who wants to climb up?" Hobiwë⁶⁴² said he would do it. He climbed quickly, the way he does today when he is an animal. After reaching the first branch he stopped and heard Naro chanting. "Fuuuuuuu!" he was saying, moving his arms. "Rain, come and moisten the ashes of Yamonamana-riwë's son! Fuuuu! Oxoxaaaaa!" The rain was formed almost at once. The wind blew and the *mai-kohi* shook. Hobiwë climbed higher, and reached Naro. Then he saw that the other had turned into a man again. He said:

"Ah, here you are, doing *unokai*,⁶⁴³ hidden in the top of this very tall tree!" "So you've come, flathead?" said Naro. "What do you want here? Be careful or you'll turn into an ant!"

Without answering Hobiwë descended to inform the others. They told him to climb up again to see whether Naro was still human or whether he had turned into an animal again. Once more Hobiwë ascended. As he approached, he heard Naro chanting to the rain. He went out on a branch to see him better, and from there he began to scold him: "Naro, how you stink, how you smell! You've killed people! And here you are, hiding, doing *unokai*!" Naro replied: "Hobiwë has come back up here to bother me. Look, flathead, now you'll turn into an ant!" Hobiwë did not reply; he only descended and told the Yanomamo that Naro was still a man, not an animal. Then he wanted to climb up another tree, but instead he turned into an ant and remained one.

The men gathered under the *mai-kohi*. In order to kill Naro they had to cut it down. They called all the Yanomamo who had cutting tools. There were the *pokorari*,⁶⁴⁴ the *arimari*,⁶⁴⁵ the *xukumiri*,⁶⁴⁶ the *werehiri*,⁶⁴⁷ the *hareminari*.⁶⁴⁸ All began to cut with their axes, hacking away until the axes were all worn down. That is why these birds today have short beaks.⁶⁴⁹

Then the *mayebi-riwë*⁶⁵⁰ and the *ara-riwë*⁶⁵¹ began to cut. The *piapocos* had machetes and the macaws had axes, but these tools were finally worn down as well. Still, with all these efforts the *mai-kohi* had nearly been felled. If it did not fall it was because of a large liana high up that held it tied to another tree. Then the Yanomamo thought of *Ihama-riwë*⁶⁵² and asked him to go and cut the liana. "No," said *Ihama-riwë*, "I won't go; I'm afraid. Send my younger brother." They called *Yawerem-riwë*⁶⁵³ and said to him: "You go, you're light; go and cut that liana." *Ihama-riwë* encouraged him: "Go, don't be afraid. From down here I'll pray for you so you won't fall."

Yawerem-riwë climbed up with his axe. When he reached the place where the liana was attached to the *mai-kohi* he cut it below that point, and the tree fell at once. The earth shook and the sound was heard far away. Frightened, *Yawerem-riwë* looked down, and then he continued climbing up the liana in order to descend via the other tree.

When the *mai-kohi* fell Naro fell with it and was smashed against the ground. His white brain matter was scattered, his blood flowed, and from his broken intestines excrement issued. All those people who had been working were splashed with the blood and the rest of

the matter from Naro's body. That is why they have red, green, yellow, blue, and white feathers. After being painted they shouted and called out, and instead of returning to their communal house they went into the forest and turned into animals.

Finally Yaweremī-riwë managed to climb down. The only thing left for him to paint himself with was excrement, so he used it to paint his nose, his forehead, and around his eyes. He became terribly ugly. He did not want to return home, either, but preferred to remain in the forest in the form he has today.

Informant: The chief of the Iyëwei-teri

Source: Cocco 1972, pp. 221–224.

Summary

Malodorous man (Naro) is scorned by all women. After being rejected by one woman whom he has tried to seduce he vengefully kills her husband in forest, using magic.

Gradually suspicion of murder falls on Naro in village and he flees, pursued by men. He takes refuge in tree, but pursuers eventually manage to fell tree, killing Naro. His blood and other body matter splash over bystanders and color them. Entering forest they turn into animals.

Motif content

A2217.1.	Birds painted their present colors.
A2343.3. +.	Why some birds have short beaks. (A2343.3. Origin of other features of bird's beak.)
A2411.2.	Origin of color of bird.
A2412.	Origin of animal markings.
D100.	Transformation: man to animal.
D110. +.	Transformation: man to opossum. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D182.2.	Transformation: man to ant.
D631.1.1.	Person changes appearance at will.
D681.	Gradual transformation.
D965.	Magic plant.
D1402.1.	Magic plant kills.
D1837.	Magic weakness.
D2061.	Magic murder.
D2143.1.	Rain produced by magic.
F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.
F687.	Remarkable fragrance (odor) of person.
J610.	Forethought in conflict with others—general.

J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
K550.	Escape by false plea.
K983.1.	Tree cut down to get at victim in top.
K2000.	Hypocrites.
Q411.6.	Death as punishment for murder.
R311.	Tree refuge.
T70.	The scorned lover.
T75.2.1.	Rejected suitors' revenge.

132. The Death of Samonamaniapada and the Opossum's Blood⁶⁵⁴

This is about Samonamaniapada.⁶⁵⁵ Samonamaniapada and Opossum and Kashtali.⁶⁵⁶ They were all of them ancestors and they were making gardens. But while Samonamaniapada did the job very well, Opossum did it really badly; he was argumentative and smelly. Opossum was making a very small garden and chopping down *abilinase*⁶⁵⁷ trees: *ta! ta! ta! ta!*

"He he heeee!" called out the Opossum, as the tree fell. Meanwhile Samonamaniapada was making a huge garden and was chopping down the huge *wanimai*⁶⁵⁸ trees: *ta! ta! ta! ta! Boooo!* "Haa haa haa hoooo!" shouted Samonamaniapada. He had learned to speak Yekuana properly while the Sanema, Opossum, who just cut down little *abilinase* trees to make tiny gardens, did not know Yekuana at all. The Sanema do not call out "Haa haa hooo!" They just make tiny gardens, like the ones Opossum was making. Samonamaniapada making his huge garden was working very hard.

While these two were working, the wood-quail girls⁶⁵⁹ came to fool around. Kashtali lay alone in his hammock though all the others were out working. Many of the wood-quail girls had come to visit. They decided to tease Kashtali who was feigning sleep lying in his hammock. They fanned up the fire and put a little twig of liana⁶⁶⁰ in to burn. Then with the twig they poked Kashtali over the eye. Kashtali pretended to wake, rubbed his eye, and then relaxed into sleep again. But the girls lit the twig again and poked him over the other eye.

"Mm! Don't do that!" said Kashtali, but being so shy of the girls he hastily ran off to where his elder brother Opossum was working making gardens with Samonamaniapada. "Many girls have arrived," he reported. "What girls?" "The dove girls⁶⁶¹ and the wood-quail

girls, and they've come all by themselves," said Kashtali. Hearing this Opossum decided to return home to see. "Get my curassow feather ornaments, my comb, my beads, my nose stick, my ear bars, my toucan skin, my white down, my armbands, my new loincloth, my coin-necklace, my annatto; go and get all that and come back here," said Opossum to his younger brother.

Samonamaniapada had a large, clean, cotton hammock which the girls were at that moment examining in the house. "I wonder whose hammock this is? It looks like a young man's hammock," so said the wood-quail girls. Kashtali quickly collected the annatto and all the other things and went to give them to Opossum. Opossum bathed and then decorated himself, vigorously rubbing his body with annatto like a Sanema. Once he was painted up he took leave of Samonamaniapada and made off home. "Go on then!" he said to Kashtali, and they returned to the house.

Opossum went immediately and lay in his hammock. He hooked down his hammock and lay down in it. "Phew! What a smell," people exclaimed but many of the girls came and sat around him on the ground. But Opossum lay in his hammock ignoring them. The girls pulled out his nose stick and it fell to the ground. "Give that to me!" said Opossum angrily. So the girls wrapped the stick in a leaf and gingerly gave it back. They were having fun and trying to tease Opossum but Opossum really stank and just got angry so nobody laughed. "You're really nasty! You're no fun at all!" jeered the dove and wood-quail girls.

Then Samonamaniapada returned carrying his axe. He put the axe away and then exhaled a soft breath at the girls: *pppff!* The air became very fragrant. Samonamaniapada hooked down his hammock and lay down in it; the girls all came over and sat all around him, not on the floor but in the hammock. They fooled around and teased him. Everyone began fooling around and laughing uproariously. "Hahahahahaha!" they went, and Opossum became furious as a result. "G! Whatever for!? They didn't play around with me at all! I've been badly treated," said Opossum, looking on. He became angry and began bad-mouthing. "W! I'm good and furious. I'll do that ugly one!" said Opossum, and he bound up his liana hammock.⁶⁶² "Stay cool," he said. "I'm off. I'm going out to visit the Waikia people," and he left.

It was the *sisali* lizard people⁶⁶³ that he went to visit and he found them still at home. "Give me my *alawali*,"⁶⁶⁴ said Opossum. "That Samonamaniapada was fooling around with the girls and they did not fool around with me at all. They just pored all over him. As a

result I'm really furious. Give me my sedge tubers!" said Opossum to the *sisali* lizard people. "Right. The little angry tubers, is it?" they replied to Opossum. So said the Waikia people and they gave him the *alawali*. "And now I'm off!" said Opossum, and he returned home.

Samonamaniapada and all the others were still fooling around as ever when Opossum returned. Opossum blew his *alawali* darts⁶⁶⁵—*gle! gle! gle!*—and so Samonamaniapada died with all the girls still laughing and tickling around him.

The wood-quail girls mourned as they returned home. "A Sanema has just died. My husband has just died!" they said. "Really!" replied the *wimi* snake people,⁶⁶⁶ the brothers-in-law of Samonamaniapada. "But I must find out why. I am off to investigate," they said, and they went off to look around.

Opossum had fled immediately. He had run off into the forest and had hidden himself in a weedy patch where he feigned mourning. "He was my real brother-in-law: *boo hoo! boo hoo! Shuwa'u!*"⁶⁶⁷ mourned Opossum, and his nose became white and upturned as a result of feigning to mourn. And the *wimi* snake people overheard. "That one! He's lying!" they exclaimed and they told people to go and keep an eye on him which they quickly did. They were⁶⁶⁸ the *lulina* people, the *nagishma* people, that medium-sized white one that bites; those people, the *asuama* people, the *amoroshili* people, those hard ones that scurry about on the ground, those people, they all went to keep an eye on Opossum; and *kola ha'u tomawai*,⁶⁶⁹ he went too, for the *wimi* snake had returned and told everyone to go and keep an eye on Opossum. "Come on! This way, he's still there," the *wimi* snake said. "Interesting! What a surprise!" said all the stinger people. "Right, now to it!" said the *lulina* people, and having done with their mourning led the way. "Over there! This way! This is where he is! We must surround him!" they said and they all began to encircle him. But Opossum fled; up, along a tree's branch and down: *blo!* He went off at a run, there being so many of them all around him. Once he was tired he hid again in a patch of weeds, but the others came after him. He hid again among some rocks, but the others like the *lulina* people chased after him. He hid in a burrow but they still came after him. So, finally, he climbed up a huge *shindei*⁶⁷⁰ tree and, high up, he sat down among the leaves.

"You're a really bad lot!" they shouted up. "Just you wait! We are really numerous. We'll exact payment⁶⁷¹ for Samonamaniapada." But the *lulina* people did not climb up. "No! Wait. Over there, there are the *dedemi* people,⁶⁷² the *shikumai* people, the *kulikasa* people, the

anima people. They know all about machetes like the *shinanida* palm-worm people, they've got lots of machetes," people said and so all these Sanema ancestors began to arrive from over there. The palm-worm people came to chop down the great *shindei* tree and the wood-quail people, the *holeto* dove people, the *hosa* dove people—many, many people—the macaw people, the *pishakamî* people, the *dedemî* people—all the birds came to chop down the tree.

And the palm-worm people began to chop at the tree: *ta! ta! ta! ta!* "*Shinitooo!* my axe has broken and that's what I say!" "My machete's broken—*okola'u! okola'u! okola'u!*—that's what I say!" said the wood quails. "My axe has snapped—*aa! aa! aa!*—that's what I have to say!" said the macaws. "My axe has gone wrong—*dedede de de!*—that's what I have to say!" said the *dedemî* people. "My machete's broken—*kili! kili! kili!*" said the *shikumai* people. That's what happened to those people who knew so much about machetes. From over there came the *muspi* people, the *penipenimi* people, the *alu alu* people, the *kedoni* people—they all came over to join the others. All the birds came with their machetes and sat around the great tree. "Our machetes have broken. *Hoo! hoo hoo hoo!* we say!" said the *holeto* dove people. "Our machetes have broken too! *Mm mm mm!* we say!" said the *wagoga* people. "Our machetes have broken too! *Pishakā! pishakā! pishakā!* we say!" said the *pishakamî* people. That was what these people all said. The palm-worm people had not felled the tree; the *dedemî* people had not felled the tree; the *anima* people had not felled the tree; the macaw people had not felled the tree. The great *shindei* tree still stood. They had all only cut a small notch. "It's just as I said. That's what I said would happen," said the *kola ha'u tomawai*.

Then the white monkey people came, the jaguar people, the ocelot people, the sloth people, the tamandua people, the squirrel people, the pygmy anteater people, the small sloth people. All the animals arrived. Above, all alone, sat Opossum. No one sat with him; everyone else was furious with him. The ancestors were angry and seeking revenge for the death of Samonamaniapada. Samonamaniapada had been really beautiful but Opossum was not beautiful at all. He was bad, and he had an ugly nose. "You are horribly ugly," the girls had said. "Phew! What a stink! Throw him out!" they had said. But the animals had only made a small mark in the tree's trunk. "Right, now that's done!" said the *muspi* people as they prepared to start chopping.

"What about you?" people said to the *kola ha'u tomawai*. "Right! Me!" said the *kola ha'u tomawai*, he had his tomahawk⁶⁷³ slung on his

back. "I'll kill him," he said and he climbed up the tree: *kudi! kudi! kudi!* He reached the tree's waist. Opossum began to talk to him from where he was seated. "You are a smelly one!" shouted the *kola ha'u tomawai*. "You are a really ugly, smelly one!" "You are a fathead!" Opossum shouted down from where he sat. "Bash down that stinking one!" replied the *kola ha'u tomawai*. "You are a fathead!" said Opossum again. "Stinking one, I'll knock you!" replied the *kola ha'u tomawai*, shouting back. "And you really make me angry," returned Opossum. "And I'm furious too! I'm really going to do you in," said the *kola ha'u tomawai*, and he climbed up really fast.

Opossum had moved from where he had been talking. "Where has he fled to?" said the *kola ha'u tomawai*; they were high up in the tree from where they might fall. The *kola ha'u tomawai* was frowning fearfully. He pulled out his tomahawk. *Glo!* He struck him in the face. *Glo!* He struck hard. Opossum had no club, he merely sat where he was; though furious he remained where he was. The *kola ha'u tomawai* beat him with his tomahawk—*glo! glo! glo!*—all over his body—*glo! glo! glo!*—and on his head: *gli! gli! gli!* Opossum died completely but the *kola ha'u tomawai* continued beating: *gle! gle! gle! gle! gle! gle!* Exacting a proper payment for Samonamaniapada. And the blood poured and poured and poured from all the wounds.⁶⁷⁴ "Mahahaha!"⁶⁷⁵ said the *kola ha'u tomawai*. "There, just as I threatened, and that's what I'd do to anyone who makes me angry!" he said, and he climbed down. "Right, let's paint up in annatto right away!" he said.

The *pishakami* people, the macaw people, the cock-of-the-rock people had all already arrived. "Right, try and knock it down now!" people said. But though the tree was cut right through and creaked and snapped, it did not fall. The huge tree was being held up by a tiny vine, the sun vine. And it was the smaller sloth who wanted to free the snagged tree and cause it to fall. "*Ga!*" some said. "No, wait," said others, for the squirrel people had all arrived. "Hold on! Let him try! Let him try!" cried others, and the smaller sloth began to climb up. "Wait though," others called. "Once you've cut the vine, how are you going to get back down? Are you really fast?" "I certainly am! Really fast, there's no one faster," replied the sloth. "Right then! Have a go!" they said and Sloth climbed up in the tree. He cut at the vine—*de! de! de! de!*—and then slid down: *sa! selulo! selulo! selulo! blo!* "There you are, just as I said," said the sloth. "Right!" said some. "I don't know, you seem a bit slow really," said others.

"What about you?" they asked the larger sloth. "Yes! Me!" and he too tried. After chopping a little at the vine—*sau! sau! seludo! blo!*—he

returned. "There! Just as I said." "Ga! Not at all, you haven't cut the vine at all," said people, and so they said to the white monkey: "What about you?" they asked. "Once you've severed the vine what will you do?" The white monkey climbed up: *kudi! kudi! kudi!* He cut at the vine and then fled back down: *takidi po! kudiki! salu! blo!* "There you are, just as I said! Oh! Has the tree not fallen? I'll go again, I'm not tired at all!" "Kiii! You are really strong," people remarked.

"What about you?" they asked the *kalushi* squirrel. "Right. Me!" he replied and climbed up to the vine, cut at it and . . . : *sali! sali! blo!* "Just as I replied," said the *kalushi*. "And what about you?" they asked the *wasoshihi* squirrel. He whisked up the tree—*selili!*—chopped at the vine and—*sak! sili sili sili!*—he was already back walking along the ground. "There you are, just as I said I would," said the *wasoshihi* squirrel.

"What about you then, jaguar?" said the puma. "You first," he replied. The puma climbed up: *gudi! gudi! gudi!* "Now you watch carefully, see if you can see me there at the bottom of that tree," said the puma. He cut at the vine and sprang down: *glak! glu! glo! selulo! blo!* Then he tried to run by unseen. He was like a red streak in the bushes: *hasu! hana! hasu!* "All red like that you're easily visible," jeered the jaguar. "And what about you?" he said to the ocelot.

The ocelot climbed up and slid down the other side: *sili sili blo!* But they still saw a small flash as he rushed by. "Well, what about you?" they said to the jaguar. "Yes! And you look on very carefully," he replied. The jaguar climbed up, not a long way, and then came down—*glu! glu! solo! blo!*—and then slid through the vegetation. Not a sound, not a twig snapped! And before they could spot him approaching there was his face before them. "Even though you were looking on! Even though you were watching you couldn't see me at all, you Sanema!" said the jaguar. That's what the jaguar did to the Sanema. "Right. That's that," said the *kalushi* people. "They are real sluggards, all of them."

Meanwhile the screaming *piha* people arrived. They assembled below the tree with all the other birds. "Right, like you say, we must cut that vine!" said the smaller sloth. "You go then. You made the original cut," they replied and so the sloth climbed up. Very slowly he cut at the vine, little by little he chewed his way through. "Like this: *piiiiii!*" he whistled. Then again much later, "Like this: *piiiiii!*" he whistled again. "I'll get through it this way," he said.

"What about you?" they suggested to the larger sloth. "Right! Me!" he replied and climbed up. "Like this: *piiiiii!*" he whistled. And again later, "Like this: *piiiiii!*" he whistled. "Gah! They're no good at

all," people said. "Me then!" said the squirrel. "I'm really swift," and he climbed up. "You're really lazy!" he said to the sloths who were still up in the tree. "Well, you have a go then, if you like. We've already had enough!" The *wasoshihi* squirrel cut through the vine and as the vine snapped—*doooooo!*—he was flung high through the air to the ground. But the sloths were carried away with the tree. The tree fell across the smaller sloth's waist: *aaaaa!* "Are you alright?" people asked. "*Piiiiii!*" the sloth whistled in reply. It was because the great tree fell across the sloth that he is the shape he is. His arms and waist were all squashed by the fall of the tree.

With the tree fallen the birds began to paint themselves up in the opossum's blood, painting themselves as if with annatto. The macaw dived in: *kopu!* The snake warner dived in: *kopu!* The *pishakami*: *kopu!* The cock-of-the-rock: *kopu!* The *dedemi* bird: *kopu!* The piping guan painted his eyes, his legs and his throat. All the birds got painted up. The wood quail, laughing, painted his eyes. The toucans came over: *bwwww!* "Oh, no!" The paint was already running out. Quickly they painted themselves. Kedoni painted himself a little. Penipenimi painted his beak, his legs, waist, and hair. Asupa, he too painted his beak and head a little, and so on. So all the toucans painted themselves up and all the other birds too.⁶⁷⁶

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 78–86.

Summary

Visiting girls lavish much attention on one man while they tease Opossum because of his bad smell. Envious, Opossum kills his rival, using magic darts. Later he feigns innocence but finally has to flee, pursued by people. They try in vain to fell tree in which he has taken refuge. After they cut vine which is holding up tree it falls. Birds paint themselves in Opossum's blood.

Motif content

A2210.	Animal characteristics: change in ancient animal.
A2213.5.	Animal characteristics from being struck.
A2217.1.	Birds painted their present colors.
A2411.2.	Origin of color of bird.
D965.	Magic plant.
D1402.1.	Magic plant kills.
D2061.	Magic murder.
F575.2.	Handsome man.
F687.	Remarkable fragrance (odor) of person.
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
K983.1.	Tree cut down to get at victim in top.

K1868.	Deception by pretending sleep.
K2000.	Hypocrites.
M149.3.	Vow to kill more successful rival.
Q411.6.	Death as punishment for murder.
Q422.0.1.	Punishment: beating to death.
R260.	Pursuits.
R311.	Tree refuge.
T27.	Unusual success in love.
T92.10.	Rival in love killed.
W181.	Jealousy.
W185.	Violence of temper.
W188.	Contentiousness.

133. The Blood of Opossum

Opossum had gone to visit a neighboring community. As he lay in his hammock, the way a visitor does, he noticed two very beautiful women. They were called Paraparayoma and Yamonamariyoma. Opossum desired them. During the night he used an aphrodisiac with the intention of seducing them. Early in the morning he left, heading for his own village. He was already far away when the two women managed to join him, having taken a shortcut through the forest. Opossum had sex with Paraparayoma, and then he continued on his way. Soon he halted and turned around to see whether the women were following him. Seeing that they were not coming he was put out, turned back, and again entered the house he had just left. He unrolled his hammock, hung it, and lay down. During the night the other woman joined him. She was very beautiful, and her name was Yamonamariyoma, Honey-Woman.

When it grew light Opossum returned straight home where he waited for the two women. He would go and squat outside on the old, hard trunks of fallen trees. Everywhere he sat he would impatiently tear off wooden fibers with his teeth, creating little heaps on the ground at his feet. When the women did not come he would return. Every morning he waited, hoping they would appear. Although the two women were supposed to join him for good, he lost all hope and stopped going out to wait for them. He thought: "Maybe they've simply deceived me." He said to Stinking Mushroom, his mother: "Mother, I'm going to fell a big tree. Yesterday I prepared the platform." "Go ahead." In the garden, all he

did was to press an urticant plant against the ground. As he was lazy he returned home without having done any work.

The two women walked without hesitation toward the bad man's garden. Some people working nearby noticed them and called: "Over here, over here!" The women reached the house. The fire where Opossum and Stinking Mushroom lived gave off a frightful smell. As Opossum was not there it was his mother who received the two visitors. From each of her thighs she took a large piece of flesh and offered it to them as food. "Eat this tapir meat," she said to them. "No, I won't eat," replied one. "I won't eat," replied the other. The fetid smell was unbearable, and the two women held their noses. While doing so they went and sat down by a neighboring fire. How beautiful their eyes were!

Finally Opossum came: *tok, tok, tok*. "Mother!" "What?" "Mother, the tree crushed the taro plants when it fell." "What a pity." He had only pushed an urticant plant to the ground. "Mother, mother!" "What?" "Did you offer them tapir meat?" "They didn't want any." "They're being finicky." Meanwhile the two visitors continued to hold their noses. Opossum wanted to make himself interesting; he rocked in his hammock, whistling. He rocked for a while, and then had an idea. "Mother, where is my saki monkey tail? I want to place it around my head." He did not remember that the tail always hung in the same place. It was an ugly tail, nearly hairless. He took it, arranged it around his head, and passed his hand over it to smoothe the bristling hairs. Then he poured some water on the ground and smoothed his hair with his wet hand. Again he began to whistle and to rock back and forth, pushing himself with his foot. "Mother, give them some tobacco so they can prepare a wad for me." He was probably thinking that the women already belonged to him. His mother threw them some tobacco leaves. "Prepare a wad," she ordered. The women gathered the leaves together nonchalantly. "Let's go and prepare it over there, by that fire," they decided. They got up and walked away, holding one another by the hand, intending to prepare the wad of tobacco. They came to a fire where there was a very beautiful liana hammock, decorated at each end with transversal stripes painted with urucú. Only a single hammock occupied the space. The owner was away, and the hammock was raised in the middle by a cord attached above it. "How good this house smells! Hurry up and prepare the tobacco!" The woman merely doused it carelessly in the ashes, and the tobacco was still "raw" when she formed the roll. She told a child who was standing nearby: "Go and give this wad to the one who is whistling and rocking himself with

his foot. Take him the tobacco." The child approached Opossum. "He! He!" Opossum looked at him briefly, then looked away. The child handed him the tobacco, but he pretended not to see it. Then the child placed the wad on the ground and left.

The two women were in the house of Honey (Yamona). They were happy as he approached. *Tok, tok, tok*. Honey appeared. Red lines undulated all along his body. He was dark-complexioned, and was tall and slim. Now he stretched out in the hammock with the transversal designs and bent his arm under his head. As soon as they saw him the women took a liking to him. "We'll stay here," they decided. They began to touch Honey's body. Furiously Opossum watched them from afar. In his anger he had placed one arm under his head and darted furtive glances in the direction of the women. Then he turned his back. "How annoying! I made them come here for nothing. Mother, mother, I don't want you to sit here, feeling sorry for me; tomorrow I'll take revenge," he decided suddenly. Honey was not going to remain long in the company of the two women.

Night had fallen. The women sat down on the edge of Honey's hammock. One of them stretched out against him, and soon the other took her place. Finally they fell asleep on top of him, lying close together. Opossum thought: "Go ahead, be friendly, it won't last." Tormented by resentment he was unable to fall asleep. When it grew light he said: "Mother, mother, wake up. You must not stay here and be afraid after what is going to happen." So saying he left, and went to where he kept his blowgun hidden alongside a tree trunk. In the spot where he was going to prepare the deadly substance to be used in his revenge he gathered the hairs of a rodent called *pēna*. He wrapped the poison with the cottony fibers of a certain tree and then he hid alongside the path. He had been on the lookout for quite a while when Honey appeared, wearing a sparrow skin pendant in each earlobe. He passed the spot where Opossum lay hidden. The moment he turned his back Opossum threw the deadly poison at him. He remained crouching where he was for a long time before leaving.

Lizard was preparing to gather honey. As the beehive he was after was stuck to a tree that was too big for him to climb up from the ground, he had climbed a smaller tree next to it and was now busy attaching a stick that was to serve him as a bridge. That way he would easily be able to reach the hive, which was just a bit higher up. Lizard's body was pressed against the tree trunk when Opossum shot a poisoned dart at him. It scratched his throat

slightly. "Who is 'blowing' on me? Opossum, could it be you who is attacking me for no reason?" He burned the bees that were flying all around him, opened the nest, and began to drop pieces of it on the ground. Then he nimbly slid down the trunk until he reached the base. "Eat the honey. The bees stung me so badly that my scalp feels like it's on fire. A dart scratched my throat." His throat had turned purplish-blue soon after the dart had grazed it. "Let's go. Have you eaten all the honey?" They returned to the communal house.

While they were eating the honey, Honey had returned home. The poison was already beginning to affect him and he was feeling very bad. In vain the shamans tried to cure him; he died. "What a misfortune, he was my kinsman! He was mine, and he was so beautiful!" lamented the dead man's relatives. Because of Opossum's poison, Honey's skin was covered with cracks.

When Opossum arrived he went to the two women who were sobbing, holding hands. He pressed himself against them and cried like all the others. In a voice that he tried to make pitiful he was now actually pretending that Honey was his brother and that the latter had promised him the two women: "How beautiful my younger brother is! He said to me: 'Don't allow anyone else to marry them!' He wanted to give them to me, his older brother!" He pressed against the two women, who moved away to avoid him.

Honey's corpse had grown black and swollen. A brown liquid was oozing from it when Lizard arrived. "What's going on?" They told him: "Someone threw a poisoned dart." Opossum performed a step of a funerary dance, raising and lowering his arms. Still, do not think that he was going to marry the women. "The guilty person doesn't belong to another community; he doesn't live somewhere else! It was Opossum who threw the deadly substance!" cried Lizard. Opossum became afraid when he heard this. "*Suku, suku, suku!*" he cried noisily. "What a great misfortune!" But he was gradually, furtively, moving off among the trees. He wanted to flee. Hearing the others express their sorrow over the dead man he was afraid. "How terribly sad! It's one of my own family that I'm burning!" lamented Honey's relatives, wailing loudly. Everywhere they were notching arrows with lanceolate points. This was happening in a region where the ferocious Waika live. While the people's attention was focused on the pyre that was being lit, Opossum furtively slipped behind the group of weeping women. When they untied the hammock in which Honey's body was resting and they all crowded around it, Opossum disappeared behind the house. He started to

run. Meanwhile they had placed the dead man in the flames and covered him with logs. Only then did they begin to be concerned with Opossum. "Where is he? Did you watch him?" They searched everywhere for him. "What a pity! He has fled!" they said.

Woodpecker climbed into a tree. But Opossum was already out of reach. Pressed against the tree trunk Woodpecker looked searchingly in all directions. "Look carefully everywhere!" they said to him. Opossum was already far away. "What if I were to fly; would they be able to catch me then?" he wondered. His fear caused feathers to grow on his body, and he flew off. He flew past them, very far in the distance, like a barely identifiable speck. "He's over there and he is flying!" "Watch him closely!" "Too bad, he has disappeared!" Woodpecker climbed a bit higher. "He's changing direction! What a pity, he has disappeared behind Teriopë Rock." Woodpecker climbed even higher. "He's visible again, near Mahihii Rock! He's losing altitude! He's crouching! He continues to fall! He disappeared behind Bamboo Mountain Rock!" Woodpecker climbed a bit higher still, wondering: "Won't he get tired?" He had now reached the top of the tree and was stretching his neck, without any support. "He has just disappeared behind Misty Rock. He's entering the rock! He's coming out again! Gradually he turns toward Moon Claw Rock! He'll certainly appear again." "Stay up in the tree," they told him. "He's coming out again and heading for Herōanapiwei Rock; I can barely see him. He's crouching. He's standing up again." Woodpecker was standing on the tips of his claws in the leafless treetop, stretching his neck in this and that direction. He said: "I'm in the very top of the tree; I can't climb any higher. Opossum is a tiny dot, moving toward Sipara Rock. He halts there! I'm just about exhausted. This time he has stopped for good. It's an enormous rock!" The tree in which Woodpecker was standing swayed in the wind and its clusters of leaves rustled. "Let's go to Sipara Rock. Women, boil some food! Take food with you!" ordered the old people. "Who will stay with my mother?" Everywhere the people could be heard making arrangements. "Oh, my poor son!" Stinking Mushroom was crying over her son. She was also crying from fear, for the others were showing hostility toward her. "My son. . . ." In her fear she turned into an ill-smelling mushroom and began to grow.

The following day all wanted to participate in the revenge expedition, and no one remained to grind the bones of the dead man. The funerary pyre had been reduced to tiny fragments of charcoal from which bees were going to be born. Nobody thought of tak-

ing the charred bones. "Let's go! Tie up the hammocks so we can carry them! We are sure to find him." The two women had been crying until morning. "My husband is really handsome!" At the moment when the people left the house the charcoal fragments buzzed and flew away, transformed into bees. They made their hive in the trunk of a tree, which from then on often contained honey.

"Let's travel silently," the people agreed. As they walked they passed numerous rocks. When dusk fell the old people spoke up and said to the young men: "Hunt some tinamous!" They ate, and then fell asleep. The dawn whitened the sky above the trees. They had already resumed their journey when Woodpecker said: "This is where I saw him the first time; this is where he appeared yesterday." They walked for two days, traveling far. Someone told Woodpecker: "Climb up into a tree and look around. You will say: 'He passed in front of this or that rock.'" Woodpecker scaled a rather tall tree which commanded a broad view of the area. "We're still very far away." They continued on in the direction of their goal. Again Woodpecker climbed up to look around the area. Very far away, downstream, the rock where Opossum had taken refuge was just visible. They began to walk again. Another night passed. "That must be the rock where he's resting," Woodpecker assured them. "Look!" He climbed up. "Listen, all of you, now we're getting there!"

Night fell again. They were beginning the final part of their long journey. They traveled one more day. When evening was falling they demanded that Woodpecker climb up one more time. "Observe! Look!" "Now we're very near. There's the rock, there it is! That's the rock in which he has taken refuge." At once they gathered to decide what to do. "He's probably still up there." "He's no longer there," growled Opossum, huddled inside the rock. "Who will climb up to block the entrance to the hole?" A newly grown liana clung to the upper part of the opening. Its lower end hung down to the ground. "Who can do it? Climb up on this liana!" "But it will break! You can see very well that it isn't sturdy." "It won't break, it won't break. It hangs in a good place and will make it possible for us to reach the hole."

There was Earthworm; he had arrived after the others. "Inside that rock?" he asked stupidly. "Go on, climb up and check the hole! Opossum is still up there!" "You climb up!" No one responded, no one dared to climb up that liana. Finally they grew angry. "Hurry up and climb! Are you afraid? He'll be killed." "You do it!" They were afraid, and would have liked to send Earthworm to do it. He was astonished: "Me? Should I take a pole with me?" Instead he picked up a very large stone. The men prepared a bark tumpline so that he

would be able to carry it on his back more comfortably while climbing the liana. "Also prepare a ring made of a liana, but don't make it too loose!" (A coiled liana placed around the ankles makes it easier to climb steadily.) "Won't the liana break?" He pulled on it as hard as he could. They reassured him: "It won't break; it's strong." "If I fall it will be your fault," retorted Earthworm.

Earthworm began to climb slowly and the liana tightened along its entire length. "The liana is straining under the weight of the stone," he said. "It won't break," they reassured him, "it won't break. When you climb down again it will be intact." He continued to ascend. But then he made a mistake: he bent down toward the ground and was nearly thrown off balance by the heavy burden he was carrying. "Don't bend over!" He continued his ascent. He was approaching the hole. "How about this stone which pulls me down!" He climbed, and soon found himself before the opening to the rocky gallery where Opossum was entrenched. "Opossum, the smelly one, is still inside the rock!" he informed the others. He and Opossum insulted each other; Opossum was certainly there. The large stone was near the opening, with the liana hanging just in front of it. Earthworm grabbed the stone and rolled it over his shoulders, thus plugging up the hole right away. "Look, I've done it! Hurry up and build a scaffold!" There were many of them on the ground who could work. "Build the scaffold over there!" "Here, my son!" The scaffold they built was shaped like an arc, stretching for kilometers on end all along the enormous rock. When they had finished it completely they said: "Come on, now let's attack the rock at its base." It was the partridge people who set to work on the task. "Climb up there quickly!" "My poor mother, what will become of you? I'm going to die," said Opossum. "All right, to work!" The partridges used their beaks as their tools; the beaks were like machetes. They attacked the rock at its base in order to topple it. But they were unable to make a serious dent in it; only small fragments fell off. Their implements broke as soon as they struck against the rock. A great clamor went up. It was on the left side of the scaffold that the implements broke; on the other side they remained intact. "What are we going to do?" "We'll pierce Opossum inside the hole in the rock." "That's no longer possible; the stone is solidly blocking the opening to the gallery. We won't be able to pull it away." They debated. "Be quiet!" They argued for quite a while. "Let's go!" They were at a loss what to do next.

Then Channel-Billed Toucan appeared. On his back he carried a large shiny machete. "Who are those people?" he wondered when he saw them. He moved toward them, pausing several times to ob-

serve them, and finally stood right next to them without being noticed. "Let's go!" they kept repeating, embarrassed. The rock was enormous. Unable to make a deep dent in it they were succeeding only in breaking off tiny flakes. Toucan had halted, with his gleaming machete on his back. No one had noticed his presence yet; they kept laughing and joking about the pitiful condition of their tools. The women were also laughing. Suddenly someone looked in Toucan's direction, and all turned their eyes on him. "What are you doing?" he asked. "Why are you striking the rock like that? Do you perhaps want to break it?" "It won't break. My tool is useless. I no longer have anything to use, and all the other machetes have been reduced to stumps." The blades had broken as soon as they struck the rock. Is the beak of the partridge not short and hooked? Even the macaw people's axes had had their edges bent. "That machete that you prefer to carry on your back, is it yours?" "Yes, it's mine, it certainly is." The blade, which was narrow near the handle, broadened toward the tip. "Very good, start cutting over here. I've been angered by a murder, and I intend to punish the perpetrator. That's why I'm striking the rock." "Really?" "A blowgun shot a poisoned dart at one of our relatives." "You really have cause to be angry!" "It was all because of ill will caused by a woman. Do you see those two over there? It was they who caused jealousy." "You really have cause to be angry." Toucan set down his arrows. "This is what must be done," he said. He began to survey the ground at the foot of the scaffold, bending down repeatedly to examine it. The scaffold went all along Sipara Rock. "Your father lives nearby?" "No, not near at all. I was hunting when I saw you, that's how I got here." "Go and fetch him; ask him to come and help us. Get going right away." *Tok, tok, tok.* . . . Toucan left.

He returned to his community and informed the people without delay. "They are angry because of a murder, and they want to punish the guilty man. Father, you're needed." "Really?" "Opossum aimed a blowgun at a handsome person. He shot him with a dart that carried a deadly substance." "What a misfortune!" Because all of them probably wished to transform, no one stayed behind. One after the other they set off immediately, carrying a large number of machetes. Their house remained deserted. In a short time they were near the rock. "There they are, over there." The man who had found the others while hunting guided the toucan people, leading them to the right place without getting lost or even hesitating. "Perfect, now we'll be able to take revenge," said Opossum's enemies upon seeing them arriving. The toucan women, beautiful and charming, had come in large numbers.

An old man pointed with his finger and ordered: "All right, hurry up! You over there, spread out over the scaffold on this side! Let's destroy this rock!" "We'll destroy it, no doubt about it!" "My poor mother! What will become of me?" moaned Opossum. Already the huge rock tottered under the blows aimed at it. "Watch out!" The enormous stone mass shook. Slowly it began to lean to one side, but then the movement stopped. A liana, firmly interwoven with the branches of a tree, was holding it. The tree, which was not very big, bent under the pressure. Now it was necessary to climb the tree and cut the liana, risking being violently thrown into the air when the tree was released and suddenly straightened up. They stood there indecisively. "What shall we do? Should we cut the liana?" "What to do?" "What to do indeed! It's impossible to climb up; it's too dangerous." The tree was leaning like the roof of a house.

As they debated back and forth indecisively they suddenly noticed the presence of Sloth, an ugly man whose back was covered with shapeless spots. He was squatting, his head resting on his crossed arms. Someone pointed to him and suggested: "Send that one!" "Hey, you! Lift your head, have courage!" "Be quiet, you just want to send me to do it. But it was you who came here to kill him." "Come on, come on! Climb up and cut the liana, go on, you!" "Forget it! I'll be killed; I'm afraid." On his back he carried a fragment of a blade with a handle which he kept there as he squatted. Now he pulled it out and placed it on the ground. "Quick! You must hurry! You can see for yourself that the liana is keeping the rock from falling. You hold on firmly and you cut it." "No way, I won't climb up; don't keep insisting." This was what he said at first. However, he stood up, broke a liana, and tied it into a ring to place around his ankles for the climb. "Where is my tool?" "You see very well that it is there, on the ground next to you. Hold on firmly while you climb." Finally he started to climb. "Hurry!" "I'm afraid." "Just cut the liana and don't think about it." "Let's forget about it; that liana frightens me." "Cut it quickly!" All the while Opossum was huddled on the bottom of the hole in the rock. "Hold on well!" "I'll let go of everything!" When he cut the liana the tree straightened up with a violent snap. The top struck against one rock, then another; it hit numerous rocks. Slowly Sloth descended. Opossum had been pulverized under the rock.

Bloody fragments lay scattered over the ground. The macaw people rolled around in them as the tree continued to sway. The blue and yellow macaws, the red macaws, all the animals colored themselves with blood. The Guianan cocks of the rock stained themselves all over, and the pompadour cotingas did the same. Because the in-

tact blood still was bright red they smeared it all over their bodies. On the leaves there were only slight traces of blood, but the partridge people delicately dipped their fingertips and daubed their eyelids and feathers. They placed the excrements and the brain fragments on some leaves, and Sloth, as the last one, painted light-colored stripes on his back.

"Let's go!" They gathered, and turned into *hekura* spirits. An old man first sent the toucans to live among the rocks. "You will live over there. You will live in that rock. You there will live in this one. You will live in this other one." He sent them all away, including the one who seemed like a mature and clever man. One after the other he sent them off. "You will all occupy rocks; from now on you will live in the rocks," he said to them.

Long ago no one lived in the rocks but from that time on they were inhabited by the *hekura*. It did not occur to the spirits to go there all together, all at once. Sloth lived in the rock of the Hanging Sloth.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Opossum kills Honey with poisoned dart, after two women whom he wanted abandon him for Honey. When people realize that he murdered Honey Opossum flees, with villagers in pursuit. Guided by Woodpecker they finally reach large rock inside which Opossum is hiding. Reluctantly Earthworm climbs up on rock to see whether Opossum is still there. People try in vain to destroy rock using their axes. Then Toucan arrives, and he brings entire toucan village to help. Rock nearly falls, held only by one liana. After much coaxing from people Sloth climbs up and cuts liana, and Rock falls, crushing Opossum. People (birds) paint themselves with his blood and then turn into spirits.

Motif content

A2210.	Animal characteristics: change in ancient animal.
A2217.	Appearance of animal from marking or painting.
A2217.1.	Birds painted their present colors.
A2343.3.+.	Why some birds have short beaks. (A2343.3. Origin of other features of bird's beak.)
A2411.	Origin of color of animal.
A2411.2.	Origin of color of bird.
D90.+.	Transformation: man to spirit. (D90. Transformation: man to different man—miscellaneous.)
D210.+.	Transformation: woman to mushroom. (D210. Transformation: man to vegetable form.)

D447.+.	Transformation: charred bone fragments to bees. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.)
D642.	Transformation to escape difficult situation.
D1355.3.	Love charm.
D1375.6.+.	Magic causes feathers to grow on person. (D1375.6. Magic object causes feathers to grow on person.)
D1402.+.	Magic substance kills. (D1402. Magic object kills.)
D1900.	Love induced by magic.
D2061.	Magic murder.
F402.6.	Dwelling of demons.
F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.
F575.2.	Handsome man.
F1041.17.	Extraordinary result of fear.
J610.	Forethought in conflict with others—general.
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
J647.	Avoiding enemy's revenge.
K730.	Victim trapped.
K914.	Murder from ambush.
K1395.	Seduction by giving aphrodisiac.
K2000.	Hypocrites.
Q411.6.	Death as punishment for murder.
R260.	Pursuits.
R310.+.	Refuge inside rock. (R310. Refuges.)
S116.	Murder by crushing.
S160.1.	Self-mutilation.
T70.	The scorned lover.
T75.2.	Scorned lover kills successful one.
T75.2.1.	Rejected suitors' revenge.
T92.10.	Rival in love killed.
W181.	Jealousy.

134. The Blood of Opossum

Long ago there lived a very handsome man. Two women who were in love with him ran away from their village to go and look for him. After stepping over the threshold of the house in which he lived they settled down by a fire which was located right next to the entrance. Usually those areas are occupied by despicable, dirty, or repulsive people. The living space where the two women had just sat down was precisely that of Stinking Mushroom and her son Opossum, and the place exuded a fetid smell. Opossum had gone off to work in the gardens so it was Stinking Mushroom who re-

ceived the guests. She offered them food which they refused, spitting disgustedly.

Yoreriyoma turned to a boy and said: "Little one, run to your father-in-law and tell him that two women have come to visit us." The boy went. When he got to the garden he shouted: "Father-in-law! Father-in-law!" "Ho!" replied the latter. "Father-in-law, come back quickly! Two women have just arrived where you live, and they went straight to your fire and sat down." "Are you speaking the truth? Don't give me false hopes." "No, father-in-law, I'm not deceiving you; they are really there. Two pretty women have come to see you." "Little one, go right away and fetch my saki monkey tail, my bird skins, my coloring ball, and my white down! Run and get me everything I need to decorate myself!" ordered Opossum.

When the boy had brought everything he had asked for Opossum painted his body and decorated himself with feathers. After he had finished he set off toward the house. Hoping to appeal to the women he put on airs: he whistled like a visitor as he approached his house, and planted his machete noisily in a pot by the fire. Then he asked his mother: "Mother, have you given the women something to eat? Did you offer them some food?" "I offered them food, but they refused and spat disgustedly." "Mother, I crushed the taro plants when I felled a tree." He was lying. He had only cut down a shrub, and the taro plants had not been destroyed. "Mother, ask these women to prepare a tobacco roll." "He! Prepare some tobacco for my dear son!" One of the women reached behind her back with one arm and without even looking took the tobacco handed to her. Carelessly and reluctantly she daubed the tobacco in the ashes and gave it the proper form by pressing it between the palms of her hands. Then she threw it in the direction of Opossum. The latter hung his hammock under the open sky in front of his living area, and to make himself appear interesting he rocked back and forth for a while, whistling. "Mother, did you give them meat?" "No, they refuse the food they're offered and only look away." Opossum tore off a piece of flesh from one of his thighs. "Mother, offer them this; it's tapir meat." "Here, eat some tapir meat," said Yoreriyoma to the two women.

Close by was the fire of Yēmonamariwë, fanned by a moderate wind. The man was there. He was dark-complexioned. The women noticed him. "Over there is the fire of the man whom we came to look for; this one is somebody else," they whispered. At once they got up to go over and lie down with Yēmonamariwë. One of them lay down against him on his right side, the other on his left. Seeing

this, Opossum became furious and said: "May night come quickly; may it be dark soon."

Night fell, but Opossum could not fall asleep. The laughter of the two women kept him from sleeping. Just before dawn he quickly prepared a deadly substance. He ground it into a fine powder which he hid in his armpit when he left the communal house. The first daylight was appearing in the sky. Just then Lizard, who was getting ready to collect honey, was finishing the scaffold which he was going to use to reach the bees and gather the honey. Opossum approached him, bent over. He had said to himself: "First I'll try the substance on Lizard." When Lizard moved from the far side of the tree, his body pressed against the trunk, Opossum shot a dart at him, grazing his throat. The substance used by Opossum to kill soon began to have its effect. For a moment Lizard remained hanging in the air by his feet, on the verge of falling. In spite of his uncomfortable situation he still had the presence of mind to identify his attacker. But Opossum was already leaving. Circling around in the forest he was able to join the small group consisting of the two women and Yēmonamariwë. He "blew" a second poisoned dart at the latter. Immediately the victim began to complain: "I'm shivering; let's return home."

Yēmonamariwë was dying, dragging himself along on all fours. The two women helped him walk, and they reached the house. Soon he died. A sudden clamor of grief rose up. Precisely at that moment Opossum entered the communal house where the dead man was being mourned. "What's going on?" "Don't ask; he was attacked by sorcerers while you were away." Opossum first threw himself into his hammock, delighted. Then he got up and walked toward the two grieving women who were weeping over the dead man like over a husband. While feigning grief, Opossum now pretended that Yēmonamariwë (whom he falsely called his younger brother) had asked him before he died not to let the two women go with someone else but to marry both of them himself. Opossum tried to approach the women who were dancing while weeping over the dead man, sometimes moving toward him, sometimes retreating and moving away. He would rejoice when they approached him and feel angry when they drew back. They were trying to avoid him.

When Lizard arrived he asked: "What's this?" "Sorcerers have attacked," they told him. He said: "Opossum is the guilty one!" Hearing Lizard accusing him Opossum became frightened, and suddenly pretended that he had to go into the forest. "Wait a minute, all of you, I'm going to relieve myself." Right away Woodpecker sus-

pected that Opossum intended to flee. He climbed up into a tree and sat pressed against the trunk while watching Opossum fleeing. "He has crawled into an armadillo's burrow," he announced immediately. "Now he's coming out again as fast as he can and is suspending himself inside a clump of dry leaves." Woodpecker climbed a bit higher to be able to follow Opossum as he fled. "He's beginning to run again. He's hiding under some pieces of rotting wood. He begins to flee again. He's hiding inside a heap of rocks." Woodpecker ascended still higher. "He has left again and is about to crawl into a hollow tree. He emerges again and goes and clings to the walls of another hollow tree." Having reached the very top of the tree Woodpecker stretched his neck. "Now he's again crawling into the burrow of an armadillo. He comes out again but is slowed in his advance by a stream which he crosses. Look, now he sets foot on land again. He's entering Sipara Rock."

All were convinced that Opossum would not go any farther and that he would remain stuck in that place. A crowd of ants gathered to go and avenge the dead man by killing the murderer. The journey took several days, and as they traveled they recognized the places described by Woodpecker during Opossum's flight. After an interminable journey they approached their destination, and soon they stood at the base of Sipara Rock. They told Earthworm to climb up and block the opening through which Opossum had entered the rock. Earthworm picked up a large flat stone which he placed on his back. It was held in place by a bark strap that went around his forehead. Although the weight of the stone was crushing his neck he listened attentively to the slightest sound in order to detect Opossum's presence. Earthworm dragged himself up with his burden until he was level with the opening in front of which a young liana hung, and he plugged the hole. "That's Earthworm climbing," grumbled Opossum. "There's Opossum, the smelly one," answered Earthworm in turn. "He's certainly inside there," he added.

The people gathered. Sipara Rock was very long. On one side it was flanked and in a sense continued by Kayapa Rock, and on the other side it extended over a distance comparable with that which separates us from the people of Ihirēmawē. The people spread out along the rock and the crested partridges said: "Build a scaffold here!" They set to work, but did not attack the rock at its base as they should have, for they wanted to transform. The crested partridges, the parakeets, and the macaws went at it hammer and tongs, but it was all in vain. They were not even able to make a serious dent in the rock, and their blows only broke off tiny fragments.

The tools with which they were chopping broke from the impact. Then they turned to Channel-Billed Toucan and Yellow-Beaked Toucan: "You two try." It was inconceivable to continue to strike the rock in the spot where the others had previously been working, so they placed the scaffold against the middle of the central ridge and attacked the rock there. Their blows broke off large chunks of stone, and soon the rock began to crack as if it were about to break. "I'm inside a tree root," shouted Opossum. But the rock was damaged, and the yellow-beaked toucans were hacking away on the opposite side. "My poor mother!" cried Opossum. The tools of the toucans became curved at the tip from striking the stone. Do the beaks of toucans not curve downward today?

"Go at once and fetch your relatives," they said to Channel-Billed Toucan, and he went off to call in the channel-billed toucan people to help. The yellow-beaked toucan also went to ask his relatives for help. Everyone arrived and extended the scaffolding all along the rock. Soon entire blocks broke off from their blows. "My poor mother," repeated Opossum. The rock teetered and began to fall, but was stopped by a liana that was clinging to the branches of a tree. (Our ancestors were the only ones who called that tree *kreari*.) From the pull exerted on it the tree bent toward the ground. "What shall we do now?" After thinking for a moment they noticed Sloth and told him to climb up and cut the liana. "Go on," they ordered him. Sloth made a ring with a liana to place around his ankles when he climbed. "Hold on tightly," they advised him. Sloth climbed up the tree and got to the bent part. When he reached the top he became afraid of the rock which towered above him. "Hold on firmly!" they repeated. "Keep your feet together! What a misfortune!"

Sloth managed to control the fear he felt and cut the liana, and the rock fell. Opossum was crushed, smashed to pieces, and his blood gushed out, spattering all around. The channel-billed toucans were the first to paint themselves with it. Meanwhile the tree, released from the liana that pulled it down, had straightened up violently and was now swaying from side to side in a wide arc. Sloth followed the tree in its movement back and forth, and that was how one of his knees knocked against Kashorawë Mountain, then Yëruṭha Mountain, then Tiyërii Mountain. The people all painted themselves with Opossum's blood, and when they had finished they were as if struck by amnesia, no longer knowing who they were or where they lived. Sloth descended from the tree and sat down slowly, stoically resting his head on his arms which were crossed over his knees. After a moment he painted himself around the eyes with splotches from

Opossum's brain. On his back, using substance from the spinal cord, he traced circles. All the people were transformed; they turned into *hekura* spirits. When the macaws and the parrots flew away Sloth climbed up into a tree without wasting a moment.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Opossum is visited by two beautiful women who, however, end up abandoning him for another man. In jealous rage, Opossum kills his rival. When Lizard informs villagers who murderer is, Opossum flees far away and takes refuge inside rock. People try in vain to destroy rock. Finally toucan people succeed, aided by Sloth. When rock falls Opossum is crushed. People paint themselves with his blood and turn into spirits.

Motif content

A2217.1.	Birds painted their present colors.
A2343.3.	Origin of other features of bird's beak.
A2411.	Origin of color of animal.
A2411.2.	Origin of color of bird.
D90.+.	Transformation: man to spirit. (D90. Transformation: man to different man—miscellaneous.)
D2000.	Magic forgetfulness.
F575.2.	Handsome man.
F687.	Remarkable fragrance (odor) of person.
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
J647.	Avoiding enemy's revenge.
K550.	Escape by false plea.
K730.	Victim trapped.
K2000.	Hypocrites.
Q411.6.	Death as punishment for murder.
R260.	Pursuits.
R310.+.	Refuge inside rock. (R310. Refuges.)
S116.	Murder by crushing.
S160.1.	Self-mutilation.
T55.	Girl as wooer.
T70.	The scorned lover.
T75.2.	Scorned lover kills successful one.
T75.2.1.	Rejected suitors' revenge.
T92.10.	Rival in love killed.
W181.	Jealousy.

135. The Fall of the Opossum

When there were still a lot of ancestors it was like this: during that time there were the opossum and the bee man. The bee man said: "Go get my small feathers, my earplug decorations, my macaw tail feathers, my down, and my wrapped annatto." The opossum ran and got the small feathers and earplug decorations and gave them to the bee man.

When the bee man returned home, lots of *pokola* bird people crowded around him, but they brushed the opossum aside. Because they brushed him aside, the opossum killed the bee man. Then the *uymy* snake poked his head out without being seen and heard the opossum crying. "U, u, u . . . but I don't really mean it," the opossum said as he cried. This is what the opossum said as the *uymy* snake was listening.

So the *uymy* snake said to the others: "That one over there killed the bee man with the magic *alawali* root. He was only faking when he was crying."

Then they called for some of the *lulinana* ant people, and immediately the opossum fled. The *lulinana* ant people followed the opossum's tracks, and they landed at Masa Caterpillar Mountain. From there they made him flee, and farther on the opossum climbed up the *wanini* tree. He climbed up, and the *lulinana* ant people chased him away again. They made him come down, and he dove right into a hole. They pursued him, and farther on he climbed another tree. They chased him up to the top of that tree. They made him flee again, and he climbed up the big *maikoi* tree. They caused him to climb the huge *maikoi* tree, and it was in that huge tree that he got fouled up. They cut down the tree right away. They cut down the tree with the opossum in it. The distant ancestors grew in number, and they cut down the tree with the opossum in it. There are still songs about the tree being cut down with the opossum in it. The distant ancestors said: "That's how you will be. That's how you will be. Because your machetes broke, that's how you will be." (I.e., the macaw's beak is still bent.)

They said to the sloth: "Go and bite off the vine," but the sloth stayed and frightened the opossum.

It was the *sinito* ant man who bit the vine in two. He bit off the vine that went to the sun. The *wasasi* people bit the vine. The sloth just stayed up in the branches of the tree without doing anything but saying: "Mmm, mmm."

After a long time they cut down the tree with the opossum in it, and the macaw quickly bathed himself with the blood. The jaguar bathed himself with the blood. The cock of the rock bathed himself with the blood. With that blood all the animals streaked themselves. The *manasi* guan smeared some of the brains on his throat. The *kulemy* guan dabbed blood and the brains on his throat. It was the opossum's blood that made the *pokola* bird's eyelids red and the curassow's beak red. The cougar bathed himself with the blood of the opossum.

It was at that time that the toucan men's heads got bent around. Their machetes got bent around so they went about with bent beaks and they went back home. The machetes of the macaws really got bent. That's how it was.

Informant: Sitiho

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

After opossum kills bee man in jealous rage he is pursued to his tree refuge and killed by people, who then daub themselves with his blood.

Motif content

A2217.	Appearance of animal from marking or painting.
A2217.1.	Birds painted their present colors.
A2343.3. +.	Why some birds have bent beaks. (A2343.3. Origin of other features of bird's beak.)
A2411.	Origin of color of animal.
A2411.2.	Origin of color of bird.
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
J647.	Avoiding enemy's revenge.
K983.1.	Tree cut down to get at victim in top.
K2000.	Hypocrites.
R260.	Pursuits.
R311.	Tree refuge.
W181.	Jealousy.

136. The Fall of the Opossum

During the time of our distant ancestors, the *samonama* bee girls arrived to visit where the opossum was living, but he was out working in his field. His son came and said: "Father, father, the *samonama*

bee girls are really pretty." So the opossum replied: "Since that's the case, go get my little white feathers for decoration." "They're really very pretty, father. They really smell nice," the son said.

He went back to the house, brought back the feathers, and gave them to his father. Then he put the feathers through his ears and returned to the house. He got in a hammock right above a really pretty *samonama* bee girl, and even though she covered her nose with her hand, the opossum dropped his earlobe plug and said: "Give me back my earlobe plug."

"You really smell bad, *hmm*," the *samonama* bee girl said in a low voice. But the opossum heard her and performed magic against her right away. He did not stop to think that this young woman was really good-looking. He killed her in this way, and then the opossum, faking, cried and said in a low voice: "U, u, u . . . but I really didn't mean it. U, u, u . . . but I really didn't mean it."

Now the *uymo* snake girl was right there listening. She went and told on the opossum, reporting that he had said: "U, u, u . . . I really didn't mean it. The bee girl was so pretty. U, u, u . . . I really didn't mean it."

Thereupon they caused the opossum to flee and chased him. They got the *lulinana* ant people to chase him, and they put the frightened opossum into a terrible plight. He dove into the hole of a rock, and they made him come out. Then they chased him up a big *maikoi* tree and called for the *pokola* bird people first, but their machetes broke and right away they had to make the sound of the *pokola* bird: "*Pokola, pokola.*"

Then they called for the macaw people next, asking them to bring their axes along. They chopped on the big tree, but their axes broke, and right away they started saying: "*Aa, aaa, aaa.*"

Then someone said: "How about the toucan people?" but just as they were about to arrive they got the wood-boring beetle man to saw the tree. The wood-boring beetle man's cutting instrument was the only one that did not break. The wood-boring beetle man was the only one who cut through the big tree, and only the little birds with the shining feathers got to take a bath in the blood of the opossum. The *hamau* bird dove right into the middle. The jaguar got to dab himself there where the bloody opossum was. The cock of the rock dove right into the middle. The *manasi* guan just got a little of what was left of the opossum's blood. The wife of the *hamau* bird only got a little of what was left of the blood. The toucans did not do as the others did, and when the big tree fell, even though they got down in there, they got less than all the others.

That's all.

Informant: Lapai

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

Opossum magically kills bee-girl for insulting him. People pursue and kill him, then bathe in his blood.

Motif content

A2217.	Appearance of animal from marking or painting.
A2217.1.	Birds painted their present colors.
A2343.3.	Origin of other features of bird's beak.
A2411.	Origin of color of animal.
A2411.2.	Origin of color of bird.
A2426.2.	Cries of birds.
D2061.	Magic murder.
F687.	Remarkable fragrance (odor) of person.
K983.1.	Tree cut down to get at victim in top.
K2000.	Hypocrites.
Q411.6.	Death as punishment for murder.
R260.	Pursuits.
R311.	Tree refuge.

137. The Fall of the Opossum

When the opossum killed the *samonama* bee girl, they chased after him. The opossum climbed up a big *maikoi* tree.

The wood-borer man was the only one who cut and ripped away at the tree. The *pokola* bird men started to cut the tree, but their machetes got stuck and broke and they had to say (the sound of the *pokola* bird): "*Tokolola, tokolola.*" So the wood-borer man ripped and cut.

The macaw man chopped on the other side of the tree but the tip of his axe got bent from chopping. He chopped on the other side of the bottom of the tree.

Over where the tree trunk was thick, the tips of their axes broke off and they started saying: "*Aung, aung, aung.*"

Over there they told the sloth to go up and chew off the sun (which was a vine), so he climbed up the tree. As he passed, the sloth taunted him: "You stink in that hole as I pass by." The opossum retorted: "Your rear end is going up and down as you pass

by." But the sloth passed on and put his mouth to the sun, but could not bite through it. He succeeded only in moistening it.

The squirrel started climbing up. He jumped from tree to tree, landed halfway along the sun, and ripped away. Then he jumped over to another tree, slid down, and said: "Ready!" Immediately the tree started cracking and fell with a roar.

One opossum dashed off. Another opossum started to run off, but before he could, they grabbed him and tore him apart. The deer landed right in the middle of the blood. The cougar landed right in the middle. The macaw landed right in the middle. The *manasi* guan got a handful of the brains which had spilled out and rubbed them on the top side of his wing feathers. He just spread the brains around and attached a piece of the skin of the brains to his throat.

There was only a little bit of blood left, and the toucan took just a small piece of the bloody skin and attached it to his throat where the red feathers were. The male toucan got only a bit that was left, smeared some red on the bottom side of his feathers, and rubbed a little of the brains on the top side of his feathers. He rubbed some of the brains on his throat. That is how it was. That is how the toucan people just got a little of what was left by the others. The cock of the rock landed right in the very middle. As soon as the opossum was ripped open, the cock of the rock got to go right into the blood.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

People kill opossum hiding in tree, and bathe in his blood.

Motif content

A2217.	Appearance of animal from marking or painting.
A2217.1.	Birds painted their present colors.
A2343.3.	Origin of other features of bird's beak.
A2411.	Origin of color of animal.
A2411.2.	Origin of color of bird.
A2426.2.	Cries of birds.
K983.1.	Tree cut down to get at victim in top.
Q411.6.	Death as punishment for murder.
R311.	Tree refuge.

138. Ñaroriwe

Ñaroriwe was a man. Once he went with Pöliome Ñamona Waro to fell trees. They used a stone axe. Ñaroriwe had poison. He blew it through a blowgun and killed his companion. The latter's brother Rehariwe found the murdered man. Ñaroriwe fled during the night and slept high up on the mountain. Rehariwe and Resimariwe pursued Ñaroriwe. They "felled" the mountain with stone axes. The mountain collapsed, and the two men killed Ñaroriwe. Then they painted themselves with his blood so that they became completely red.

Informant: Henrique

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 152.

Motif content

D2099.+.	Mountain destroyed by magic. (D2099. Miscellaneous destructive magic powers.)
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
Q411.6.	Death as punishment for murder.
R310.+.	Refuge on mountain. (R310. Refugees.)

139. Ñaroriwe and the Origin of Birds

Yamo Nama Varo was pursuing two beautiful girls, Hore-Tonyoma and Honya-Nyoma.⁶⁷⁷ He pursued them a whole day, and finally killed them by blowing poison at them. Afterward Yamo Nama Varo was killed by Ñaroriwe, who then fled. He went up into the mountains where he stayed. Tucano destroyed the mountains. They fell, and Ñaroriwe was crushed. He was dead. The men gathered the blood that poured from Ñaroriwe's mouth and painted themselves with it. As they did so they all turned into birds. All birds used to be people.⁶⁷⁸

Informant: Cölestino

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 152.

Motif content

A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
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A1900.	Creation of birds.
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D595.	Transformation by application of blood.
F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.
F831.3.	Poisoned arrows.

140. Mottled Owl Kills His Hunting Rival⁶⁷⁹

Mottled Owl⁶⁸⁰ killed Ocelot⁶⁸¹ over a toucan hunt.⁶⁸² It was not Black-Faced Hawk,⁶⁸³ it was Ocelot that was killed. Mottled Owl had gone with him to hunt toucans, and because he was furious that he himself kept missing them while Ocelot shot one after another he finally cut Ocelot's throat.

The two of them were sitting side by side on a platform set up in a large tree,⁶⁸⁴ waiting for the birds. Snake⁶⁸⁵ was waiting at the foot of the tree to skin the birds. They were hunting toucans, mealy parrots, red-rumped caciques, purple honeycreepers, paradise tanagers, and sprangled cotingas⁶⁸⁶ in order to make ornaments of the feathers and hides for themselves. However, Mottled Owl never managed to shoot any toucans or any other birds with his arrows, while Ocelot never missed a shot: *brikē! thikē! hēēē!* All the birds were brought down by his arrows: *wa tarai! brako! wa tarai! brako! wa tarai! brako!* Finally Mottled Owl in exasperation began to transform himself into a bird of prey. He approached Ocelot to attack him, calling: "*Krukrukrukru!*" But Ocelot drew back, fearful of falling down from the tree, and cried: "*Ha!*⁶⁸⁷ Don't do that! *Ushē! Ushē! Ushē!*⁶⁸⁸ Don't do that!" Mottled Owl controlled himself and stopped his threatening moves. Again they settled down side by side, on the lookout for birds. The same thing happened all over again. Mottled Owl tried in vain to shoot the birds which Ocelot ended up killing in front of him one after another: *wa tarai! brako! wa tarai! brako!* Mottled Owl grew angry again. He was a poor hunter; it was he who taught some Yanomam to follow his example to be bad hunters. Once more he began to turn himself into a bird of prey as a result of his anger. He transformed into an owl and this time he carried his attack through to the end. Calling: "*Krukrukrukru!*" he killed Ocelot by cutting his throat. Then he seized him in his claws and flew off with him far away: "*Krukrukrukru!*"

Snake, who had been present when it happened, immediately climbed up into the tree. From the top he stretched his neck as far

out as he could and maintained it rigidly like that above the canopy of leaves.⁶⁸⁹ He followed Mottled Owl's flight with his eyes and cried: "Oae!⁶⁹⁰ Over there! Over there!" Mottled Owl settled briefly on the mountain of Arimamakë⁶⁹¹ but soon left again. It was the mountain of Hakomakë⁶⁹² that he finally chose as his refuge: *hōōōō!* *tōrō!* These mountains are located at the source of the Ishoaa u.⁶⁹³ Mottled Owl entered a cave in the mountain of Hakomakë with his victim.

Snake had continued to follow Mottled Owl's route, and now he said: "Ha! That's where he went with his prey, right into the mountain!" He climbed down from the tree and went to tell the inhabitants of his communal house that Mottled Owl had killed Ocelot and had flown off to the mountain of Hakomakë with the dead body. The villagers set off in pursuit of Mottled Owl all the way to the mountain where he had found refuge in a ritual state of homicide.⁶⁹⁴ As they traveled they expressed their wish to avenge Ocelot: "Ha! Now we will eat Mottled Owl as he ate Ocelot! *ōōōō!*" Along the way Snake repeatedly climbed the trees to orient himself by stretching his long neck above the treetops. It was he who guided them: "There's the mountain! That's where he took refuge! There's the actual mountain in which he hid! That's where he ate his victim in a ritual state of homicide!"

Finally they reached the foot of Hakomakë and began their attempts to shoot Mottled Owl with their arrows. It was in vain. All tried to hit him but they did not succeed in shooting high enough and their arrows merely bounced off the rocks: *bro! tike! bro! tike! bro! tike!* "It's my turn to try! It's mine! Will I be able to hit him?" "*Hōōōō! Tike!*" No one was successful, and they laughed at each attempt: "*Ha ha ha ha ha!*"

After a long time the son of Scorpion⁶⁹⁵ passed by. Intrigued by their presence he asked: "Why do you keep shooting at the mountain?" They replied: "We are trying to kill Mottled Owl!" The animal ancestors who were gathered around Hakomakë showed him where Mottled Owl had entered the mountain: "That's where he is hiding! Up there!" Looking up at the summit he asked: "Do you want me to go and get my arrows?" They encouraged him: "Yes, go and get them! You try, too!" He went off and came back with some arrows to which he had affixed points covered with *yākōana*.⁶⁹⁶ The other people's arrows continued to strike the rocks with no result: *bro! tike! bro! tike! bro! tike!* Again they showed him Mottled Owl's hiding place: "He's up there! In that direction!" As he took aim they encouraged him: "Go on! Try! Kill him this time!" He thought: "I'm

the one who will make him fall!" Then he let the arrow fly: *thouuuuu!* But it merely struck the mountainside, breaking off part of it with the impact: *houuuuu! thaiiii!* He said: "*Ha!* It was the shaft of my arrow⁶⁹⁷ that hit the rock!" A huge piece of stone fell: *rrrrr! hō! tere!* His arrow had struck the rock and missed its aim.

Then he said: "Go and fetch my father! He alone will be able to hit Mottled Owl!" "All right, that's what we'll do," replied the other people. Quickly they set off to look for Scorpion: *shiri!* His son had warned them before they left: "Hit the side of the roof of his house and call him! That's the only way you'll get him to come!" Indeed Scorpion never rested in his hammock in full view; he always hid under the roof.

Finally they reached Scorpion's house and called him: "Father-in-law Scorpion!"⁶⁹⁸ "Father-in-law Scorpion! Are you awake?" He answered them with his call: "*Hai?*"⁶⁹⁹ *Siririririri!*" They explained the object of their visit to him: "Father-in-law! You must aim at the top of the mountain of Hakomakē and shoot Mottled Owl! He has eaten Ocelot! We are tired of shooting at him and missing! You try, too!" "*Siririririri!* Wait, I'll fix a cure⁷⁰⁰ point to my arrow," replied Scorpion. Then he came down from his roof—*siooooo! tarai!*—and they set off: "Let's go!"

They arrived just when the archers that were gathered at the foot of the mountain were again trying to reach Mottled Owl's hiding place with their arrows, but with no more success: *bro! tike! ha ha ha! bro! tike! ha ha ha!* He asked them: "What is it you are doing so obstinately?" They repeated their story to him: "Mottled Owl killed Ocelot and took refuge with his dead body in that mountain. Isn't it he that can be seen up there?" Scorpion had a look at the mountain and saw Mottled Owl: "*Hāo! Hāo!*"⁷⁰¹ After checking his arrowhead he bent his formidable bow and let the arrow fly: *bouuuuuu!* It passed the spot where his son's arrow had struck the rock and hit Mottled Owl, bringing him down: *thikē! houuuuuu! boui!* The men shouted triumphantly: "*Bei yō aē! Bei yō aē!*"⁷⁰² As Mottled Owl lay wounded on the ground they all shot him: *thai wa! thai wa! kosho wa! kosho wa!* That was how they killed him to take revenge while he was in the ritual state of homicide,⁷⁰³ hidden in the mountain of Hakomakē. This mountain, which was chipped by Scorpion's son, is still there, near the sources of the rivers.⁷⁰⁴ Only Scorpion finally succeeded in shooting Mottled Owl as he hid in the mountain; it was he who helped the animal ancestors take revenge on Mottled Owl who was in a ritual state of homicide. Then they ate Mottled Owl, for they were angry at him for having killed Ocelot.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Mottled Owl and Ocelot go hunting for ornamental birds together. Envious over Ocelot's hunting skill Mottled Owl kills him, turns into bird, and flies off to distant mountain with corpse. Alerted to his deed villagers pursue him to mountain, but fail to dislodge him with their arrows. Son of Scorpion also tries in vain. Finally they enlist help of Scorpion, who shoots Mottled Owl with poisoned arrow.

Motif content

A972.+.	Indentions on rocks from arrow. (A972. Indentions on rocks from prints left by man (beast).)
B16.3.	Devastating birds.
D153.2.	Transformation: man to owl.
F661.	Skillful marksman.
F679.5.	Skillful hunter.
F830.+.	Extraordinary bow. (F830. Extraordinary weapons.)
G353.	Bird as ogre.
Q411.6.	Death as punishment for murder.
Q491.	Indignity to corpse as punishment.
R260.	Pursuits.
R310.+.	Refuge on mountain. (R310. Refuges.)
S139.2.2.+.	Slain enemy eaten. (S139.2.2. Other indignities to corpse.)
W195.	Envy.

141. Enemy Sorcerers Turn into Coatis⁷⁰⁵

A group of Shamathari⁷⁰⁶ on their way back from a sorcery expedition⁷⁰⁷ ate some *shosho* fruits,⁷⁰⁸ which caused their noses to turn up and transformed them into coatis.⁷⁰⁹ The men ate these fruits while in an *unokai* ritual condition⁷¹⁰ of homicide. Lifting the fruits to their mouths in order to shell them they kept pushing against their noses, causing them to turn up.⁷¹¹ Do not coatis have turned-up noses?

These men were Shamathari who had killed a great Yanomam shaman during a nocturnal sorcery raid, and who were returning home in a ritual state of homicide. When they had put some distance between themselves and the village of their victim they gathered

again on the path⁷¹² as they were hungry and wanted to eat some *shosho* fruits and rest. As they kept raising the fruits to their mouths and shelling them with their teeth they repeatedly pushed their noses upward. Their noses began to curl upward and grow longer, and gradually the men were transformed. Increasingly frightened, they commented on their sudden transformation: "My nose has become like this! Is your nose the same?" "Yes, mine has become just like that!" "What about you?" "My nose is turning upward as well!" All saw their noses take the same form and all began to transform into coatis. They grew fur and a tail with black stripes, like that of the coatis, and their hands shrank. Dropping their bows and arrows they started to run as their transformation became complete. They began to climb trees and redescend with great alacrity—*houuuu!*—and ran around nervously letting out little cries: "*Hesssē! Hesssē! Hesssē!*" Up and down the trees they went—*hēēē! hōōō! hōhōhō! nē! nē! nē!*—running in every direction: *brouuu!* They had really turned into coatis, and fled far into the forest. They had killed a great Yanomam shaman, and in order to avenge his death his spirit helpers⁷¹³ had caused them to become coatis while they were eating *shosho* fruits as they were in a ritual condition of homicide. That was how it happened.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Great shaman is killed by enemy sorcerers. His spirit helpers avenge him by transforming killers in ritual state of homicide into coatis.

Motif content

A2335.2. +.	Why coati has a turned-up nose. (A2335.2. Nature of animal's nose.)
C230. +.	Tabu: eating after killing person. (C230. Tabu: eating at certain time.)
D110. +.	Transformation: man to coati. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D551.1.	Transformation by eating fruit.
D661.	Transformation as punishment.
D681.	Gradual transformation.
D2061.	Magic murder.
F403.2. +.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
Q211.	Murder punished.

Q551.3.2.

Punishment: transformation into animal.

142. Being Too Fond of Fruit Kernels

Some Waika had been invited to a feast. They were on their way in to participate in a funerary ceremony during which meat and *wapu* fruits would be eaten. While traveling to the house of their hosts they found *shosho* fruits that had fallen by the side of the path. They said: "We'll gather them when we return, and then we'll rest here and eat the kernels along with the *wapu* fruits which they are going to offer us." However, they were never to eat the *wapu*.

When they arrived in the community to which they had been invited they performed the presentation dance. It was already late, and night fell quickly. They took part in the *wayamo* ritual until dawn, after which the adult men from the communities represented gathered to exchange goods and to chat. The oldest of the hosts ordered baskets full of *wapu* fruits to be placed before their guests, and also baskets full of smoked meat.

The time for departure came. "Brother-in-law, get ready quickly; we'll stop on the way to eat. Let's leave right away! Go on, the time has come to leave." The women went first, one behind the other, carrying the food. The men remained behind for a moment to talk. The guests promised to reciprocate. One of them raised his hands, showed his spread fingers, and stated: "I who stand here, when this number of nights has passed, and no later, I will invite you in turn. When the bananas hanging in clusters in my garden are ripe I will do for you what you have just done for us; I will let you eat bananas." But it was the last time that they talked together. They were never to see their house again; they were going to be transformed.

All the Waika set off together. The women were the first to arrive at the spot where the *shosho* fruits had fallen on the ground. "Let's gather them, let's gather them!" They gathered the skinless shells that lay scattered on the ground. Using sticks the men broke the shells with great difficulty; that was how hard they were. The kernels were so firmly stuck to the shells that it was impossible to extract them. "These kernels are really tough!" They bit into the kernels and tried in vain to detach them by pulling with both hands. They pulled so hard that their noses became deformed. The first to have his nose injured was a young man. He was the first who

shouted: "I've just hurt my nose!" All the others injured their noses in the same way, one after the other. "I've just hurt my nose! I've just hurt my nose!" they all exclaimed, even the women. All their noses were turned up. "My nose is a mess!" They had insisted on wanting to extract the difficult kernels, and now they could be heard complaining.

While the people were busy gathering the fruits and breaking the shells an old man had been resting in his hammock stretched between two trees. He, too, was working to extract a kernel from its shell. "I've just hurt my nose!" he also cried. Then the Waika began to run in all directions in the form of coatis. The old man jumped from his hammock to a tree and remained motionless midway up the trunk, transformed into a termites' nest. There is the house of the *hekura*! That is what happened; our ancestors were transformed.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

During return journey from feast, travelers are transformed into coatis while working to extract kernels from shells.

Motif content

- | | |
|---------|---|
| D110.+. | Transformation: man to coati. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).) |
| D200.+. | Transformation: man to termites' nest. (D200. Transformation: man to object.) |

143. Being Too Fond of Fruit Kernels

Some people had nearly reached the end of their journey through the forest. Traveling along a ridge they were getting close to us. That was when they found some *rua* fruits that had fallen to the ground. Each person said in turn: "My daughter, fill your basket and then pour out the fruits next to me. I'm hungry; I'll eat the kernels with plantains." They broke the woody shells, but the kernels were firmly stuck to them. Trying to pry them loose they pulled with all their might, from the bottom up. That was how they broke their noses, one after the other. Only an old man was left. He had hung his hammock between two trees and like the others was straining as hard as he could to pull out a kernel with his teeth. "I've injured my

nose!" he said, as the other people had before him. They had torn the skin on their noses in the worst way. It was so frightening that all climbed up into the trees. No sooner had they done so than they turned into frogs. An invalid who had been carried by others was transformed into a giant toad. Unable to move he remained on the ground, and they gave him the name of *yoyo*.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

D195. Transformation: man to frog.

D196. Transformation: man to toad.

144. The Fall of the Peccary⁷¹⁴

It was when many of the ancestors were climbing up a vine that they transformed into animals.⁷¹⁵ The peccaries and spider monkeys that Omao was about to create, these animals climbed up a large liana.⁷¹⁶

It was the spider monkeys who climbed up first with the howler monkeys, white monkeys, and kinkajous. They climbed high up the vine, high, high up. All those animals with grasping hands, it was their ancestors who first climbed up the vine. Following them came the agoutis. The pacas then climbed up also, then the collared peccaries, and the white-lipped peccaries; and finally the huge tapir began to climb up too.

The vine snapped: *selulo! blo!* The peccaries crashed back down to the ground. *Nanananananana! blublululululu! eu! eu! eu! eu!* they went as they rushed off in all directions. And in another direction the deer all ran off: *hwwww! ha! tî! tî! tî! tî!* They had become deer! Then the *picure* ran off too. *Huku! ku! ku! ku! kuhe! kuhe! kuhe! gli! gli! gli! gli!* they went. And the mice also fell to the ground; transformed, they rushed about all over the place. The collared peccaries and the white-lipped peccaries scattered in all directions toward the places where the Sanema now live. They all ran off on all fours to all parts of the forest.

The spider monkeys and all the others that had remained up above, they also transformed. They became clambering animals. And all these the Sanema kill for the pot; they are found in areas where the Sanema live, just as the peccaries and tapirs on the

ground went off to areas where the Sanema live and became game.

It was the huge tapir that snapped the vine. Thus the peccaries became transformed: from being Sanema they became peccaries.⁷¹⁷

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 86.

Summary

Climbing up vine, primeval Sanema turn into animals. Vine snaps, and animals fall to earth and run off in different directions.

Motif content

- | | |
|--------|---|
| A1710. | Creation of animals through transformation. |
| A2433. | Animal's characteristic haunt. |
| D100. | Transformation: man to animal. |

145. Transformed into Peccaries

Early in the morning they climbed up a liana that was hanging from a tree whose fruits they wanted to eat. Many *saki* monkeys climbed up along with spider monkeys, howler monkeys, and Capuchin monkeys. There were many of them, all holding onto the liana. Tapir also climbed; long ago he, too, used to move about in the trees. The tree-dwelling animals climbed ahead of all the others.

The Yanomami men followed in a crowd, and it was clear that the liana was going to break. That was exactly what happened at the moment when they reached a forked branch. The men fell and turned into peccaries, and as peccaries they walked one behind the other, grunting.

The ancestor of the rufous-winged ground cuckoo ran, taking a shortcut through the forest to join the peccaries. The latter gathered in a herd, accompanied by the song of the brown tinamous. "*Yōrērē, yōrērē,*" said the brown tinamous. Channel-Billed Toucan had remained behind, and now he flew toward the severed liana that was still swinging and perched on it. "*Yaukwē, kwē, kwē,*" he sang.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

- | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------|
| D114.3.1. | Transformation: man to peccary. |
|-----------|---------------------------------|

146. Transformed into Peccaries

A group of Waika were participating in a war expedition. On the way they found some flowers and wanted to eat them. They gathered, and one of them said: "Blacken your faces! This time we'll really kill them!" They were promising to kill their enemies, but they were to be prevented from doing so by the liana that broke. "Come and eat flowers; there are a lot of them and they are succulent." "Older brother, come over here and eat; the flowers are tasty." They all climbed up the liana that broke. Then they fell, and turned into peccaries.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

D114.3.1. Transformation: man to peccary.

147. The Creation of Peccaries⁷¹⁸

A bank of *cuxiú-negro*⁷¹⁹ monkeys fell from a tall tree. After unsuccessful attempts to climb up again they turned into peccaries.⁷²⁰

Informant: Hewemão

Source: Becher 1974, p. 32.

Motif content

A1710. Creation of animals through transformation.
 A1871.2. Origin of peccary.
 D411.5.+. Transformation: monkey to peccary. (D411.5.
 Transformation: monkey to other animal.)

148. The Wasps and the Origin of the Peccaries⁷²¹

After some Yanomam had been in the cold, wasps came, and they turned into white-lipped peccaries.⁷²² There was no sun, and day-

light no longer came. People had run out of firewood completely, and they no longer had fire. They were numb with cold and trembled uncontrollably, while repeating: "I'm cold! I'm really very cold! *Asiatakë aaaaa!*"⁷²³

Then an enormous swarm of *shiiwarinakë* wasps⁷²⁴ moved toward them: *houuu! heiiiiibë! wa këshi! wa këshi!* The wasps stung them all over their backs. Mad with pain the people began to turn into peccaries. Although they were Yanomam they turned into peccaries. In fact peccaries still have a kind of large boil⁷²⁵ on the back; that is the mark of the stingers of the *shiiwarinakë* wasps. After they had stung the Yanomam everywhere the people tried to soothe the pain from the stings by rubbing their bodies with the ashes from their dead fires: *sheki wa! sheki wa! sheki wa!* Do the white-lipped peccaries not have a grayish coat today? That is because of those ashes! Little by little the Yanomam began to transform because of the wasp stings. Their cheekbones swelled. In a state of excitement they started to run in all directions. They bent down toward the ground, and their feet shrank and began to separate. Then they gathered and fled. Although they were Yanomam they turned into white-lipped peccaries, from the pain of the wasp stings. They became peccaries and fled far away. Since that time we eat those people who turned into peccaries, although they were Yanomam. After they fled it was Scorpion who hid them to keep them.⁷²⁶

Informant: Buushimë

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Primeval Yanomam transform into peccaries after being stung by wasps.

Motif content

A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A1871.2.	Origin of peccary.
A2356.2.+.	Why peccary has hump on its back. (A2356.2. Origin of shape of animal's back.)
A2412.1.6.	Why peccary has spots.
D114.3.1.	Transformation: man to peccary.
D560.+.	Transformation from pain. (D560. Transformation by various means.)
D681.	Gradual transformation.
F962.10.	Extraordinary mist (darkness).

149. Scorpion, Mottled Owl, and the Dispersal of the Peccaries⁷²⁷

After some Yanomam were transformed into white-lipped peccaries because of the pain caused by wasps' stings⁷²⁸ it was Scorpion⁷²⁹ who hid them. It was he who owned them. He kept those Yanomam who had recently been transformed into peccaries in a large hole in the ground. They had entered the hole in a state of exaltation induced by their transformation. He kept them shut up there, well covered by a door, a kind of lid.⁷³⁰ Nobody could see their footprints on the forest floor. Once in a while he would open it and let out one animal, only one, in order to let it run in the forest so he could shoot it with an arrow. He did not want to give them away. He was thinking: "They won't last!" Scorpion was the keeper of the peccaries, and those were his thoughts. He would let the peccaries out one by one. In those days there was no game; there were no peccaries in the forest.

Finally one day Mottled Owl⁷³¹ asked him: "Scorpion! Where are you hiding the peccaries? We can't see their tracks in the forest." Scorpion did not answer, but Mottled Owl followed his trail and discovered the peccary hiding place. As Mottled Owl was a poor hunter Scorpion advised him: "Try to kill only one!" The hole was closed. Removing the cover Mottled Owl thought: "I'll let one out and shoot it. I'll kill one and carry it away." He opened the cover, made the animals run—*houuuuuu!*—and bent his bow. But he was a poor hunter, and instead of letting one peccary out he let them all escape. As soon as they emerged from the hole they gathered to form a very large band and, although Mottled Owl tried to shoot them—*thai wa! thai wa! thai wa!*—he failed. Despite his arrows they were far too numerous, and scattered in all directions. They dispersed everywhere, transformed into game animals of the forest, and multiplied.⁷³² Although they had been Yanomam like myself they turned into peccaries because of the wasps. Scorpion was furious because all his peccaries had fled, and he transformed forever into a gray scorpion. Mottled Owl did not transform into an animal. He went away, and later he attacked somebody while hunting small birds.⁷³³ That's all.

Informant: Buushimë

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Scorpion keeps peccaries in hole underground. Mottled Owl accidentally lets them all escape to forest where they multiply.

Motif content

A1421.	Hoarded game released.
D114.3.1.	Transformation: man to peccary.
D180.+.	Transformation: man to scorpion. (D180. Transformation: man to insect.)
D560.+.	Transformation from pain. (D560. Transformation by various means.)
N440.+.	Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)

150. Tapir Becomes an Animal That Lives on the Ground

The tree-dwelling animals had climbed up first, and Tapir was among them. After them others climbed in a crowd, while still others waited on the ground to follow them. They probably wanted to be transformed. Suddenly, just when the cluster of human climbers was about to reach a forked branch the liana on which they were hanging broke, and they fell and were transformed into peccaries. The rufous-winged ground cuckoo cut through the forest to catch up with the peccaries which were moving quickly, and then he accompanied them, walking alongside. Jumping from branch to branch the little black squirrel showed the *saki* monkeys how to move rapidly. The spider monkeys were also created on this occasion; their calls could be heard right away. They went in another direction.

Tapir had remained behind, perched awkwardly in a *kahu* tree for which he was much too heavy. The tree swayed under his weight. Tapir ventured onto a branch that was longer than the others, and it bent. Then he changed to another branch. The tree was swinging back and forth. The *horoeti* tree is fragile, and its branches break easily; yet this was the tree to which Tapir wanted to move. No sooner had he settled on a branch than it broke. Tapir fell heavily, and cried with pain. When he got up he walked away, pulling at the lianas to eat their leaves. Since that time Tapir walks on the ground. That was how everything happened.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A2433.1.+.	Why tapir lives on the ground. (A2433.1. Establishment of animal haunt.)
A2433.1.2.	Animals change their type of dwelling-place.
D100.	Transformation: man to animal.

151. The Creation of the Tapir⁷³⁴

A *cuata* monkey⁷³⁵ fell from a tall tree and could not climb back up. After several vain attempts he was transformed into a tapir.⁷³⁶

Informant: Hewemão

Source: Becher 1974, p. 32.

Motif content

A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A1889.1.	Creation of tapir.
D411.5.+.	Transformation: monkey to tapir. (D411.5. Transformation: monkey to other animal.)

152. Samariwe

Samariwe went around in the forest. He abducted a maiden called Niipe-Ñoma and climbed up the mountains with her. But then he fell down and broke his neck. Samariwe was dead, and so was Niipe-Ñoma. Today, the Yanoname eat the *niipe* fruits which grow in the spot where Niipe-Ñoma died. From Samariwe came the tapir (*sama*).

Informant: Henrique

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 152.

Motif content

A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A1889.1.	Creation of tapir.
A2611.0.1.	Plants from grave of dead person or animal.

- D110.+. Transformation: man to tapir. (D110. Transformation:
man to wild beast (mammal).)
R10.1. Princess (maiden) abducted.

153. Porcupine, Armadillo, and the *Naikē* Flowers⁷³⁷

Porcupine⁷³⁸ alone owned the *naikē* flowers⁷³⁹ and the other people did not know. He had made them grow and was the only one who ate them. However, the purple honeycreeper people, the crested oropendola people, and the red-rumped cacique people⁷⁴⁰ discovered where they were hidden. They were moving about in noisy groups while looking for food—*shisha! shisha! shisha! shisha!*—and saw the flowers. In those days the red-rumped cacique people did not know that *naikē* flowers could be eaten. They tasted them and exclaimed: "*Houuu!*"⁷⁴¹ Aren't these flowers edible?" In fact they noticed that the flowers were very sugary.

They returned, went to see Porcupine who had hidden the flowers—*shiriwai! shiriwai! shiriwai!*—and began to question him: "Father-in-law!"⁷⁴² What are these flowers? Aren't they edible? They are really very abundant!" They insisted: "Father-in-law! Aren't those flowers edible? They really taste very good! They are very sugary! Let's eat them!" Finally, faced with their insistence, Porcupine named the flowers: "*Nai! Nai! Nai! Nai! Nai!*" The red-rumped cacique people approved noisily (are these birds silent now?): "*Oae!*"⁷⁴³ *Heishobē!*"⁷⁴⁴ That's their name! Father-in-law has called them *nai!* That is the name of this food! *Hōōō! Sha! Sha! Sha! Sha!*"

They decided to gather *naikē* flowers in large quantities, saying: "Tomorrow we'll eat this food!" At dawn they traveled, one behind the other, to the *naihi* trees. There they split up into as many groups as there were trees and climbed up into the branches—*hou! bra wa! hou! bra wa! hou! bra wa!*—while exhorting one another: "This is where we are going to eat! *Aē!* This is where we are going to eat! *Aē!* They scattered everywhere in the trees, here, there, on the other side, over there, in order to eat and gather *naikē* flowers. But first, sitting at the foot of the trees, they quickly made *sakosi* baskets⁷⁴⁵ to put the flowers in: *hī! shore wa! shore wa! shore wa!* They made their baskets very fast: *sheri wa! sheri wa! sheri wa!*

Armadillo,⁷⁴⁶ who was with them, also pretended to be making a basket. The red-rumped cacique people plaited the sides of their baskets very quickly,⁷⁴⁷ making large links—*shore wa! shore wa! shore wa!*—and when they considered them high enough they bit off the strands with their teeth. Armadillo, on the other hand, took a long time, tightening the strands in parallel fashion. Finally they asked him: "Have you finished your basket?" Every time he just answered: "I'm not done yet! I'm not done yet!"

When the red-rumped cacique people had finished theirs they immediately climbed into the *naihi* trees: *hou! bro wa! hou! bro wa! hou! bro wa!* Later they thought of quenching their thirst: "Sssssi! I'm thirsty! The *naikë* flowers are growing scarcer! *Sha! Sha! Sha! Sha! Sha!*" They climbed down: *sheuuu! thikë!* Seeing Armadillo still working on his basket they said to him: "You really want that basket, that's why you don't hurry!" He was advised how to finish it: "Make an openwork basket, like mine, look!" One of the red-rumped cacique people showed him how to go about it: "Look! This is how you should net the sides of your basket! With large links!" He plaited the basket quickly—*shore wa! shore wa! shore wa!*—and then added: "Place the strands in this way, separately, one above the other, and make the sides like that! Do it the way I do it!"

Then they let Armadillo continue alone. Although they had shown him how to plait his basket, he continued to tighten the strands closely together. They climbed back into the trees, thinking that they had taught him how to make the *sakosi* basket. However, later when they came down from the trees again they saw that Armadillo was still making his basket by tightening the strands closely together, with no space between them. The long basket he had plaited had fallen over and folded, and Armadillo had disappeared into it. He was being transformed into an armadillo at the foot of a *naihi* tree. That was how he turned into a game animal. His tightly woven basket became his carapace; his head, which was farthest in, became pointed; and he developed ears. Then he plaited the long loose strands at the top of the basket to form his tail. When the red-rumped cacique people saw him like that, stitched into his basket and turning into an armadillo, they killed him. They were Yanomam who bore the name of those birds, the ones with the red rump. They killed him and ate his flesh together with *naikë* flowers.

When they were full and when the shell of the armadillo was finished it was Porcupine's turn to transform. While the red-rumped cacique people went on eating and collecting *naikë* until there were none left, he had taken refuge in a hollow tree also to eat flowers. At first they thought that he had long since climbed down from the

tree where he was, but then they saw him hiding in his hole. It was Hwëunari,⁷⁴⁸ his companion, who was the first to discover him. The flowers had all been picked. Hwëunari decided to go and drink some water, thinking: "Porcupine is probably back by now. I'm very thirsty; I'll climb down and drink!" He descended, and suddenly saw in a hole in the tree Porcupine's head with its spiky, whitened hair. He was turning into a porcupine. Is the porcupine not covered with white spines? "There he is! So that's where he hid!" Hwëunari immediately called his companions: "Porcupine is hiding in a hole here! *Aë!* Porcupine is here! *Aë!*" At first they did not understand him: "*Hai?*"⁷⁴⁹ He called again: "Porcupine is hiding here in a hollow tree! Here! *Aë!*" The red-rumped cacique people began to descend in turn: *shiri! wa thikë! shiri! wa thikë! shiri! wa thikë!* They asked: "Where is he hiding?" Hwëunari pointed out the hole to them: "This is where he crawled in! He has hidden in that hole, over there!" They exclaimed: "Let's kill him! *Aë!* Let's kill him! *Aë!*" The remaining red-rumped cacique people came down from their trees and asked: "What is he doing?" All of them finally killed him. He had turned into a porcupine and was covered with long spines. The people removed his spines by scraping them off with a piece of wood: *yake! yake! yake!* They did not throw away his body but ate him. They cut him up as they had cut up Armadillo after he had become an animal, and ate him along with *naikë*, giving his wife her husband's hind-quarters with some flowers.

Do not say that these people were Yanomam! It happened because they kept transforming. They did not know anything, and used to eat one another. They did not observe mourning and did not weep over their dead. That is how the people were long ago. They used to turn into animals, and simply did not know at all the way to behave. Those ancestors were Yanomam, as we are. They were not animals; they did not have wings! They were transforming because in those days the whole forest was transforming. All the ancestors kept turning into animals, and those ancestors are here now! Today we eat those ancestors from the early times, when we Yanomam did not exist! They are animals: toucans, spider monkeys, armadillos, tapirs, giant anteaters, and jaguars.⁷⁵⁰ That is what they are. I know, and that is why I am saying it. They were Yanomam, and turned into animals. That is how it was.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Primeval bird people discover edible flowers that Porcupine has kept hidden, and all go to pick them. Armadillo takes so long to weave basket for carrying flowers that he turns into animal and is killed and eaten by his companions. Then Porcupine in turn transforms into animal, and they devour him as well.

Motif content

A1420.+.	Discovery of edible flower. (A1420. Acquisition of food supply for human race.)
A2650.	Origin of flowers.
A2781.	Origin of plant names.
D100.	Transformation: man to animal.
D681.	Gradual transformation.
G70.+.	Flesh of person transformed to animal eaten. (G70. Occasional cannibalism—deliberate.)
P210.+.	Wife eats flesh of slain husband. (P210. Husband and wife.)
R311.	Tree refuge.

154. The Stingy Porcupine

During those days, when the Waika were having a festival, there were some *nay* fruits on a tree hidden away out there, and the small *hopy* porcupine habitually came back home very full. This went on and on. When the fruits were all gone and there were only a couple of clusters sticking out, he broke them off and returned home. When he returned he said: "Hey, there is a big *nay* fruit tree out there in the forest. Eat the fruits."

The Waika said: "Let's eat the fruits. Let's eat the fruits," and quickly they all ran off. Since the Waika were going to eat the fruits, a big group of young women ran off and left the house empty. Then the small *hopy* porcupine said: "This is the tree," so they climbed up. They climbed up the *wale* peccary vine.

There were lots and lots of them that climbed up the vine to get to the tree, and as they were climbing up, the middle of the vine broke. Down they fell and immediately they became peccaries and snorted: "*Ne ne ne ne ne!*"

Those who were sitting up there in the *nay* tree said: "It is evident that our uncle, the *hopy* porcupine man, was really stingy with the

nay fruits." Even as they said this, they became woolly monkeys and went up in the trees making the sound of woolly monkeys. Others up there said: "It is evident that our uncle, the *hopy* porcupine man, was stingy with the *nay* fruits," and even as they said this, they became spider monkeys and went into the trees making the sound of spider monkeys.

Meanwhile, on a branch on the other side of the tree where the *wale* peccary vine had broken, others became coatis (genus *Nasua*) and ran away in another direction making the sound: "*Ks ks ks ks ks ks ks ks ks, kau kau kau.*"

Spider monkeys went off in one direction and woolly monkeys in another. Capuchin monkeys started going along a branch on the other side of the tree.

At that time they separated and really scattered. The *hopy* porcupine man, on the other hand, turned into a porcupine and stayed in a hole up in the tree. That's the way it was with the *hopy* porcupine.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

While looking for fruit hoarded by stingy porcupine, people turn into many kinds of animals.

Motif content

A2432.4.	Porcupine's dwelling.
A2433.1.	Establishment of animal haunt.
D110.+.	Transformation: man to coati. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D110.+.	Transformation: man to porcupine. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D114.3.1.	Transformation: man to peccary.
D118.2.	Transformation: man (woman) to monkey.
W152.	Stinginess.

155. Eating Flowers

It was Coendou who discovered the *naï* flowers. He used to go and savor them secretly. The others did not know that these flowers

were delicious and paid not the slightest attention to them. Coendou was the only one who ate them, and he made sure he did not tell anyone. Still, it was he who would introduce the flowers to them.

One day someone asked him: "Father-in-law, father-in-law, what are those flowers that are blooming? Are they good to eat? What can they be?" Coendou did not answer, but brought home a basketful of them. "Father-in-law, what's in that basket that you've got hanging there?" They questioned him in vain; he was in no hurry to answer. However, eventually he revealed the name: "Those are *naï* flowers; eat some! These flowers are called *naï*. There are a lot of them, and they are tasty." Everyone went to the trees and began at once to eat the flowers. The macaw people were eating. "Mine are succulent." They climbed up into the trees and cut the branches to gather the flowers more easily. They had already been eating for quite a while when they were transformed into blue-headed parrots. Because they were making a terrible racket, Coendou climbed into a tree and turned into an animal. From then on he lived in hollow trees, in fact, in the hollow trunks of the *naï* trees.

All the people were transformed into birds. Some became *wakokoami* birds, others blue-headed parrots. Those who turned into crested partridges were eating the flowers that had fallen around the base of the trees. "Gather the flowers and eat them." The ones who spoke these words became tinamous.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Man introduces people to tasty flowers. While they eat they all turn into birds.

Motif content

A1420.+.	Discovery of edible flower. (A1420. Acquisition of food supply for human race.)
A2432.4.	Porcupine's dwelling.
D110.+.	Transformation: man to porcupine. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
W152.	Stinginess.

156. Transformed into Armadillos

A small black squirrel was weaving an openwork basket. Another had preceded him in the same spot and had jumped up into the tree where he was now eating fruit. "Is it you down there, brother-in-law?" asked the one who was in the tree. "Yes, it's me." "Come and eat some fruit, they're succulent. When you've finished your basket, come here and eat some." "In a minute. Eat first; I'm plaiting a basket. I'm busy making a basket." "All right, hurry up with it and then come and eat; they're really very tasty." The basket maker made the woof of the basket, and then he plaited the warp so tightly that his work took forever. The other squirrel grew impatient and climbed down from the tree where he was sitting. "How are you working on that basket? What are you doing that takes so long?" He abruptly grabbed the basket and began to plait correctly, spacing the openings in the warp suitably. When the basket was at half its proper height he stopped. "Here, go back to work. I'll continue to eat fruit. Do just as I did, and coil the openings. Come and eat quickly; I'm beginning to get tired," he said.

The squirrel with the basket resumed his work, but he was plaiting just as tightly as before. As he did not finish, the one who was eating descended once more. "How are you going about it?" The other did not reply, only plaited and plaited. He was about to be transformed. "You look strange: you frighten me." Again the plaiter was told that the fruits were tasty, but he did not say whether he wanted to eat some or not. "Won't you ever finish plaiting?" He argued for a while with the basket maker until the latter became frightened. "Go and sit over there, in that spot, and stay there. Dig a hole in the ground and crawl into it; if you don't, I'm afraid I'll have to hit you. Get over there and dig!" he ordered. "Go over there and dig a hole!" The other dug. When he had dug rather deep he called: "Brother-in-law!" "Dig some more, crawl in deeper, or the jaguar will eat you!" While speaking, the squirrel stuck his head into the tunnel to see where his companion was, and then he added: "Brother-in-law, crawl in farther; as you see I can still touch you. Dig deeper or the jaguar will eat you." The other dug very deep and his voice grew ever fainter. "That's enough; you will live in this burrow now that it is deep enough." They chatted, and turned into nine-banded armadillos.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Squirrel first plaits basket, then digs burrow to live in, as instructed by his companion. Eventually both turn into armadillos.

Motif content

D411.1.+ Transformation: squirrel to armadillo. (D411.1.
Transformation: squirrel to another animal.)

157. The Child-Armadillo, the Jaguar, and the Millipede

The Waika man was the last to arrive. He plaited a piece of openwork basketry, pulling hard on the strands to make the hexagonal openings very small, and placed it against the loins of the child. He wove another piece of basketry, straight and rigid, to make a tail. The basketry with the tight patterns looked pretty. The Shamathari man also plaited some basketry with small openings, which he pressed against the sides of the child. "Come over here," they ordered him. The child was small; he was going to transform into an animal. A round piece of basketry had been pressed against his loins. Where his skin was still bare, on his back, shoulders, and buttocks, they placed other plaited pieces. "Dig here!" they ordered him. "How shall I do it?" "Dig with your hands." He began to burrow, pushing aside the earth with his feet. After crawling underground to a certain depth he asked: "This far?" "Dig a bit deeper." "This far?" "That's it." He was to lair in a shallow burrow. "You are not to go out; from now on you shall live here." They left, abandoning him.

No sooner had they gone than Jaguar arrived. Noticing the newly dug earth he asked: "Who dug this hole? Who's inside?" "It's me!" "Come out! Come out!" "No! They told me not to go out." "Your hole isn't very deep. Come out anyway; I've got something to tell you." The child's teeth had already been transformed, and large teeth hung outside his mouth. "Come out!" He did, in spite of having been forbidden to do so. "The darkness at the bottom of the hole is frightening." "What big teeth you have! I want them; remove them for me!" "No, I won't." Still, in the end he did it. "You really have very big teeth." In those days Jaguar had small teeth, exactly like those of the nine-banded armadillo. They were loosely attached.

Now he took them out, placed them on a leaf, and gave them to the child-armadillo. "Here, put these in place of the others. Your voice could barely be heard from the bottom of the hole; it was as if you were very deep underground." The child-armadillo returned to his lair. "Are you in a deep hole?" "Yes." "Dig, you're still very near." He dug deeper. "Here?" "Yes, that's it." Armadillos do not know how to defend themselves, and felines make them suffer a lot. But why did they make him live in the hole? Did they not realize that he would be very lonely? Jaguar sat down and thought: "I'll make him come out often." Already he could see himself eating the armadillos.

Jaguar went away. Far away, Millipede heard him moving noisily. He crawled to meet him, silently, as was his wont. "What noise you're making! If that's how you move people will hear you from far away and will lie in wait to shoot you with their arrows when you pass." "How do you walk?" "I walk slowly without making noise; I only crawl. I never make fallen branches snap. That's how one should move. Walk a bit and then retrace your steps. I'll show you; I'll shape your feet." "How?" Millipede smoothed Jaguar's feet, rounded them off, and softened the soles. "That's how you should walk. Stay there, I'll show you." Slowly, silently, Millipede began to crawl; then he made a semicircle and returned to where he had started. "All right, walk a bit, move!" Jaguar advanced cautiously, noiselessly, without causing the slightest cracking sound. "Yes, that's it, that's it!" Jaguar walked. From then on he walked silently.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

People cover child with basketry and make him live in hole underground. Gradually he turns into armadillo. He meets jaguar, who exchanges teeth with him. Jaguar is in turn instructed by millipede how to move soundlessly.

Motif content

A2247.	Animal characteristics: exchange of qualities.
A2345.+.	Where jaguar got his large teeth. (A2345. Origin and nature of animal's teeth.)
A2441.+.	Cause of jaguar's silent walk. (A2441. Animal's gait or walk.)
B490.+.	Helpful millipede. (B490. Other helpful animals.)
D110.+.	Transformation: child to armadillo. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D681.	Gradual transformation.

158. Armadillo and Jaguar Exchange Teeth⁷⁵¹

In early times Jaguar's⁷⁵² teeth were very small, like those of an armadillo. Armadillo,⁷⁵³ on the other hand, had long teeth, enormous canines. Jaguar was afraid of him! Although he thought that Armadillo might devour him, in the end it was he himself who ate the other. Armadillo was living in a big hole in the ground, but he did not walk like an animal.

Jaguar was ravenous for meat, and had visited several people in search of teeth that might let him satisfy his appetite. He would have liked to eat some Yanomam, but his teeth could not bite into their flesh. He said to himself: "I'm starving! These teeth are too small; they're good for nothing!" Then he went to visit Armadillo and saw the latter's impressive canines. Immediately he asked for them: "Father-in-law,⁷⁵⁴ I'd like to have your teeth! I really would like to own them!" Armadillo was reluctant, thinking that if he gave them to Jaguar the latter would try to attack him: "I won't give them to you because you'll devour me! I can see what you're thinking!" Jaguar protested mendaciously: "I won't devour you, I'll just continue on my way. I ask you for them only because I can't eat with mine! I won't try to eat you; I'll always be a friend to you!" He kept insisting: "I won't devour you! To me you're a father-in-law. Give me your teeth; they're magnificent!" But Armadillo still refused: "I won't give them to you. You'll eat me!" For all his insistence he ended up giving Jaguar his teeth, tired of his demands. He asked the other to adorn himself: "First adorn yourself with black body paint, and then I'll give them to you. If you don't do that you won't get them." Jaguar pleaded: "I want them badly; I am terribly hungry!" But in fact he wanted the teeth in order to taste Armadillo's flesh. He was thinking: "Soon I'll eat you!" Armadillo went on: "You are gray all over! Once you're painted you will be less frightening! Paint yourself with spots and black circles so that people will be less afraid of you!"⁷⁵⁵ Jaguar complied—does the jaguar not have a spotted coat today?—and went on asking for Armadillo's teeth. The latter repeated: "Don't try to devour me with these teeth! Don't try to attack me!" Jaguar protested again that his intentions were innocent. Finally Armadillo gave in and removed his teeth, the lower ones—*brikē!*—and the upper ones: *brikē!* He gave them to Jaguar who thus replaced his own: *hōōō! shati! hōōō! shati!* Again Armadillo said: "*Ha!*"⁷⁵⁶ Now don't eat me!" Jaguar lied again: "I won't eat you, father-in-law, I won't eat you! I'll always be a friend to you!" But he was thinking: "I'm going to devour him!" He had given his small

teeth to Armadillo, and since then armadillos have teeth that are the supernatural image⁷⁵⁷ of those of Jaguar, very small, useless teeth. "Here! You take my teeth in exchange!" he had said to Armadillo, thinking that as soon as he had his new teeth he would devour the other. He simply wanted to trick him. He had said: "Father-in-law, I won't eat you!" But he wanted to, as he was very hungry for meat. Are the jaguars not hungry for meat now? He pretended to be friendly but he wanted to devour him. It was to happen where they gathered frogs.

Jaguar invited Armadillo to go with him and look for *moka* frogs.⁷⁵⁸ "Father-in-law, let's go together and catch frogs! You can hear them croaking: *Wā wā wā wā!*" They went into the forest and began to catch the frogs with their hands, under the water. When Armadillo leaned forward Jaguar tried to jump on him: "*Rrrrr! Hē hē!*" but Armadillo succeeded in evading the attack. "*Houuu!*"⁷⁵⁹ You're trying to devour me!" he protested. Jaguar had scratched his skin with the claws that Armadillo had also given him. But he tried to excuse himself by lying again: "I stumbled! I stumbled, and trying to keep my balance I scratched your skin without meaning to!" They started walking again and Armadillo said to Jaguar: "Let's go and catch some other frogs; you'll eat them!" But he warned his two wives: "Jaguar intends to devour me! Heat some pieces of *warabēkoko* resin⁷⁶⁰ on a *mahe* clay plate⁷⁶¹ until they become liquid. If Jaguar returns with a full stomach from having eaten me, throw the hot resin into his eyes!" Armadillo and Jaguar began catching frogs again. Jaguar grew increasingly hungry. Finally he jumped on Armadillo's back and killed him by breaking his neck: "*Rrrrr! Krē!*"

It was the end of the afternoon when Jaguar returned to Armadillo's house, so full from the latter's flesh that his stomach was swollen. Weakly he stretched out in his hammock—after all, do the Yanomam not become weakened under such circumstances? Armadillo was a human being, that was why Jaguar lay down, overcome by weakness.⁷⁶² Armadillo's wives made an effort not to arouse his suspicion by crying, and simply said: "Sleep, father-in-law, sleep!" With his stomach full, Jaguar allowed himself to slip into their husband's hammock. Foreseeing what would happen Armadillo had said to his wives: "If he returns with a full stomach it's because he has devoured me. Then heat up some resin on a *mahe* plate, make him fall asleep, and pour the resin into his eyes!" So they were forewarned and knew what to do.

They placed a *mahe* plate on the fire while saying to Jaguar: "Father-in-law, sleep! You frighten us! Sleep deeply!" He lied again: "I was the first to arrive. Your husband remained behind to cook the

frogs where we caught them." They were not fooled by his lie. He went on: "He stayed there to go on cooking leaf packages containing the frogs that we had caught, and told me to go ahead of him. I'm so full of frogs!" His eyelids were closing and his big head nodded. Armadillo's wives had placed their plate on the fire, and were fanning the flames. The resin had melted and formed a seething pitch: *woi! woi! woi! woi!* Once again they said to Jaguar: "Father-in-law, sleep deeply! We are afraid of you; do not wake up!" After these words the older wife sent the younger to fetch the clay plate that was covered with liquefied resin. Before dozing off Jaguar asked: "What did she go off to roast on her plate?"⁷⁶³ Then they heard his heavy breathing: *bëshsh! bëshsh! bëshsh!* At that point Armadillo's young wife ran toward him with her plate and quickly poured the burning pitch into his eyes: *houuuuu! shau!* Mad with pain from the burn Jaguar screamed: "*Akaa! Akaa! Akaa!*" Blinded by the boiling pitch, with his hands over his eyes, he stood up—*houuuuu!*—and twisted in all directions. Finally, near death and out of his mind he bit the lower part of a *momohi* tree:⁷⁶⁴ *wa tha! hää!* He thought he was biting a Yanomam. His huge fangs got stuck in the lower part of the trunk. That was how he finally died, his teeth sunk into the tree, and his eyes boiled from the seething pitch.⁷⁶⁵ Jaguar really died. He turned into an animal, thus originating that species. Jaguar scattered supernaturally in all directions. His supernatural image divided and created the jaguars, which have become numerous since that time. The supernatural image remained and scattered in all directions in the forest, with the jaguars' hunger for meat. That is how it was.

Informant: Buushimë

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Jaguar has small teeth and Armadillo large ones. Jaguar repeatedly asks Armadillo to exchange teeth. In spite of his misgivings latter finally assents, and ends up being devoured by Jaguar. Armadillo's wives take revenge by pouring boiling resin into sleeping Jaguar's eyes, killing him.

Motif content

A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A1817.	Creation of jaguar.
A2247.	Animal characteristics: exchange of qualities.

A2345.+.	Where jaguar got his large teeth. (A2345. Origin and nature of animal's teeth.)
A2412.1.+.	Origin of jaguar's spots. (A2412.1. Markings of mammals.)
D112.6.	Transformation: man to jaguar.
J580.	Wisdom of caution.
J610.	Forethought in conflict with others—general.
J613.	Wise fear of the weak for the strong.
K834.1.	Dupe tricked into sleeping. Killed.
K917.	Treacherous murder during hunt.
K959.2.	Murder in one's sleep.
K2295.+.	Treacherous jaguar. (K2295. Treacherous animals.)
S139.+.	Murder by pouring hot liquid into eyes. (S139. Miscellaneous cruel murders.)
Z47.	Series of trick exchanges.

159. The Creation of the Black Jaguar⁷⁶⁶

The Surára had learned about slash-and-burn agriculture, and were growing banana plants and pupunha palms. One day they saw a large toad in their forest plantation. A Surára wanted to kill it, but it fled to the other side of the plantation and turned into a black jaguar.⁷⁶⁷

Informant: Hewemão

Source: Becher 1974, pp. 31–32.

Motif content

A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A1817.	Creation of jaguar.

160. The Mice-Jaguars

The jaguar⁷⁶⁸ did not always have a big voice. Originally it was the *kasna* mouse⁷⁶⁹ who used to growl. So he growled: "Au! au! au! au! ao! oo! o! o!" The ancestors crawled forward to look. "But whatever is that?" they wondered. They looked and saw the *kasna* mouse's head sticking out of his hole, growling: "Au! au! au! au! oo! oo! o! o!"

Thus the *kasnawai* used to say. And the real mouse⁷⁷⁰ went: "Wu! wu! wu! wu! wu! wu!"

The jaguar got his voice from them, so it is said.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 86-87.

Motif content

A2247.	Animal characteristics: exchange of qualities.
A2423.+.	How jaguar got his loud voice. (A2423. General quality of animal's voice.)

161. The Wildcat and the Jaguar

The wildcat⁷⁷¹ painted himself up with circular spots. "Right! You're properly painted up now. So try and run by!" people said. The people looked on as carefully as they could. They saw nothing. He had run by without their noticing, because he was spotted like that. They turned to the mother jaguar.⁷⁷² "What about you then?" they said. "You run by too!" Being spotted she too ran by without being seen.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 94.

162. The Original Deer

Long ago some Yekuana, the *koli* people,⁷⁷³ went to chase deer.⁷⁷⁴ While some of them went beyond the deer others lay in wait by the river. Here one lay in wait, here another upstream, here another downstream.

The people chased round the side of a large hill. A deer ran down to avoid them. But the deer running down that hill was an *ilalaiapada* cricket,⁷⁷⁵ which has very thin calves like deer. That cricket was the original deer; it broke from cover. It was the original Yekuana deer ancestor. Breaking cover it flew down the hill: . . . *kalo!* It landed near where the Yekuana were lying in wait: *watau!* It began to swim across the river.⁷⁷⁶ The Yekuana shot at it: *gloso! gloso!* So the cricket was killed: *tili!*

That cricket was the original deer.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 88–89.

Motif content

- B1.+. Cricket as mythical ancestor of deer. (B1. Animal elders. Mythical ancestors of the present animals.)

163. The Origin of the Dog

There was a Yanomamo ancestor named Tomi-hewë⁷⁷⁷ who was a great shaman. One day the spirits told him to create the dog, to be of use to the Yanomamo. As he was a good *pehihoo* shaman he took snuff, opened his mouth the way the *rahara* snake does, and pulled out a puppy with his hands. Without further ado he began to raise it, telling the other Yanomamo to call it *hiima*. But some time after that the dog got sick and died. Tomi-hewë took large quantities of snuff and performed his magic over the animal until he had brought it back to life. The people gave their opinion as to the cause of death: the dog needed a mate. Then Kanabosiwë, another famous *pehihoo*, took a lot of snuff, opened his mouth wide, and pulled the first bitch from his throat. The two dogs mated and had puppies. From those puppies all the dogs of today are descended.

Informant: The chief of the lyëwei-teri

Source: Cocco 1972, p. 303.

Motif content

- A1831. Creation of dog.
D2178.4.+. Dog created by magic. (D2178.4. Animals created by magic.)
E3. Dead animal comes to life.
E121.7. Resuscitation by magician.

164. The Origin of Dogs

This one concerns the Yekuana. Far upstream on the Merevari⁷⁷⁸ the Yekuana ancestors went to collect dogs.⁷⁷⁹ They were my ancestors.⁷⁸⁰ Upstream they made a long trail through the jungle: *ta! ta! ta! ta! ta! ta!* They cut a trail across the forests. And they killed

many tapirs. They killed them and roasted them and then left the roasted meat on the grill. They did the same with many tamanduas and with many peccaries, spread out at different points along the trail.⁷⁸¹

Then farther on they came on a great mountain. They cut down a tree and made a ladder. They climbed the ladder up the face of the rock to a place where they could look down into the cave where the dogs had their house. Looking down they could see the little dogs; there a little white blobbed one, there another all red. The Yekuana let fall a piece of meat, and a little puppy rushed forward to eat it. Letting fall another piece of meat another puppy also ran forward. The Yekuana quickly clambered down into the cavern and grabbed the little dogs: *pliki!* He gave them to another Yekuana who popped them into his basket—one dog—*tolo!*—another dog—*tolo!* Then they rushed back along the trail, past all the grilled meat.

Sometime later the big carnivore⁷⁸² father came back and found his puppies gone! He searched about and then gave chase. There were two of them, the father and mother carnivores. They ran off after the Yekuana. When they came to the first stack of roasted game they stopped and ate it all up: *glun! glun!* Farther on they came on more roasted meat, and they ate that too: *glun! glun!* They came on more roasted meat again farther on. They ate that too: *glun! glun!*

Then, being so full of meat the carnivores gave up the chase. "Enough!" they said. "We've already taken payment."⁷⁸³ So the Yekuana acquired their dogs, the ancestors have said.⁷⁸⁴

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 71.

Summary

People travel to mountain cave, home of first dogs. They catch several and return home, pursued in vain by dogs' parents.

Motif content

A1831.+.	Acquisition of dog. (A1831. Creation of dog.)
K500.	Escape from death or danger by deception.
R231.+.	Obstacle flight. Objects are left behind along escape route which the pursuer stops to pick up while the fugitive escapes. (R231. Obstacle flight—Atalanta type. Objects are thrown back which the pursuer stops to pick up while the fugitive escapes.)

165. The Tamandua and the Anteater

The anteater⁷⁸⁵ sat by himself in the tamandua's⁷⁸⁶ house while the tamandua went out to collect termites.⁷⁸⁷ Once the tamandua had collected the termites he returned home. The anteater had been sitting down there all the while.

When the tamandua unwrapped the termites the anteater dipped his hand in to eat some. The tamandua got angry. "Wa! Pushing your ugly hand into my food as well! Collect your own termites your-ugly-self!" he said; so the anteater got angry in turn. "I'm only taking a little! I'm not going to stuff myself! Nothing worth a payment!" "Don't do it!" said the tamandua. He grabbed his tomahawk⁷⁸⁸ and struck the anteater on the arm: *ha! to!* So the anteater struck the tamandua—*ha! to!*—and the tamandua again struck the anteater—*ha! to!*—and the anteater again hit the tamandua: *ha! to!* Their arms swelled up huge. That's how the tamanduas' and anteaters' arms became all swollen.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 87.

Motif content

A2210.	Animal characteristics: change in ancient animal.
A2213.5.	Animal characteristics from being struck.
A2371.2. +.	Why anteater has swollen forelegs. (A2371.2. Shape of animal's legs.)
B266.	Animals fight.
B299.2.	Animals dispute.

166. The Tamandua and the Anteater⁷⁸⁹

The tamandua and the anteater were having a row. The anteater struck the tamandua on the arm: *do!* The tamandua then struck the anteater on the arm: *do!* In turn, the anteater struck the tamandua's other arm: *do!* And the tamandua hit the anteater on the other arm: *do!* Their arms swelled up. The bruises became all swollen and painful. They swelled up enormously.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 87.

Motif content

B266. Animals fight.

167. The Fight of Three-Toed Sloth and Two-Toed Sloth⁷⁹⁰

Three-Toed Sloth⁷⁹¹ and Two-Toed Sloth,⁷⁹² whom the former called father-in-law,⁷⁹³ cut each other to pieces with machetes during a *reahu* festival⁷⁹⁴ given by the toad people.⁷⁹⁵ During the night the guests performed a *hwakēmu* dance⁷⁹⁶ with the toad women, the way we always dance with the women of our hosts during the *reahu*. It was a feast in which *momo* fruits⁷⁹⁷ constituted the principal ceremonial food,⁷⁹⁸ accompanied by different kinds of snakes⁷⁹⁹ and mice,⁸⁰⁰ roasted in place of game animals. During those early times people did not eat real game; there were actually no real game animals.

So there was a *reahu* festival going on, and men and women danced together continuously. It was already the middle of the night, and no one slept. The toad people kept singing their unpleasant songs ceaselessly: "Hā! Kōkara! Kōkara! Kōkara!" It was during that same festival that Cocoa Thrush and White-Necked Thrush also arrived.⁸⁰¹ But it was after they had left that Three-Toed Sloth and Two-Toed Sloth slashed each other with their hatchets.

Three-Toed Sloth was dancing the *hwakēmu* dance with Two-Toed Sloth's young daughter. The dance was to celebrate the *momo* fruits. He danced all night until dawn without letting go of her arm although she was very sleepy. This irritated Two-Toed Sloth, and he shouted: "Let my daughter go! I am going to gather *momo* fruits and she will have to prepare them!"⁸⁰² Three-Toed Sloth replied as he continued dancing: "Tēkē! Tēkē! Tēkē! Tēkē! Wait! I'm still softening my skin! Tēkē! Tēkē! Tēkē! Tēkē!" He wanted to go on rubbing himself against the girl's soft skin.⁸⁰³ It had already been light for quite a while, and everyone had gone off to prepare *momo* fruit. Two-Toed Sloth repeated his order: "Let go of my daughter! We have to go and gather *momo* fruit!" Three-Toed Sloth still did not cease dancing and only repeated while singing: "Tēkē! Tēkē! Tēkē! Tēkē! Tēkē! Wait! I haven't finished softening my skin yet! Tēkē! Tēkē! Tēkē! Tēkē!" But finally he let his partner go off to prepare *momo* fruits with the other women.

Some time later the young men went to the river to wash the roasted snakes. Upon their return to the collective house a diurnal *hwakēmu* dance began. Again they sang and danced with the women while carrying the snakes, moving around the central plaza: "Ā ō ā ō ā ō ā ō!" As can be seen, the young men still dance in this way in the house with the women who come to greet them when they return from the river bringing the roasted game that they have washed. That is what our ancestors did, and we continue to do it. During the day men and women dance again in couples before they cut up the game to boil it.⁸⁰⁴

Three-Toed Sloth took the opportunity and began to dance again with Two-Toed Sloth's daughter during this new *hwakēmu*. It was at this moment that they began to confront each other, once the snakes had been cut up. It was Two-Toed Sloth who challenged Three-Toed Sloth. But it was during the *yāimu* ceremonial dialogue⁸⁰⁵ that they really began to cut each other. When the *yākōana*⁸⁰⁶ was placed in the center of the house⁸⁰⁷ Two-Toed Sloth started to make himself a *haowatimē* hatchet with a metal fragment:⁸⁰⁸ *hē! shaiwa! shaiwa! shaiwa!* He began to sing: "Give me some *shiki*⁸⁰⁹ string! I'm going to make a hatchet! *Haoma! Haoma! Haoma!*"⁸¹⁰ He tied a piece of metal to a wooden handle, all the while singing: "I'm tying a hatchet! *Haoma! Haoma! Haoma!*" Finally he sharpened the edge: *sheki! sheki! sheki!* Thus he had prepared himself to fight with Three-Toed Sloth. They wanted to slash each other's flesh.

This happened at the end of the *reahu*. The men had gathered around the *yākōana* snuff in the center of the house and were blowing the hallucinogen into one another's nostrils: *wa! wa! wa! shai! shai! shai!* Exalted by the *yākōana* they struck their chests—*bai wa! bai wa! bai wa!*—and prepared to begin the *yāimu* ceremonial dialogue. As soon as the dialogue began it quickly turned into a ritual chest-pounding duel:⁸¹¹ *hē! thikē! hē! thikē! hē! thikē!*

Two-Toed Sloth attacked Three-Toed Sloth with his hatchet: *hē! bake! bake! bake! bake!* He slashed his neck, then his chest, his rump, and his arms, which is why the three-toed sloth is thin today. Three-Toed Sloth responded to the attack. He also tried to slash Two-Toed Sloth but did not succeed in taking a slice out of Two-Toed Sloth's body, and that is why the two-toed sloth still has thick limbs. Thus they fought, slashing one another: *bake wa! aaaaa! bake wa! aaaaa! bei yō aē!*⁸¹² *bake wa! bake wa!*

Finally they stopped fighting. The pain from their wounds caused them to transform into animals. They became small, and dispersed

into the trees, transforming into sloths. Are the sloths not small today? Only Two-Toed Sloth, whose body Three-Toed Sloth had not managed to cut, gave origin to a sloth that still has fleshy members. The edge on Three-Toed Sloth's hatchet was blunt, and that was why he had failed to cut into Two-Toed Sloth. He, too, had tied a piece of metal, a chip of a machete, to a wooden handle. Our ancestors did not have real machetes. They only used machete fragments, and so had nothing but little pieces of metal which they would tie to a wooden handle and use to cut trees and branches. The people had these metal fragments for a long time; they are the ones Omamē abandoned during his flight.⁸¹³ Those were the fragments that our ancestors had.

It was because of his daughter that Two-Toed Sloth fought with Three-Toed Sloth. It was because the latter continued to dance the *hwakēmu* endlessly with her although he had said no. Three-Toed Sloth had taken her wrist to dance with her all night. Finally Two-Toed Sloth fought with Three-Toed Sloth because the other wanted to continue to dance with his daughter until dawn. Two-Toed Sloth was furious because the other was so unwise. He used to call Three-Toed Sloth son-in-law. It was not because of incest that he was angry, but because Three-Toed Sloth was really unwise. That was why they fought.⁸¹⁴

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

During festival, Three-Toed Sloth insists on dancing all night with Two-Toed Sloth's daughter despite her father's disapproval. When ritual duels begin, Two-Toed Sloth therefore fights Three-Toed Sloth, slicing flesh from his body. Both turn into sloths.

Motif content

A2213.5.	Animal characteristics from being struck.
A2300.+.	Why sloth is thin. (A2300. Origin of animal characteristics: body.)
A2371.2.+.	Why sloth has thick legs. (A2371.2. Shape of animal's legs.)
A2433.1.+.	Why sloth lives in trees. (A2433.1. Establishment of animal haunt.)
D110.+.	Transformation: man to sloth. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)

J652.	Inattention to warnings.
T50.1.2.	Girl carefully guarded by father.

168. The Sloth and the White Monkey

People told the sloth⁸¹⁵ to climb a tree. "Climb up!" they said. "Right," replied the sloth and he began to climb up. "Is here alright?" he asked. "No, farther on," they replied. "Here?" "No, farther on! Keep moving!" they said. "Here?" he asked. "No. Keep moving." So, gradually, he climbed farther and farther. He came to a dense area of entangled vines. "Here?" "Yes!" they said. "You too!" they said to the white monkey.⁸¹⁶ The monkey climbed right up and sat right at the end of a branch, high up in the tree among fresh leaves. "Here?" "Yes!" they said. The monkey climbed down but the sloth stayed where he was.⁸¹⁷ So people said.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 94.

Motif content

A2433.1.+.	Why sloth lives in trees. (A2433.1. Establishment of animal haunt.)
A2433.3.19.	Why monkey lives in tree.

169. Hummingbird Wants to Grow

There was Tapir, the fat one, and there was the tiny hummingbird. "How big you are! As for me I'm very small. Look at the size of you!" "Yes, I'm large. I made a large fire and then I burned myself in the flames; that's how I became big," said Tapir to Hummingbird. "Go and gather wood, make a big pile, then light it. When the fire is burning briskly you throw yourself into it. Then your flesh will crackle and you will grow big," lied Tapir. "Maybe that's true. Shall I try it?" "By all means do," said Tapir.

Hummingbird began to cut wood, piling it up as if he wanted to roast meat. He made a large woodpile. "Place some other logs on top, in the middle, and then light the fire. Stir it well so that the flames will shoot up high, and then place even more logs on top." Tapir really intended Hummingbird to be devoured by the flames;

he really wanted to kill him. When the flames leaped up Hummingbird added some more logs, and then he threw himself into it. "Don't get up too soon; you should wait for the fire to burn very briskly," added Tapir.

First the flesh burned. A moment later it was the heart. But Hummingbird's heart would resuscitate; there it went flying away! Hummingbird had never said to himself: "Tapir is big; that's just the way he is." Why did he never realize that?

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

E3.	Dead animal comes to life.
J1117.+.	Tapir as trickster. (J1117. Animal as trickster.)
J2300.	Gullible fools.
K890.	Dupe tricked into killing himself.

170. The Hummingbird and the Tapir⁸¹⁸

The hummingbird⁸¹⁹ used to be very large, about the size of a toucan. The tapir⁸²⁰ on the other hand had grown *very* big. "How did you grow so big?" the hummingbird asked the tapir. "You have to cook yourself in a fire," the tapir replied. "That's how I grew so big."

So the hummingbird set to collecting firewood: *to! to! to! to!* Once he had collected a good lot, he lit the fire and fanned it up into a blaze. "Hee hee! This way I'll grow really big," said the hummingbird and jumped into the fire. He burned . . . burned . . . burned . . . burned. The hummingbird became tiny. So the tiny, wee hummingbird flew off—*se! se! se! se!*—and dived into a river: *kopu!* He sizzled: *senenene!*

That is how the hummingbird became so small.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 95.

Motif content

A2210.	Animal characteristics: change in ancient animal.
A2218.	Animal characteristics from burning or singeing.
A2302.+.	Bird made smaller. (A2302. Animal's body made smaller.)
J1117.+.	Tapir as trickster. (J1117. Animal as trickster.)
J2300.	Gullible fools.

K1000.

Deception into self-injury.

171. Tapir Causes Hummingbird to Be Burned⁸²¹

Hummingbird⁸²² was wondering about the corpulence of his father-in-law Tapir⁸²³ and asked him repeatedly how he became like that. He would squat next to him and would keep asking him insistently how he had been able to grow so big: "Father-in-law! What did you do to grow so large? You are so fat!" Tapir never replied, but Hummingbird would persist: "Father-in-law! What did you do to grow? The other people aren't that big! Father-in-law! What did you use to make yourself grow like that? People aren't usually that big!" Exasperated by this insistence⁸²⁴ Tapir finally replied: "It was in a fire that I got to be as big as I am now, in a large fire of *amahi*⁸²⁵ wood. I placed my hammock over it and let myself burn. That's how I grew big, in the fire!" That was how he angrily answered his son-in-law who would not stop mentioning his stoutness. He wanted to trick Hummingbird who kept asking him the same question. The latter believed him and said: "I want to grow big, too!"

Tapir made him gather wood for a fire, *amahi* wood which burns with an intense flame when it is dry. "After splitting the wood and placing it in a pile you will light a fire. Then you will make it flare up." Hummingbird cut enough logs to make a very large fire—*kirikē wa! kirikē wa! kirikē wa!*—and put them in a pile inside the house. Tapir said to him: "Once you have made a big fire you must sling your hammock over it and lie down; that's how you, too, will grow large!"

Hummingbird obeyed, and lit the fire. The flames began to mount: *wouuu!* He placed his hammock over the fire and stretched out on it. The fire grew bigger: *houuu! houuu!* Gradually his body began to burn and he grew smaller and smaller, consumed by the increasingly powerful flames: *houuu! kīri! kīri! kīri! woi! woi! woi! woi!* Finally only Hummingbird's heart remained in the glowing coals: *houuuuu!* The rest of his body had disappeared completely, liquefied by the fire. Then his heart turned into a red hummingbird and flew out of the flames: *hrrrrr! biiss! biiss!*

That was how Tapir caused Hummingbird to burn, after growing tired of the latter's insistence on knowing the origin of his

corpulence. That is why today the hummingbird is tiny. He used to be bigger but was reduced to only his heart and is now very small. Today, in spectral form,⁸²⁶ he imitates Hummingbird's heart. He assumed his present-day form for all time. In primeval times he was rather big but he became tiny after Tapir caused him to be burned. When he flew off from the embers Tapir burst out laughing loudly: "Hě hě hě hě!" and in an *unokai* ritual condition of homicide⁸²⁷ he transformed himself into a tapir. He had tricked Hummingbird and had caused him to be burned because Hummingbird never stopped asking him questions about how he had grown so corpulent. That is how it was.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Irritated by son-in-law's persistent questions about his large body, Tapir tricks him into burning himself.

Motif content

A2218.	Animal characteristics from burning or singeing.
A2302.+.	Bird made smaller. (A2302. Animal's body made smaller.)
D110.+.	Transformation: man to tapir. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
E3.	Dead animal comes to life.
J1117.+.	Tapir as trickster. (J1117. Animal as trickster.)
J2300.	Gullible fools.
K890.	Dupe tricked into killing himself.
Q327.	Discourtesy punished.

172. Tapir Tries to Hide⁸²⁸

Tapir⁸²⁹ was sitting in a tree where he was trying to hide, along with Three-Toed Sloth.⁸³⁰ They were hiding for no reason, just not to be seen and eaten. But Tapir grew angry, for Three-Toed Sloth continued to cover himself with leaves although he had long been hidden from view. He climbed down and before leaving he asked his son-in-law, Fasciated Antshrike,⁸³¹ to follow his tracks. Tapir had

two sons-in-law, Antshrike and Black Caracara.⁸³² Three-Toed Sloth was not related to him. Both Three-Toed Sloth and Tapir were sitting on branches high up in a *kahuusihi* tree,⁸³³ this tree, you know, whose big leaves are split. They had been trying to hide there for quite a while. Three-Toed Sloth kept incessantly placing *kahuusihi* leaves all around him and never seemed to think he was sufficiently invisible. Finally Tapir, who thought himself already well hidden, asked him irritably: "Are you hidden now?" Three-Toed Sloth answered: "No, I still haven't been able to hide!" Tapir retorted: "You are hidden; no one can see you any more!" But Sloth insisted: "No, I'm still visible!" And he continued to break off leaves from the *kahuusihi* tree—*krē! krē! krē! krē!*—hanging them on the branches around him, here and there. Although he had long been completely invisible, he did not cease to cover himself with leaves. The dialogue went on: "Are you concealed enough now?" "No! I can't manage to hide! I can still be seen!" He kept repeating this. In fact, Three-Toed Sloth wanted to make Tapir climb down so that he himself would be alone hiding in that tree—does the three-toed sloth not constantly eat the leaves of the *kahuusihi* tree even today? Exasperated,⁸³⁴ Tapir descended—*hī! shererere! thikē!*—and called to Three-Toed Sloth: "Go on hiding! Just stay up there! As for me, I'll travel to the upper parts of the rivers where the headwaters converge, and there I'll stretch out on the ground and hide in the tangled undergrowth."⁸³⁵ So saying he left. He also advised his son-in-law Antshrike: "Son-in-law, wait a while before you follow my trail; later you will find me lying in the bush!" Those were his words as he left. His trail went far into the distance. Here and there he ate new leaves from shrubs whenever he felt like it, as he meandered along. Then he went on. When he reached the place in the highlands⁸³⁶ where the sources of the rivers are close together he dropped to the ground and hid in the tangled vegetation: *houuu! kirikē!* As he left he had said to his son-in-law: "When you think that I'm well hidden, start following my trail!"

As agreed, Antshrike set out to search for his father-in-law: "Father-in-law wanted me to follow his trail! I'll find him as he hides far away! But in which direction did he go?" He began to trace Tapir's footprints. The trail followed a river upstream, meandering along, went past a hill, skirted it, then turned back. That was how Antshrike taught us to follow the trail of a tapir. Finally he reached the tangled vegetation at the source of the rivers. Suddenly his father-in-law Tapir frightened him by noisily scampering off in the thicket just in front of him: *houuu! krakrakrakrai! waorai! waorai!*

"Ha!⁸³⁷ Watch out! Father-in-law, is that you?" Tapir continued running in the undergrowth—*wa thikē! thikē! thikē!*—and farther along he hid again in the bushes. Antshrike turned back, angrily saying to himself: "I followed his trail, but father-in-law only frightened me!" Tapir caught up with him again and insisted: "Follow my trail again! Don't be angry, just go after me again!"

When Antshrike reached the collective house he announced in a loud voice: "I'll find my father-in-law quickly!" But this time Black Caracara, Tapir's other son-in-law, began to call: "*Hēaaa! Hēaaa!*" and Tapir answered him: "*Hwēēē!*"⁸³⁸ Antshrike exclaimed: "His voice comes from over there, far away!" Black Caracara called again: "*Hēaaa! Hēaaa!*" and once more Tapir answered: "*Hwēēē!*" Antshrike set off after him, surprised him in turn, and shot him with an arrow: *hī! thai! kosho!* Tapir screamed in pain and fled into the bushes before he fell dead to the ground: *houuu! waorai! waorai! kibrikē!*

His son-in-law returned to the collective house with the news: "Father-in-law is lying back there in the forest! Go and fetch him so we can eat him!" A few men and a group of women went off to cut up Antshrike's father-in-law, who had turned into a tapir, and to bring back the meat. Then they ate him. Since then Antshrike mourns his father-in-law, lamenting: "*Shoabe! Be be be! Shoabe! Be be be!*"⁸³⁹ That is why the call of this bird is constantly heard in the forest: "*Shoabe! Be be be!*" That is how it laments. It is a small bird. Antshrike turned into a little bird which ceaselessly laments: "*Shoabe! Be be be be!*" Yes, that is how it happened; that is the story.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Irritated by Sloth who can hide better than he can, Tapir goes to hide in undergrowth far away, first telling his son-in-law, Fasciated Antshrike, to follow his trail. Antshrike does so, and after initial failure surprises father-in-law and kills him. Dead man turns into tapir and is eaten by people. Son-in-law transforms into bird which still mourns his father-in-law's death with his plaintive call.

Motif content

- | | |
|----------|--|
| A2275.1. | Animal cries a lament for person lost when animal was transformed. |
| A2426.2. | Cries of birds. |

- D110.+ Transformation: man to tapir. (D110. Transformation:
man to wild beast (mammal).)
D150. Transformation: man to bird.
G70.+ Flesh of person transformed to animal eaten. (G70.
Occasional cannibalism—deliberate.)

173. Capuchin Bird Is Punished for His Boasting⁸⁴⁰

The red-rumped cacique people⁸⁴¹ rasped the forehead of Capuchin Bird,⁸⁴² that is why the head of this bird is completely bald today. Do you know this bird? There are none here; they live only in the highlands. If we were in the highlands you would see them. It was the spectral form⁸⁴³ of Capuchin Bird who had the top of his head rasped. Now the forehead of this bird is completely bare. The red-rumped cacique people rubbed it with leaves of the *ōemahi*⁸⁴⁴ tree. They went on a raid to where he lived and rubbed his forehead. Capuchin Bird lived alone; he had moved because the people in the house where he used to live had grown too numerous. After his separation from them he had said: "Let them try to rub my forehead! If they try, I'm the one who will attack them!"

Frog⁸⁴⁵ had heard him boasting like that and had reported his words: "Capuchin Bird intends to rub your foreheads!" The red-rumped cacique people decided immediately to launch a punitive expedition: "*Bei yō aē!*"⁸⁴⁶ We'll rub his head! *Aē!* Let's choose some very abrasive *ōemahi* leaves! *Aē!*" They started to gather leaves. When they had finished Olive Oropendola⁸⁴⁷ exclaimed loudly: "I'm the one who will attack him! I'm going to rasp his forehead thoroughly! I'm really going to attack him!" They set off toward Capuchin Bird's house.

Frog went there ahead of them and this time she reported their intentions to Capuchin Bird:⁸⁴⁸ "Gather some *ōemahi* leaves on the ground! The red-rumped cacique people are coming to attack you! They really want to rasp your head! You must gather abrasive leaves, too!" He answered by bragging again: "I've got leaves, and good ones, too! I'm the one who will make them flee!" Then he made his powerful call resound: "*Waooooo!*" He said to himself: "Am I not frightening? Isn't my voice impressive?" He did it again: "*Waooooo!*" and once more said to himself: "I'm frightening! I'll make them flee as soon as they approach!"

At that moment the group of attackers began to draw near: *aaaaa!* Unperturbed he remained in his hammock as one after the other entered his house: *hĩ! shiri! shiri! shiri! shiri!* He was thinking: "I'll easily put them to flight!" And once again he let out his loud call: "*Waooooo!*" But it had no effect. He tried again: "What do you want here? *Waooooo!*" But his attackers did not flee; on the contrary, Olive Oropendola threw himself over him and began energetically to rub his head with an *ōemahi* leaf: *sheki wa! sheki wa! sheki wa! sheki wa!* Capuchin Bird tried to do the same to him but instead of *ōemahihanakē* leaves he was using *mashithamahi*⁸⁴⁹ leaves which were much less effective. Olive Oropendola rubbed his forehead vigorously with very abrasive leaves: *sheki wa! sheki wa! sheki wa!* In vain Capuchin Bird tried to inflict the same treatment on the other, using his leaves that would hardly scratch at all: *sheki! sheki! sheki!* The red-rumped cacique people were many, and they took hold of him from each side while Olive Oropendola continued: *sheki wa! sheki wa! sheki wa! sheki wa!* After a while Capuchin Bird began to groan: "*Hĩ! Hĩ! Waooooo!*" But they went on: *sheki wa! sheki wa! sheki wa!* Finally, with his head completely raw, he could no longer contain himself and began to scream from pain: "*Akaa! Akaa! Akaa!*" All that happened to Olive Oropendola was that his cheeks were rubbed bare. Have you seen that bird? Are its cheeks not bare of feathers around the beak? Well, that is the mark left by Capuchin Bird's *mashithamahi* leaves. They are not very abrasive. He, on the other hand, had his head rasped completely raw with the real *ōemahi* leaves. Finally he went running off, with his head scraped bare. He turned into a bird, and its offspring scattered in all directions as his spectral form. That is how it was; that is what they did to Capuchin Bird.

Informant: Hewēnakē

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Man (Capuchin Bird) who has been heard boasting and threatening others is in turn attacked by them. In ensuing battle with another man (Olive Oropendola) each receives injuries. They transform into birds which still bear marks from fight.

Motif content

A2217.

Appearance of animal from marking or painting.

A2317.	Why certain animals are bare of covering.
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.
J2353.1.	Foolish boasts get man into trouble.
W117.	Boastfulness.

174. The Origin of Some Species of Fish

Many kinds of fish came to earth in drops of blood which turned into raindrops when they fell through the clouds. Now they inhabit the rivers and lakes here. Among these are the *aracú*,⁸⁵⁰ the *piratba*,⁸⁵¹ the *mandí*,⁸⁵² and the *pescada*.⁸⁵³

The *tambaquí*,⁸⁵⁴ the *mandubi*,⁸⁵⁵ and the *anujá*⁸⁵⁶ originated from the hard-shelled pods of the inga tree, whose beans sit in a white, spongy, sugary-sweet fruit pulp. Inga trees grow primarily near rivers and streams.

Informant: Hewemão

Source: Becher 1974, p. 33.

Motif content

A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A1795.+.	Fish drop from clouds. (A1795. Animals drop from clouds.)
A2100.	Creation of fish.
D441.2.+.	Transformation: fruit to fish. (D441.2. Transformation: fruit to animal.)
D457.1.+.	Transformation: blood to rain. (D457.1. Transformation: blood to another object.)

175. The Origin of Snakes

There were many Oru Köpö. They were people. Once they arranged a festival. They painted themselves with urucú and soot, and drew wavy lines on top of this. They sang and jumped around, and then all turned into snakes.

Oru Köpö taught the Indians to paint themselves with wavy lines. Wata Perariwe was the chief of the Oru Köpö. His grandson was Wainkoyariwe.

Source: Knobloch 1967, pp. 152-153.

Motif content

A1465.+.	Origin of body paint. (A1465. Origin of decorative art.)
A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A2145.	Creation of snake (serpent).
D191.	Transformation: man to serpent (snake).

176. The Creation of the *Jibóia-Vermelha* Snake⁸⁵⁷

Once there lived a Surára man called Karemoná, who was very quarrelsome. Every day he mistreated his two wives and argued with the other men. He would never submit to the chief's orders and even tried to undermine the discipline in the tribe. Since all warnings went unheeded he was finally excluded from the community.

Karemoná painted his body with urucú and left the communal house. After wandering around for a few hours in the forest he lay down on the ground exhausted and fell asleep. While he slept, Poré turned him into a *jibóia-vermelha*⁸⁵⁸ (*oatá*) because of his disobedience.⁸⁵⁹

Informant: Hewemão

Source: Becher 1974, pp. 30-31.

Motif content

A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A2145.	Creation of snake (serpent).
D191.	Transformation: man to serpent (snake).
Q306.	Quarrelsomeness punished.
Q325.	Disobedience punished.
Q432.	Punishment: ejection.
Q551.3.2.	Punishment: transformation into animal.
S62.	Cruel husband.

177. The Origin of the *Komdim* Lizards

The ancestors used to be very numerous. The tapir too used to be a Sanema.

One day all the fathers had gone hunting. Many of them. The tapir boy stayed behind with the other children. The tapir sent the others off hunting. "Go off and hunt!" he said to them. All the children went off, leaving the house empty except for the tapir. He remained there alone lying in his hammock. The fathers all returned. "Where are all the children?" they asked. "Gone out to catch some game," replied the tapir. "Oh, dear!" The ancestors went out to search for them. It was dusk. They searched everywhere but the children had all turned into *komdim*⁸⁶⁰ lizards.

So people have said.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 89–90.

Motif content

A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A2148.	Creation of lizard.
D103.	Assembly or group transformed to animals.
D197.	Transformation: man to lizard.

178. The Hammock of Suutu and the Origin of Lice⁸⁶¹

It was Suutu⁸⁶² who kept the lice hidden away. He was a shaman, and kept them in his hammock. There were no lice among the Yanomam, but Suutu caused them to spread by giving them to the old people, in a hammock. They had come to visit him; he gave them a hammock, and that was how lice spread. This happened not very long ago, when I was a child, a newborn baby. Suutu said to the old people: "Here, take my hammock! Take it home and show it to your people!" He had tricked them, for it contained lice. The old people accepted his offer: "*Heishobë!*"⁸⁶³ Father-in-law,⁸⁶⁴ I would like to have that hammock!" After they had taken his hammock he added: "When you return home with this hammock and you arrive in your living area, hang it like this and beat it, and then you lie down in it!"⁸⁶⁵

The man who had taken it arrived home and hung it in his living area. He stretched it, the way people search for lice in their hammocks today,⁸⁶⁶ and hit it with his hand. That was when the lice scattered everywhere, in their hair and in the hammocks of all the Yanomam, every single person. They tried to throw them into their fires but could not get rid of them. Are they not everywhere today? They originated from the shamanic spirit⁸⁶⁷ called Spider.⁸⁶⁸ It was in fact Spider who gave rise to them through the supernatural form of Louse.⁸⁶⁹ Suutu, who was a shaman, caused them to spread. He kept Spider's lice in his hammock and gave them, along with the hammock, to our ancestors. Spider is a shamanic spirit, and Suutu made him perform a presentation dance⁸⁷⁰ as Louse, to make the lice spread out in his hammock. The lice were living in Suutu's hammock. Suutu was the name of a Maitha.⁸⁷¹ These people used to live near the mountain Takaimakë.⁸⁷² That was where Suutu lived. He was an elder. The Maitha people are dead now; there are none left. They were decimated by a harmful magic smoke.⁸⁷³ That was when the lice spread. In those days the Yanomam finally ceased to be transformed.⁸⁷⁴ Once the lice spread the people stopped turning into other creatures. Well, that's all.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Shaman from other group introduces lice among people by giving them his lice-infested hammock.

Motif content

A2051.	Creation of louse.
A2434.1.+.	Why lice are found everywhere. (A2434.1. Why certain animals are found everywhere.)
F403.2.+.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
F403.2.2.1.+.	Spider as spirit helper. (F403.2.2.1. Familiar spirit in animal form.)
K2284.+.	Treacherous shaman. (K2284. Treacherous priest.)

179. The White Monkey People and the Origin of Gnats⁸⁷⁵

It was the white monkey people⁸⁷⁶ who discovered the *ukushibē* gnats.⁸⁷⁷ In the early times those insects did not exist and did not sting the Yanomam.

The white monkey people were hungry, and were searching for food in the forest. One day they saw hanging in a tree something which resembled a swarm of wasps⁸⁷⁸ but which actually was a swarm of gnats. Thinking that they were wasps they decided to set fire to them in order to take the nest: "Aē! There is a wasps' nest hanging here! Aē! There are wasps here! Aē! Let's burn them!" Do we not continue to look for wasps' nests since then? And is that not what people shout when they see one?

So they made a torch of a bunch of dry leaves from the *hokosikē* palm,⁸⁷⁹ lit it, and moved it close to what they thought was a nest covered with wasps: *houuuuuu! kouuuuuu!* It looked like a ball of urucu,⁸⁸⁰ and it exuded a reddish juice that never stopped dripping. They brought the torch near it but the fire went out at once because of the wet substance that was oozing from it. Then the gnats hurled themselves at the eyes of the white monkey people—*wouuuuuu!*—and began to suck up the liquid. Are the eyes of these monkeys not set deep in their sockets today? The gnats emptied the white monkey people's eyes completely, making them soft.⁸⁸¹ The people covered their empty eye sockets with their hands. Driven mad by the stings of the gnats—*weee! weee! weee!*—they started to transform into white monkeys and ran away. Is it not true that the stings of the *ukushibē* gnats are unbearable? Then the gnats, which were excited and aggressive, began to scatter in all directions in the forest. Are they not very numerous today? They spread out everywhere!

The present-day gnats are the spectral form⁸⁸² of the gnats which the white monkey people tried to burn; that was how they came to be scattered in all directions. The gnats that we see today were created in that way, and that was how they multiplied. Long ago they did not exist; they did not sting our ancestors. The gnats of those early times were very large; they resembled wasps and were quite aggressive. Those we see now are the spectral form of the first gnats; that is why they are small. They find their food in the flowers whereas the first gnats, the real gnats, sucked the liquid from the eyes of the white monkey people, causing them to lose their minds and turn into animals. That was how it was. The gnats used to be enormous. That was how they multiplied. That is the story.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

White monkey people try to burn swarm of gnats found in forest, mistaking it for wasps' hive. Gnats sting them and suck the liquid from their eyes until they lose their minds and transform into white monkeys.

Motif content

A2033.	Creation of gnat.
A2332.4. +.	Why spider monkey has deep-set eyes. (A2332.4. Shape and position of animal's eyes.)
A2434.1. +.	Why gnats are found everywhere. (A2434.1. Why certain animals are found everywhere.)
D118.2.	Transformation: man (woman) to monkey.
D560. +.	Transformation from pain. (D560. Transformation by various means.)
J1750. +.	Gnats thought to be wasps. (J1750. One animal mistaken for another.)

180. *Talkative Bees

Long ago, very long ago, the bees could talk just like the Yanomami. Their voices could be heard all over the forest in a confused mingle. Tayra was tired of listening to them. The ancestors detested their chattering and showed hostility toward them. Then the bees fell silent. They disappeared, taking refuge in the sky.

In the morning, as soon as it was completely light, the bees began to call. They were really very numerous. Here is what they were saying: "There's *yamona* honey here! We've got some!" "I am the *husira* bee; there's nothing for the moment!" "We have two *hiporo* beehives next to each other! There's honey!" "Here there's a lot of *yōi* honey!" "Here there are several *rōmorōmoma* beehives!" "Inside hollow tree trunks there are numerous *wapoko* nests! You'll get very tired, gathering our honey." "I'm the *tima* bee; my nest is glued to a tree trunk. I've got honey just now." The bees could be heard everywhere, and they sounded just like Yanomami. "I'm the *ōi* bee; my nest is in a tree trunk!" "We are the *yamona* bees!" Before them there was a high

*Cf. narrative 110 among the group of narratives pertaining to honey.

mountain, and other voices were calling: "We are *yamona* bees in the tree trunks!"

One day when the deafening chatter of the bees could be heard as usual, Tayra began to call in a powerful voice: "Silence! Be quiet! We're tired of listening to you!" The bees did not even answer; they ascended toward the celestial disk where the soul of Honey lives, and gathered there to collect honey, disappearing completely from the surface of the earth. In vain Tayra ran to all the places where he knew that there was honey, saying: "After all, there used to be honey here not very long ago!" His search was futile; he no longer found anything. He would hurry to another spot, still for nothing. "Two *hiporo* beehives claimed to be here, after all, but I don't see them." He ran somewhere else, searched, but found nothing at all. "Some *yamona* bees claimed to be here." He went to look at another place; nothing. "But I remember very well having heard the *tima* bee here!" Again he went to a new spot. "Here, earlier in the day, some *rōmorōmoma* nests were talking." He would climb a tree, then descend. No beehive could be seen any more. "Bees, are you there? Bees, answer!" Tayra was calling in vain; the bees had taken refuge in the sky.

Source: Lizot ms. (Yanomami)

Summary

Tayra shouts at talkative bees to be quiet. Bees ascend to sky, disappearing from earth.

Motif content

B211.4.2.	Speaking bee.
R323.	Refuge in upper world.
W141.	Talkativeness.

NOTES

1. *Sama*, tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*).

2. *Haīhaī'omī*, the screaming piha (*Lipaugus vociferans*). The bird is said to signal thunder, *sandi he'an*. Thunder is the noise made by Sanema ghosts as they dance to celebrate the arrival of a new member (i.e., it signals death).

3. This text was edited from two narratives told in 1979 by Ikahi (an elder of Hewēnahibitheri, a local group of the upper Catrimani River), with commentaries by Marōkoi (one of his sons) and Arianamē (his half brother).

4. "Rapid of Thunder." It is said to be located in one of the affluents of the headwaters of the Rio Parima (upper Rio Branco), near those of the Orinoco.

5. Tapirs (*Tapirus terrestris*) like to stand in water up to their necks during the dry season or when they are wounded.

6. The Yanomam distinguish "hunger for meat" from "hunger for vegetable food."

7. A call of encouragement or triumph by hunters or warriors.

8. *Calathea* sp., large leaves like those of the banana tree.

9. Our informants specified that this precaution was to prevent Thunder from reproducing and multiplying from every fallen drop of blood.

10. *Lipaugus vociferans*, a large gray bird whose powerful call is one of the most characteristic sounds of the Amazonian forest.

11. The Yanomam say that during storms the call of the screaming piha is heard alternating with the rumble of thunder and that this is how he still answers his father-in-law.

12. In Yanomam language the name of these shamanic spirits is derived from the term designating the shaman: *shaburibë* and, less often, *hekurabë*. They are said to have the form of miniature humanoid creatures manipulated by the shamans who identify with them in the songs and choreographies of their trances for the purpose of curing and aggression.

13. During storms, Yanomam shamans send out their spirit helpers on the back of the sky in order to silence the rumblings of the thunders, making them inhale *yākōana* hallucinogen (see narrative 11, note 48) and chew tobacco, or shooting arrows at them and hitting them with clubs, axes, and machetes. Thus the thunders are said to look pitiful, emaciated, and covered with wounds.

14. The present-day animals (*yarobë*) are said to be "spectral forms" (*në borebë*) of the mythical ancestors with animal names (*yaroribë* or *yaro batabë*). See also narrative 22, note 123.

15. To the Yanomam, the rumblings of thunder are the voices of the thunders greeting the arrival of the ghosts on the back of the sky (see Albert 1985, p. 628). Regarding Yanomam cosmology, see narrative 7, note 22.

16. Generic term designating the Yanomam of the highlands.

17. Generic term designating the western Yanomami.

18. Clusters of Yanomam villages respectively of the upper Parima River and of the Cutaiba River (upper Uraricoera River).

19. This text was edited from three narratives told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Arianamë.

20. See narrative 4, note 10, and narrative 13.

21. Omamë is the Yanomam demiurge, creator of the present-day world and Yanomam humanity.

22. Supernatural fly people, also called Warusimaribë, into which the Yanomam ghosts transform after their death (*brōd* is the name of the fly, *Mesembrinelli bicolor*). The Yanomam conceive of the universe as consisting of four layers, from the top down the "young sky," the sky, "this level" (earth), and the "old level" (underworld). The present form of this structure is due to the primeval cataclysm described in this narrative in which all levels were lowered one step: the former "young sky" became the present sky,

the former sky the present earth, and the former earth the present underworld (see Albert 1985, pp. 650–655).

23. The Yanomam say the cacao tree (*Theobroma cacao*) was given its present form when it bent under the weight of the primeval sky which rested on it.

24. The Yanomam locate the place where the primeval sky rested on the cacao tree in the southern Serra Parima (Upper Parima River, Rio Branco basin).

25. *Amazona farinosa*. This parrot, the largest of Amazonia, has a very powerful beak, and is said to like to perch in the top of the tallest trees (see also narratives 33 and 35).

26. The Yanomam locate the upper end (upstream) of the earth toward the sunset and the lower end (downstream) toward the sunrise, their own territory being situated at the center of the terrestrial level.

27. Allusion to narrative 35.

28. Allusion to narrative 11.

29. See narrative 4, note 12. Most Yanomam narratives allude to these animal transformations of the mythological ancestors as a result of instances of misconduct conceived of as inversions of current cultural rules.

30. Literally, "make funerary ashes the object of an exchange ceremonial dialogue" (see narrative 11, note 8). Regarding the Yanomam ritual burial (adults) or drinking (children) of funerary ashes, see Albert 1985, pp. 495–500.

31. See *ibid.*, pp. 564–566, and Albert 1988, pp. 92–93, for an analysis of the animal ancestors' cannibalism and its relation to the present symbolic cannibalism of funerary and warfare rituals.

32. *Paso*, spider monkey (*Ateles belzebuth*). The bones of the spider monkey are favored for making the arrowpoints to shoot birds.

33. *Ilo*, howler monkey (*Alouatta seniculus*). The use of howler monkey bones for digging is mentioned in only two of three versions collected. *Sama* (*Tapirus terrestris*) bones are included in a third version.

34. The informant says that those below who were killed became the *ohinani* people of the underworld. See Zerries 1964, p. 277.

35. This text was edited from three narratives told by Ikahi in 1979, and commentaries told in 1989.

36. *Iriartella satigera*.

37. Allusion to narrative 210.

38. *Camponotus* sp., large black ants which make their nests in hollow bamboo and palm stalks or in the neck of gourds. The Yanomam say that they emit a call at night which can be heard some distance away from their nest.

39. The hollow *horomasiké* stalks were made into blowguns said to be used by *okabé* sorcerers to blow harmful substances at enemies in distant villages (see Albert 1985, pp. 284–285).

40. *Heliconia* cf. *aurea*, large leaves like those of banana trees.

41. This ceremonial dialogue is mainly dedicated to the intervillage transmission of news (see *ibid.*, pp. 459–460). It is conducted with guests during the first night of *reahu* festivals or with any visitors from far away.

42. This ceremonial dialogue is principally devoted to concluding

exchanges (economic and matrimonial) and to conflict-solving. It is also conducted during the burying of funerary ashes. It usually takes place just after the *wayamu* and at the end of the *reahu* festival (see *ibid.*, pp. 495–497, 509–512; see also narrative 362, note 40).

43. The *reahu* is a ceremonial festival devoted to the celebration of intervillage alliances, and a funerary ritual (see Albert 1985, chaps. 12 and 14 for a description and analysis). Its name is derived from the verb *reahuai*, designating the distribution of ceremonial foods during the festival.

44. This ceremonial dialogue is used for invitations to *reahu* festivals. It is also conducted to ask for an officiant to bury funerary ashes or to recruit allies for a raid (see *ibid.*, pp. 443–444, 488).

45. Lit., "make again and again the names to be given."

46. Speeches made by Yanomam village leaders or respected elders at nightfall or before sunrise (see *ibid.*, pp. 206–207 and 441).

47. "To have (a group) perform a presentation dance" is an expression often used synonymously with "to invite (a group) to a *reahu* festival" (see narrative 50, note 313).

48. This hallucinogenic snuff containing tryptamines is generally used by shamans and by all men, but only at the end of *reahu* festivals (see Albert 1985, pp. 494–495). It is a reddish-brown powder prepared from dried scraps or crystallized resin collected from the inner bark of the *Virola elongata* tree. Other common ingredients include the ashes of the bark of the tree *Elizabetha princeps* and the powder of dried odoriferous *Justicia pectoralis* leaves.

49. Lit., "people who are merely there."

50. Allusion to narrative 197.

51. See narrative 7, note 26.

52. An allusion to the misadventures of the animal ancestors who are the protagonists of most Yanomam mythical narratives.

53. Regarding Yanomam cosmology, see narrative 7, note 22.

54. Regarding the creation of these beings, see narrative 7.

55. Each being is said to have a "vital principle" which is seen by shamans in the form of what they call the "supernatural image" of this being; the word *utubë* has both meanings (see Albert 1985, pp. 146–150). The mythical time is conceived of as the origin of society but also as a parallel dimension of its present reality to which only the shamans have access through the use of hallucinogens. Through the use of these they can "see the supernatural images" of beings and "make them descend" during their therapeutic, prophylactic, or aggressive shamanic sessions.

56. Regarding the creation of the foreigners, see narratives 33 and 210 (see also Albert 1988).

57. The original rearrangement of the cosmological layers (see narrative 7, note 22) is said to have led to that of the creatures which inhabited them; thus, when the ancestors of the former earth became the underworld cannibal people, their ghosts, who inhabited the back of the former sky, became the present inhabitants of the earth, that is, the Yanomam. Arianamë commented here: "We are the ghosts of those who fell into the underworld; we merely entered the hollow palm stalk as we metamorphosed; we were inside in the form of ghosts." That is why the epoch of the fall of the sky ("the time when the earth came into being") is also called "the time when

the world became spectral." The episode about how the proto-Yanomam were extracted from the palm stalk is a metaphor for a transformation/gestation process through which they passed from the state of the spectral form of the first ancestors to their present human form. Regarding another version of this episode one informant commented that Omamë "turned upside down" the skin of the proto-Yanomam/ghosts and made them drink ceremonial plantain soup in order to make them human again.

58. An allusion to narrative 33.

59. A small implement made of an agouti (*Dasyprocta aguti*) incisor attached to a short wooden handle (*Rinorea guianensis*). It is used in particular for shaping lanceolate bamboo arrowpoints and the butt end of arrows.

60. An allusion to narrative 22.

61. Lit., "supernatural image leaf" (see note 55).

62. Nocturnal song and dance sessions of the *reahu* festivals (see Albert 1985, pp. 445-446 and 463).

63. An allusion to the funerary service on the last day of the *reahu* festival. In the course of this service a group of potential affines of the mourner, performing a *yāimu* ceremonial dialogue, bury the bone ashes of their deceased relative under his hearth (children's bone ashes are drunk in plantain soup). See also narrative 7, note 30.

64. An allusion to the *henimu* ceremonial hunt conducted before a *reahu* festival to gather the "meat of the funerary ashes" with which the mourner will reward first the performers of the funerary service and then all the guests of the festival (see Albert 1985, pp. 512-521).

65. Allusions respectively to narratives 172, 153, 158, 102, 251, 246, 80, and 279.

66. Allusions respectively to narratives 153, 172, 140, and 158.

67. This narrative mentions the creation of the essential ritual basis of Yanomam society and culture (formal speeches, shamanism, funerary ceremonies, and pubertal seclusion). It is implicitly understood that Omamë established all the cultural rules which the narratives about the misconduct of the animal ancestors present negatively (that is, by the effects of their transgressions).

68. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Hiko (a co-resident).

69. See narrative 4, note 12.

70. According to Hiko his name was Ahëramasi.

71. An allusion to an attitude common to shamanic choreography, raising the arms above the head.

72. Yanomam mythical and historical memory is organized with reference to a trajectory from the west (upstream, highlands) toward the east (downstream, lowlands) on the terrestrial layer. For Ikahi, "here" (that is, the lowlands) means "in the present," as opposed to "at the headwaters," in the past.

73. The shaman is said to be the father of his spirit helpers. The Yanomam say that at the death of great shamans their orphaned spirit helpers still continue to cut the sky. They say that when very strong storms seem to make the sky "crack," this announces the death of a great shaman of a distant village, and they generally perform a special shamanic session to help to support the sky layer.

74. The Yanomam say that the sky, which is very old and often slashed by orphaned shamanic spirits, is in bad condition. They compare it to the roof or the patched palisades of an old collective house.

75. An allusion to narrative 7.

76. The Yanomam say that the sky layer is held up by something like flying buttresses located at the edge of the terrestrial disk. These "feet of the sky" are said to be, like the sky itself, in bad shape, covered with hastily repaired cracks, and groaning under their burden.

77. Lit., "supernatural images of iron rods."

78. The risk of a new fall of the sky is generally denied as a present threat. It is nevertheless mentioned as a possibility in the future.

79. The Yanomam say that it is also through these cracks that snakes, considered pets of the thunders, fall to earth when they are out hunting on the back of the sky and get lost.

80. See narrative 4, note 13.

81. An allusion to narrative 4.

82. This is a mixture of myth and reality.

83. This myth has already been published (Becher 1959, pp. 104–105, and *idem* 1960, pp. 113–114), but at that time I knew only the names of the first-born man, Uruhi, and the woman, Petá. During my third expedition in 1970 I found out the names of the other three men, Horonamú, Totorí, and Horemá, as well as that of the son, Suhirina. Besides this, the chief Hewemão gave me a detailed interpretation of this myth (see narrative 17). In addition it is worth mentioning that in 1966 I was also able to collect creation myths among the Pakidái and in 1970 among the Ironasitéri, and those of the Pakidái sounded identical, even with respect to personal names. In the corresponding Ironasitéri myth, on the other hand, Horonamú is called Horonamí and is considered the firstborn, while Uruhi was the second man to emerge from the bird's leg.

84. *Cacicus cela* L.

85. Among the Surára and the Pakidái the younger unmarried brothers also have the right to have intercourse with their older brother's wife. In addition, the members of both tribes believe that a woman can bear strong children only if she has frequent intercourse with other men during her pregnancy.

86. Surára and Pakidái children also call their father's unmarried brother "father," not "uncle."

87. Names nearly identical to the ones in this myth (Petá = Pata, Suhirina = Suhilina) also appear in the very similar origin myth of the Yanonámi tribe of the Aharaibu. Father Knobloch, who collected it, writes that Suhilina wounded the moon-spirit Pölopoliwe (this name is almost certainly identical to Poré/Perimbó) when the latter had devoured Suhilina's children and those of the other people of long ago. From Pölopoliwe's drops of blood the Yanoname (the same as the Yanonámi) were born (Knobloch 1967, pp. 148–149).

In the origin myth of the Igneweteri, whose chief told it to the Salesian Father Cocco, there is likewise mention of an archer by the name of Suhirina who hit the moon with an arrow. Here it is also said that the Yanoama (= Yanonámi) were born from the blood of the moon, but only men (Father Cocco, recorded by Biocca 1966, II, p. 499).

Barandiarán tells of a Sanemá myth. It says that the moon (Puhipulibara) sucks the blood of dead people, which is why the shaman Yuhilinaway shoots an arrow at it. The blood of the moon is given to the first people, infusing them with vital energy (Barandiarán 1967, pp. 10 ff).

Finally we should mention Chagnon's narrative about the Bisaasiteri. In this myth the moon-spirit Periboriwä (identical to Poré/Perimbó) is hit by a bamboo-tipped arrow launched by Suhirina, and loses much blood. When the blood falls onto the earth it is transformed into people, but here, too, only into men. "Then Suhirina took one bamboo-tipped arrow (*rahaka*) and shot at Periboriwä when he was directly overhead, hitting him in the abdomen. The tip of the arrow barely penetrated Periboriwä's flesh, but the wound bled profusely. Blood spilled to earth in the vicinity of a village called Höö-teri, near the mountain called Maiyo. The blood changed into men as it hit the earth, causing a large population to be born. All of them were males; the blood of Periboriwä did not change into females. Most of the Yanomamö who are alive today are descended from the blood of Periboriwä. *Because they have their origin in blood, they are fierce and are continuously making war on each other*" (Chagnon 1968, pp. 47-48).

88. I was given these explanations during my third visit among the Surára and the Pakidái in 1970, after my friendly ties with them had been intensified and I had gone through the initiation rites. Normally such information is kept strictly secret from strangers. (Author-commentated narrative. [Eds.].)

89. In the mythology of the Cayapo it is the other way around, with a woman who turns into a bird (Lukesch 1968, pp. 99 ff).

90. In addition I should like to mention a citation from Lopatin, according to which the Siberian Goldis believe that there grows a big tree in the sky in which the souls of unborn children live in the form of small birds. They multiply there, and after they descend to earth they are formed into people inside the body of a woman. (Cf. Nachtigall 1953:65-66).

91. Since we have to assume that Petá and the four men were siblings, the first anthropogenesis began with incest.

92. One can also take this as proof that among the Indians in question polyandry is older than polygyny.

93. Originally fishing was done from the riverbank with bows and arrows. I was still able to witness this during my first visit in 1955/56.

94. This is the first known Indian reference to the origin of this custom. Until now it had been seen only as a protective measure against persistent insects and thorns in the forest (Becher 1951, p. 192, and 1955, p. 153). The custom is still observed, and every male member of the tribe from age 4 must pull his penis up under the string around his hips. This string must never be removed, not even during sleep or while bathing, and must be worn even under the clothing of civilization.

95. The women in the tribes mentioned above took over this legacy, and to this day every man must wear his penis tied up.

96. This custom too is still observed today.

97. The existence of the penis string is also recorded by Gottfried Polykrates in a myth from the Wawanaueteri and the Pukimaueteri, "Bat, *hewuí*, and Anteater, *tep(é)*." Here Polykrates refers to the great antiquity of this cultural element (Polykrates 1969, p. 195).

98. This custom too is still observed today (Becher 1959, p. 165).
99. *Bixa orellana*.
100. Becher 1959, pp. 162 ff.
101. Idem 1960, p. 107, pl. 48.
102. Chagnon 1968, pp. 113 ff. and fig. 4-4.
103. Becher 1960, p. 107.
104. Ibid.
105. In this Ironasitéri myth, too, Petá is characterized as a female chief, exactly as among the Surára and the Pakidái (see narrative 17).
106. Here we see again the same names as in the creation myths of the Surára (see narrative 16). However, this time Horonamí, not Uruhi, is mentioned as the oldest brother. In addition, the slight dialectal variations of the names Horonamú and Horonamí are noteworthy.
107. *Felis onca* L.
108. See narrative 15.
109. See narrative 17.
110. Amoawë: from *amoamou*, to sing.
111. Purima: firefly, glowworm.
112. Ancestor who turned into a large black scorpion, which stings but which is not poisonous. This is what the Iyëwei-teri call it; other Yanomamo from the Upper Orinoco call it *uhutima*.
113. *Atama* is an edible mushroom. The generic word for mushroom is *peribo*.
114. Suhirina-riwë is the ancestor who turned into a scorpion. He is the hero of hunting, who never misses his aim. When a youth shows a lack of skill in hunting the shamans, intoxicated by snuff, make magic over him, involving Suhirina-riwë. With the incarnation of this spirit they rub the bow and the arrows and the young hunter's arms and body, assuring him that when he goes out to hunt the next day he will certainly be lucky.
115. Yanomamo who live in the forest and who abduct people.
116. Also in Makiritare mythology the first men created by Wanaadi were punished and transformed into plants through the fault of Odoxa. In the mythology of the Yaruruo, a tribe as Paleo-Indian as the Yanomamo, something analogous occurred: in their flood myth the people turned into alligators and dolphins; the howler monkeys are merely people who tried to save themselves by climbing trees; the jaguars and the snakes are people punished for having committed incest.
117. The myth of the pregnant leg is also found in the mythology of other American Indian tribes. No wonder, then, that when an Indian sees a white man in shorts and with rather thick calves, compared to those of the Yanomamo, he bends down to touch the possible contents.
118. On another occasion the same informant called her Xiapokori-yoma.
119. Also called *kori*; in Spanish *conoto*.
120. Pölipoliwe has a son, Pölipo Linyoma, and the latter's son is Pölipo Hekamape. Pölipo's grandson is the morning and evening star (Matthäus).
121. This text was edited from two narratives told by Ikahi in 1979.
122. On the origin of Omamë, see narratives 11 and 187.
123. Lit., "to have the custom of doing in spectral form." This expression indicates that today's customs are reproductions—the "spectral form" (see narrative 4, note 14)—of those taught by the mythical beings.
124. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979.

125. The reference is to polishers for stone axes used by tribes which disappeared between the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, permitting the Yanomam to expand into the lowlands of the right bank of the Rio Branco.

126. An old garden located on the Rio Jundia (upper Catrimani River), occupied by Ikahi's group between 1968 and 1977.

127. See Lizot 1975b, p. 13; Chagnon 1968, p. 48; Zerries 1964, p. 273.

128. The term *hiwi* refers to all the species of bat.

129. *Waso* is a term applied to a number of small bats including the vampire bat.

130. *Koli* refers to at least two species of birds, the caciques *Psarcolius viridis* and *Gymnostinops yuracares*.

131. I have already published this myth (Becher 1966-1967, p. 31), but in a different context. It is very important here for comparison with the two flood myths of the Ironasitéri.

132. *Tálmā* (*tracajá*, *Emys* sp.).

133. See Becher 1974, p. 110.

134. *Alouatta* sp.

135. Here, too, the raindrops are transformed drops of blood. See Becher 1974, p. 41.

136. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

137. *Alouatta* sp.

138. *Bixa orellana*.

139. See Becher 1974, pp. 68-69.

140. Raindrops are in reality transformed drops of blood (*ibid.*, p. 41).

141. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

142. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

143. This text is edited from three narratives told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi and Arianamē.

The creation of the white people is also associated with Omamē (see narrative 210). In several other versions of narrative 33 the whites are said to have been created by both Omamē and Remori, who lived together.

144. The Orinoco. This hill is said to be located between the Orinoco and the headwaters of the Demini River, an affluent of the left bank of the lower Rio Negro.

145. Most of the Yanomam collective houses are conical, and less often, as here, in the form of a truncated cone with a central plaza open to the sky. This central plaza is the ceremonial (masculine) center of the house.

146. See narrative 11, notes 42 and 43 on the *yāimu* dialogue and the *reahu* festival (and more particularly Albert 1985, pp. 509-512, on the close of the latter).

147. See narrative 11, note 48. The *virola* snuff is mainly used by the shamans but is also inhaled by all the men at the end of *reahu* festivals before they conduct *yāimu* ceremonial dialogues (see Albert 1985, pp. 494-495).

148. Interjection expressing sudden pain.

149. Regarding these ceremonial duels see *ibid.*, pp. 262-263 and 511-512).

150. *Bactris gasipaës*, a cultivated palm. The stones of the fruits are first planted near the collective house, protected by short wooden slats, before the shoots are transferred to the gardens.

151. Among the Yanomam a man who marries a prepubescent girl must

later undergo pubertal seclusion with her. He is then considered also to be in the ritual *yābi* "state of puberty" (see *ibid.*, pp. 590–598).

152. The Yanomam say that if a menstruating woman should look upon a hallucinogen it would lose all its power.

153. "Menstruation leaves" from the *Sorocea guyanensis* shrub. These thin leaves are curiously suspended under their stalks (see Fuentes 1980, p. 75).

154. Solidarity with affines in *reahu* ceremonial duels is one of the obligations of Yanomam marital service toward one's wife's father and brothers.

155. The chthonic water of Moturari, the lake of the underworld, which causes floods. Concerning the relationship between Moturari and menstrual blood, see Albert 1985, pp. 575–576.

156. Nests of the termites *Embriatermes neotenicus* and *Nasutitermes chaguimayensis*.

157. *Bradypus tridactylus*, *Choleopus didactylus*, *Tamandua tetradactyla*.

158. The verb *tukreai* means "to border, to mark the limit of." The verb *batiai* means "to be in a small quantity, to be in a patch."

159. *Amazona farinosa*, see narrative 7, note 25.

160. Respectively, *Pteronura brasiliensis* and *Melanosuchus niger*.

161. The name of this mythical being comes from that of the copper-colored hornet *remoremoreashi* (*Centris* sp. and *Euglossa* sp.).

162. The *remoremoreashi* hornets are most often found on sandbanks during the dry season.

163. According to the Yanomam, the sky is a curved layer attached to the edge of the terrestrial layer with flying buttresses (see narrative 13, note 76). The waters of all rivers are said to join together and fall into the underworld at the point of the junction of the earth with the celestial layer, "downstream of the earth" (see narrative 7, note 26).

164. The Yanomam say that foreign languages are inarticulate like a "ghost language."

165. Tape recorder.

166. Until the nineteenth century the Demini River was inhabited by the Bahuana (Tiliana), an Arawak-speaking group.

167. The city of Manaus, capital of the State of Amazonas, located near the spot where the Rio Negro flows into the Amazon.

168. The highland region of the Orinoco-Parima interfluvium is the point of origin of the Yanomam of the Catrimani basin.

169. The "real foreigners" means the non-Yanomam Amerindians in opposition to "*kraiwa* foreigners," the white people (see Albert 1988, pp. 95 and 101–102).

170. *Kraiwa* is probably a distortion of *Karaiva*, a term widely used among Amazonian native people to designate the whites. It is used specifically by the Ye'kuana, the Yanomami's northern Carib neighbors, to name Portuguese speakers (see Heinen 1983–1984, p. 4).

171. This comment was made by Arianamë after hearing the narrative told by Ikahi. In other circumstances at least three informants of different villages spontaneously made very similar comments about the creation of the white man.

172. Name of a cluster of Yanomam villages of the Toototobi River (upper Demini).

173. In Portuguese in the narrative. At this point Arianamë began to ex-

clude the listener from the stingy *kraiwa*, because he began to refer to specific experiences of workers during the construction of the road "Perimetral Norte." A section of this road crossed the southern Yanomam territory between 1974 and 1976; it was later abandoned (see Ramos and Taylor 1979).

174. *Kabisha*, from the Portuguese *camisa*.

175. This myth should be compared with that in Civrieux 1970, p. 43.

176. *Holema gigi*, giant earthworm.

177. This text is edited from two narratives told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi and Arianamē.

178. See narrative 11, note 64.

179. *Amazona amazonica*. This parrot lives on the fruits that grow in the treetops. The Yanomam say that it is one of the few animals that can eat the poisonous *momo* fruits.

180. Toxic fruits from the *Micrandra rosiana* tree which grows only in the highlands of the Yanomami territory. They can be eaten only after being dried over the fire, boiled, cut up, soaked for four or five days, and finally rubbed against the bottom of a basket. They are still used as ceremonial food at *reahu* festivals by the groups of the highlands (see Fuentes 1980, p. 79).

181. Regarding Yanomam funeral ceremonies, see Albert 1985, chap. 12.

182. Interjection expressing indignant surprise or revulsion.

183. See narrative 4, note 8.

184. The blackening of women's cheeks is a sign of mourning for a close relative (see Albert 1985, pp. 385–387).

185. Speaking of death and of the dead is closely circumscribed by tabus (see *ibid.*, pp. 186–188), and therefore the ghost girl's questions about her own funerary ashes are both incongruous and frightening to her mother.

186. Funerary bone ashes are kept in gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria* and *Cucurbita* sp.) which are sewn into small openwork baskets attached to a stake near the fire or to a beam over it (see *ibid.*, pp. 425–430).

187. *Tinamus major*, an earth-dwelling bird which takes flight particularly suddenly and loudly. Its call at dusk is said to announce the night. The Yanomam also say that a sick person would die eating its flesh. It is thus here a symbolic link between day and night, life and death.

188. *Clusia insignis* and *Clusia grandiflora*, large epiphytic lianas said to grow very straight. Regarding Yanomam cosmology, see narrative 7, note 22.

189. The celestial layer is said to have a "back," where the ghosts live, and a "chest" that human beings see from the earth. The mythological center of the Yanomami territory is situated at the headwaters of the Orinoco, Parima, and Mucajai rivers. It is often given the name "the place where the ghosts descended."

190. *Amazona farinosa* (see narrative 7, note 25).

191. An informant of another community commented on this narrative: "If the path of the revenants had not been severed they would come back to earth immediately after dying. Only our outer skin would die, and our inside form would quickly return to where it belonged on earth as a new living person. The Yanomam would become very numerous; they would not really die; they would come back after dying." Regarding the present relationship between the world of the living and the world of the dead, see Albert 1985, chap. 14.

192. *Epicrates cenchria*, a kind of snake. (Eds.)
193. *Nashkoi*, cassava gruel.
194. The Sanema do not have numbers beyond two; they count on their fingers. Ten days means "a long time" to the Sanema.
195. *Ilamo*, not the usual word *polemo*, which means to become intoxicated. Here the word means to actually incorporate jaguar-feline spirits.
196. *Monama* (not identified); black olive-sized fruits common during August-October at the end of the wet season. The basket mentioned is a *wi*, that is, one usually used by women. The association of *wi* and shamans (see Lizot 1976, pp. 176 ff.) distinguishes them from ordinary men.
197. Lévi-Strauss (1973, p. 386 n.) notes that jaguars make a cracking sound when they flap their ears!
198. *Hasa*, forest deer (*Mazama americana*).
199. *Sakona* (*Virola* spp.). This common tree occurs throughout the Sanema area. The Sanema rip down the bark and use the red resin that it contains to prepare a hallucinogenic snuff containing tryptamines. This is the only drug commonly taken by the Sanema (see Colchester and Lister 1978).
200. The *hekura* live on the mountaintops and in the waterfalls (Henrique, David, Hermelinda).
201. This text was edited from one version of the narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Buushimë (his son-in-law living in a neighboring community).
202. *Turdus fumigatus*, a thrush known for its very melodious song in the morning.
203. *Turdus albicollis*, a thrush equally well known for its song.
204. A large black mosquito (*Culicidae*) which is very common in the forest during the rainy season. It is included here among good singers because of its sharp buzzing.
205. *Amo* means literally "center, heart." These songs are sung at the *reahu* festival during nocturnal dancing; see Albert 1985, pp. 445 and 463.
206. *Bufo gr. typhonius*. These toads are commonly found on the ground in the forest where they blend perfectly with the dead leaves. The Yanomam say that they "sing together" noisily at night at the time of the first rains. Regarding the *reahu* festival, see narrative 11, note 43.
207. *Waika* is a generic term used by the western Yanomami (Shamathari) to designate the Yanomam. Thus the toad people are presented as strangers who brag in a ludicrous way about being able to sing Yanomam songs.
208. An allusion to narrative 167.
209. *Micrandra rosiana* (see narrative 35, note 180).
210. A nocturnal mixed dance during which men sing ceremonial songs. See narrative 167, notes 796 and 814.
211. A small, light hammock made with strips of the interior bark of the *Anaxagorea acuminata* tree. It is used by the men to travel, rolled into a small package which hangs on the back.
212. See narrative 33, note 145.
213. See narrative 35, note 182.
214. The name of this ogre is derived from *boko hayu*, "left arm." The suffix *-mëri* indicates a supernatural being.

215. A band about 60 cm in diameter and 10 cm wide, made of beaten bark of the *yāremahi* tree (unidentified).

216. Interjection expressing intrigued or amused surprise.

217. An armband made of a cotton band, about 10 cm in diameter and 2 to 3 cm wide. It has no seam and can be extended, as it is woven using a type of "crochet" technique.

218. *Tayassu albirostris*.

219. This kinship appellation is often used toward older strangers to express some deference. The personages of Yanomam narratives always use personal pronouns of the second person plural when addressing their fathers- and mothers-in-law.

220. *Lindackeria maynensis*.

221. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi and Arianamē.

222. A large bloodsucking bat (*Desmodus* sp.?). The Yanomam say that it has no blood, and credit its ashes with coagulative properties. Incestuous people are considered bloodless and impervious to decomposition when they die. They are also associated with the two-toed sloth (*Choleopus didactylus*), another "bloodless" animal with a "dry penis" whose flesh, roasted or boiled, is considered capable of, respectively, halting a too abundant menstrual flow and coagulating wounds. Regarding Yanomam conceptions about blood and incest, see Albert 1985, pp. 614-618.

223. *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*, another animal whose stringy flesh is considered "bloodless."

224. See narrative 11, note 43.

225. The association between bushy pubic hair (a favorite element of sexual attraction) and the giant anteater is a constant joke among the Yanomam.

226. The honey of the *buuashinakē* bee (*Scaptotrigona* sp.). See narrative 47, note 259.

227. The firewood is cut from the felled trees in the garden which remain after the fallen vegetation has been burned off.

228. Allusion to narrative 86. Among the lowland Yanomam the preferred vegetable food distributed at the *reaku* festivals is cassava cake and boiled green plantain. However, the highland communities still use maize (see Fuentes 1980, p. 79).

229. *Campephilus rubricollis*. This large bird digs into the tree trunks with loud pecking in his search for cicada larvae.

230. *Azteca chartifex*, fast-moving and aggressive tree-dwelling ants whose cardboardlike nests hang from the branches.

231. A triangular structure of stakes generally covered with large *Calathea* sp. or *Heliconia* sp. leaves.

232. Interjection expressing poor hearing or comprehension.

233. Interjection expressing satisfied approbation.

234. Large gourds made from the dried and hollowed-out fruit of *Lagenaria siceraria*. They were used as water containers before the Yanomam had access to aluminum pots.

235. Red dye from the seeds of the fruits of the *Bixa orellana* shrub. See narrative 113, note 543.

236. Yanomam ceremonial white down generally comes from the king vulture, *Sarcoramphus papa*, and from the laughing hawk, *Herpetotheres cachinnans*.

237. Respectively, *Crax alector* and *Ara macao* or *Ara chloroptera*.

238. *Amazona farinosa*.

239. See narrative 33, note 145.

240. Specifically a piece of *washihi* wood (Rubiaceae) reputed to be easy to cut and to have excellent combustion.

241. See narrative 4, note 7.

242. *Hymenaea cf. intermedia*, a large tree between thirty and fifty meters tall.

243. The ocelot *Leopardus pardalis*. Ocelot is the archetypal good hunter in various myths.

244. See narrative 11, note 55.

245. *Myrmecophaga* sp.

246. This text was edited from two narratives told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi.

247. *Macrobrachium nattereri*. These crayfish are frequent in the small streams of the highlands of the Yanomam territory.

248. The western Yanomami.

249. A form of sorcery between hostile communities consisting of secret expeditions to blow harmful substances at isolated people in order to kill them (see Albert 1985, chap. 9).

250. *Solenopsis* sp., small red ants whose bite causes very painful burns.

251. According to Yanomam kinship terminology these "fathers-in-law" (*shoayēbē*) can be mother's brothers or grandfathers.

252. Such reconnoitering expeditions are usual before launching a raid.

253. Regarding curare, see narrative 124.

254. A section of a large bamboo stalk about 30 cm long, and closed by a piece of animal skin, in which only arrowpoints are stored. The hunters hang their quivers around the neck and down the center of the back.

255. A murderer is said to be "in a ritual state of homicide" (*unokai*), i.e., in a state of pollution caused by the symbolic incorporation of the blood and flesh of his victim. The homicide ritual (*unokaimu*) that he must undergo is conceived of as a symbolic process of digesting the decaying flesh of the victim (see Albert 1985, chap. 11).

256. The Yanomam consider any killing, whether by physical or supernatural means, as an act of symbolic predation leading to the ritual condition of *unokai*.

257. Interjection expressing violent anger.

258. Honeycombs from the nest of a *Scapotrigona* sp. bee. Those of the lower part of the hive contain an acid and nauseating liquid. They are used as an emetic at the end of the homicide *unokaimu* ritual (see *ibid.*, p. 376).

259. Yanomam raids and the war ritual (*watubamu*) that precedes them are generally conducted after a short *reahu* funerary ceremony (see *ibid.*, pp. 353-360). Regarding the funerary ritual meat see narrative 11, note 64.

260. The narrator counted on his fingers six times. The bone ashes of the dead are contained in several gourds and are gradually buried in successive *reahu* festivals. Several raids can be launched during all phases of the

funerary process (see Albert 1985, chap. 12)—from the laying out of the corpse to the burying of the last ashes—but not after.

261. A pointed spear made of palm wood (*Bactris gasipaës*), about two meters long, which looks like a bow shaft. The Yanomam say that it was used in the past; however, bamboo spears are still in use among the Yanomam of the Serra Parima in Brazil.

262. The greatest demonstration of bravery for a warrior. *Öeömë* embodies the quintessential warlike virtues, and his "supernatural image" (see narrative 11, note 55) is invoked to "descend" in the warriors before any raid (see Albert 1985, pp. 159, 353–354).

263. The Orinoco River.

264. He did not observe the strict dietary prohibitions of the *unokaimu* ritual; see *ibid.*, pp. 367–370).

265. Regarding this call of the ghosts see narrative 124, note 582.

266. *Geonoma baculifera*, a very resistant palm leaf used to cover the roofs of the houses and to make small packages.

267. This snuff is obtained from the seeds of the highland tree *Anadenanthera peregrina* (see Fuentes 1980, pp. 64–69). The Yanomam consider it a Shamathari speciality and say that its effect is more powerful and longer lasting than that of their *yākōana* hallucinogen (see narrative 11, note 48).

268. Vocative term in the Shamathari language meaning, according to our Yanomam informants, son-in-law or sister's son.

269. The narrator imitates the Shamathari language of the ghost shamans.

270. Among the Shamathari these tubes are about 60 cm to 90 cm long and are made of the hollow stem of a gramineous plant (see Fuentes 1980, p. 69). Among the Yanomam they are generally made of an *Iriartella* sp. palm stalk or of a *Ichnosiphon obliquus* reed.

271. Vocative term in the Shamathari language meaning son-in-law or sister's son.

272. See narrative 33, note 148.

273. Also mother's brother (and grandfather).

274. The name of a large hill near the headwaters of the Parima River (see narrative 288, note 210).

275. We translate here the Yanomam expression *niyayu* ("to shoot one another") as "to make war" or "warfare."

276. The Yanomam consider revenge as a reciprocal ritual condition of homicide (*unokai nomihiai*), i.e., as a symbolic exocannibalistic exchange (see Albert 1985, pp. 378–380).

277. However, at least five raids were launched by communities of the Catrimani River basin between 1974 and 1986 (all against villages outside the region, which did not take revenge).

278. The mythological creature described here seems to be different from the evil spirit that also is named Poré.

279. See Lizot 1974, p. 14; Becher 1960, p. 114; Barandiarán 1974, p. 240.

280. *Pakola*, the marbled wood quail (*Odontophorus gujanensis*).

281. *Kasa*, a species of caterpillar that makes large collective cocoons.

282. *I'udami*, the alligator (*Caiman crocodylus*) (the term probably includes various *Palaeosuchus* spp.). The Sanema say the alligator has no tongue.

283. The term *laliama* refers to the shamanic vomiting up of material. Sanema concepts concerning caterpillars are extremely complicated.

284. The leaf species are not given but, discussing the myth, the same informant suggested that *shilakaissi* leaves (*Heliconia* sp.) were substituted for *pishia* leaves (*Calathea altissima*).

285. *Mosa*, referring to numerous tanagers (*Tanagra* spp.).

286. *Hama*, cotinga (*Cotinga cayana*).

287. *Wagoga*, pigeon (*Columba* sp.).

288. *Ashekonomi*, cacique (*Cacicus uropygialis*).

289. *Pishakami*, tanager (*Piranga flava* and *P. rubra*).

290. *Solagamusi*, trogon (*Trogon melanurus* and *T. collaris*).

291. *Kul kul musu*, trogon (*Trogon viridis* and *T. violaceus*).

292. *Tibi*, the giant anteater (*Myrmecophaga tridactyla*).

293. *Waso*, a term referring to many small species of bat.

294. *Kashdi*, tiny ants that cause an intense itching rash. See Lizot 1975b, p. 67.

295. *Nimo amo* (not identified).

296. *Maipuma*, the long-tailed tyrant (*Colonia coloniis*).

297. *Sokimusi*, woodcreeper (*Dendrociivula fuliginosa*?).

298. *Hiomanigoshi*, the anthrush (*Formicarius colina*).

299. *Buwii buwii kudamawai*, a frog (*Otophryne* sp.).

300. *Pooloi* (*Coussapoa* aff. *latifolia* Aubl.). This forest tree provides the wood traditionally used by the Sanema for fire sticks.

301. *Taintara*, bast trees (*Anaxagorea* spp.).

302. Sanema tell of two great fires that gave rise to the ash and cinder layers that may be found underground. One such fire resulted from the long-tailed tyrant placing fire in the *pooloi* tree; much of the jungle was burned as a consequence. The scorched leaves became the soil. Another tale recounts that the Sanema had become angry as a result of the depredations of a large number of *poleapada* (carnivorous beings, including felines); they set fire to the forest to take revenge on them.

303. The informant explains that the animals consequently became game. The curses refer to the fact that these animals became the Sanema's food and are cooked in fire. There is no implication that the Sanema's fate to be cremated after death is a consequence of the stealing of fire. See Clastres and Lizot 1977; Lizot 1976, p. 38. Another informant explains that after losing the fire the alligator went to live in the rivers and turned into "a sort of fish."

304. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi and Arianamē.

305. *Caiman sclerops*, the spectacled caiman.

306. Lepidoptera of the Noctuidae family. These large edible caterpillars are found only in the highlands of the Yanomami territory, at the beginning of the rainy season, especially on the trunks of *Inga* sp. trees, where they form very large collective cocoons (see Smole 1976, pp. 166, 248, note 35).

307. *Otophryne robusta*, a small frog which lives under rocks along small rivers in the highlands.

308. A large bell-shaped basket tightly woven with liana lashes (*Heteropsis spruceana*) and carried with a tumpline of bark (*Anaxagorea acuminata*).

Yanomam women use it constantly to carry produce, firewood, and wild fruits, and on journeys for hammocks, pots, etc.

309. *Myrmornis torquata*, a bird which forages for food by scraping the forest floor with its feet.

310. *Odontophorus gujanensis*, partridge which also scrapes the ground when searching for food.

311. The birds *Cacicus haemorrhous*, *Cacicus cela*, *Psarocolius decumanus*, and *Pionus menstruus*. In Yanomam myths these noisy, gregarious birds often figure in tumultuous group scenes.

312. *Glyphorynchus spirurus*, a small bird which flies extremely fast. It feeds on insects found in rotten wood by climbing up tree trunks with the aid of its tail.

313. The presentation dance (*braiai*) which marks the arrival of the guests and the opening of the *reahu* festival (see narrative 11, note 43). This dance includes both individual and group figures. From a common base the participants try to attract attention through the creativity and humor of their adornments and choreography (see Albert 1985, pp. 449–453).

314. See narrative 113, note 543.

315. See narrative 42, note 236.

316. Respectively, *Ramphastos tucanus* and *Ramphastos cuvieri*, *Dasyprocta aguti*, *Odontophorus gujanensis*, and *Psarocolius decumanus*.

317. The first phase of the presentation dance is individual (*bomamu*: "to do a reconnaissance"). Afterward the dancers gather by the main entrance to the house, and then they enter and do a collective presentation.

318. *Formicarius colma*, a small bird that lives in the undergrowth and runs swiftly on the forest floor with its tail raised.

319. *Microcerculus bambla*, a small bird with a characteristic white stripe across its back. It lives in the undergrowth and, according to the Yanomam, constantly sways forward and backward with its tail raised as it walks on the forest floor.

320. This bird (see note 310) likes to run in the tangled undergrowth.

321. According to the Yanomam this frog (see note 307) emits spurts of urine to defend itself. They treat their children for incontinence by striking their lower abdomen with it.

322. These birds search for food in noisy groups midway up in the trees.

323. These high-flying birds nest in the exterior branches of tall trees. They are often seen flying in groups over the rivers.

324. The large tree *Elizabetia princeps*, considered a superior firewood.

325. An allusion to the fire which is kept near the dying and near the corpse just after death (see Albert 1985, p. 387).

326. An allusion to the eyeballs bursting on the funerary embers (regarding Yanomam funerary cremation see *ibid.*, pp. 404–411).

327. The Yanomam formerly used the wood of the cacao tree (*Theobroma cacao*) to make fire drills.

328. *Gynerium sagittatum*. Its dried pith was used as kindling to coax a fire from the sparks obtained with the fire drills.

329. This tree (*Rubiaceae*) is prized for its quick and long-lasting combustion. It was preferred as culinary and funerary firewood.

330. Respectively, *Theobroma mariae* and *Bixa orellana*, woods used for making fire drills.

331. The fire was produced by the rotative friction of a fire drill against a small lanceolate board of the same wood.

332. *Geonoma deversa*, a palm whose leaves are often used to start a fire or to make a torch to send smoke into bees' nests or armadillo burrows.

333. *Guatteria peoppigiana*, a tree which was also used for making fire drills.

334. Already published (Becher 1960, p. 114), but without commentary. To this myth Hewemão added the following explanation: Fire had always existed on the moon, and the souls of the dead could warm themselves by it. The moon deity Poré/Perimbó had appointed the alligator to guard it. During an eclipse of the moon, when the moon was being shot at and much blood flowed down onto the earth, the alligator together with many fish descended to the earth (idem 1974, p. 33). But at first neither people nor plants nor animals knew of the fire in his mouth. The hummingbird was the first to reveal the secret, and then the people asked him to help open the alligator's mouth.

335. *Caiman sclerops* Schneid.

336. Iwa-riwë was the ancestor who turned into an alligator.

This myth, with some notable variations, can be found in the mythology of other American Indian tribes. Among the neighboring Makiritare, for example, the prestigious sole owner of fire is Kawao, the frog-woman, wife of the jaguar who could never explain the secret of the good food his wife always prepared for him using fire. But there were two clever boys, sons of the anaconda, whom Kawao wanted to adopt in order to give them to her husband to eat. One day, with great ingenuity, they learned the secret, and at the very moment when Kawao was preparing to kill them and cook them they beat her and cut her until they had made her bring the fire from her stomach, where she kept it, up to her throat, and from there out of her mouth. The two boys, Yureke and Xikié-mona, then began to cook the dead over the fire. But at that moment Manuwa, the jaguar, came. The boys quickly took the fire and ran to hide it in two trees behind the house. These are the trees that are used today to make fire by drilling.

Both the Yanomamo alligator and the frog of the Makiritare as well as the lizard of the Cuna Indians of Panama remind us of the cabalists of the Old World for whom the elemental spirit of fire was the salamander.

337. The plantation is an element of relatively recent origin in Yanomamo culture, but it still figures in this and other myths. As the culture evolves, the myths adapt to the changing times. The Yanomamo genesis should not be dead literature; it should be perpetuated for all generations to come, by cultural patrons and future moralists.

338. According to another Yanomamo version, Iwa-riwë expelled the fire by laughing irresistibly at Yorekitiramí's buffoonery.

339. Yorekitiramí is a word formed onomatopoeically from its calls: *yorekitirá*, *yorekitirá*! This bird frequently sings at the edges of the plantations.

340. This is mainly a reference to the cremation of corpses.

341. The little toad called *pre-yoma*, whose spirit the shamans invoke in

order to cool the bodies of feverish patients. The name is derived onomatopoeically from its calls: *pren, pren, pren!*

342. To speak of the past.

343. The names of the brothers are all identical to those in the Surára origin myth, except that the second brother Horonamú in the latter is here called Horonamí (see narrative 16, note 83). But the creation myth of the Ironasitéri is very similar to both the Surára and the Pakidái myths.

344. *Crax* sp.

345. Becher 1974, p. 3.

346. Seeds worn as an adornment.

347. A guama.

348. *Trogon viridis*.

349. According to Hewemão's explanation, Horonamú was the second man who came to the earth from the bird's leg (Becher 1974, p. 13). He was the official successor to the chief, if his brother Uruhí should die one day. Of the four brothers Horonamú was the biggest, strongest, and bravest.

350. Ancestor who turned into a peccary.

351. Ancestor who turned into an agouti.

352. Ancestor who turned into a guinea pig.

353. Wayahoromí is a bird that has orange-colored plumage with white spots, an arched beak, and hawklike talons. At night it calls: *wayaaaa, hoo, hoo!* In Ñeengatu it is called *macucú*.

354. *Clathrotropis macrocarpa*.

355. This ingenious anachronistic naming of things that the observers were still not familiar with is frequent among Yanomamo narrators.

356. A practical translation of the verb *tehiái*, i.e., to have some kind of appropriate vegetable food to accompany the meat, the fish, etc. For the Venezuelan *criollo*, *arepa* is bread. For the Yanomamo, it is principally the banana.

357. Ancestor who turned into an armadillo.

358. Another proof that the Yanomamo do not know how to make stone axes. To the informant this axe is not a carved stone but a piece of pottery.

359. According to what the Witokaya-teri say, when Porehimi left his place was taken by Horonamí-riwë, who cleared his plantation and maintained it well. Later Horonamí-riwë turned into a *gallineta* bird. He was the ancestor who gave the following instructions for the women who were in their third or fourth menstruation, and for those who were in their period of isolation after giving birth: under these conditions they could eat the meat of two animals which had been animals right from the beginning: the wild boar and the small deer. They could not eat the other animals, because these used to be men.

360. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979.

361. *Manduca sexta* (Lepidopteron of the Sphingidae family). This large green caterpillar is a tobacco leaf parasite. Its devastation of tobacco plants is such that the Yanomamo sometimes refer to tobacco as "Caterpillar's vegetable food."

362. *Potus flavus*, a small nocturnal carnivore (Procyonidae).

363. Fruits of an *Inga* sp. tree, whose white and sugary aril is eaten. Its

seeds, like those of a number of other trees of this species, are slightly toxic (see Fuentes 1980, pp. 29–30).

364. Especially after a meal, Yanomam men customarily place a large tobacco roll inside one lip, preferably the lower one. This roll is made of tobacco leaves dried over the fire, then moistened and rolled in the ashes of the hearth. Women, and sometimes even children, use thin rolls, whereas those of the men are said to be the size of a "turtle arm."

365. See narrative 42, note 232.

366. An allusion to his lack of tobacco (see note 364 above). The lack of tobacco is expressed by the phrase "to be lip desire."

367. Interjection expressing sudden understanding.

368. An allusion to the preparation of more toxic fruits like the *momo* and the *wabu* (see narrative 289, notes 222 and 224, and note above. See also Fuentes 1980, pp. 28–31).

369. Another version of this narrative adds that it was from these seeds that the cultivation of tobacco plants spread among the Yanomam.

370. Fruits of the unidentified *tohomahi* tree which, according to the Yanomam, is difficult to find in the lowlands of their territory.

371. *Passalus* sp., a large black beetle which lives in galleries of tree trunks and feeds on rotten wood. Its name comes from the verb *shii imamu*: "to be stingy."

372. A large basket woven in an open hexagonal pattern with strips of the *Ichnosiphon obliquus* reed.

373. *Plica plica*, a common Amazonian tree-dwelling iguana.

374. The head of the *Passalus* sp. beetle seems to be connected to its rear part only by a thread.

375. *Caryothraustes canadensis*, a bird said to be very fond of the fruits of the *Hayihi* tree (*Pseudolmedia laevis*; see narrative 251, note 103). Its call ("Hayi kiyō! Kiyō! Kiyō!") is said to be the "announcing song" of these fruits.

376. *Cyanerpes caeruleus*, a brightly colored nectarivorous bird which eats which eats *hayi* fruits.

377. *Cacicus haemorrhous*, a bird which feeds on *hayi* fruits in swarms.

378. Small unidentified gnats surround overripe *hayi* fruits in clouds.

379. *Pionuus menstruus*, a small parrot which sits in treetops in noisy groups, feeding on fruits.

380. Respectively, fruits from the trees *Inga nobilis* and *Inga edulis*.

381. Fruits of a *Dacryodes* sp. tree.

382. Ancestor who turned into a kinkajou.

383. Ancestor who turned into an agouti.

384. Made of *guasdua* cane.

385. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi.

386. *Cebus albifrons*, monkeys reputed to be very alert and lascivious. They sometimes figure in group scenes in Yanomam myths.

387. *Leopardus pardalis* (see narrative 42, note 243).

388. *Penelope jacquacu*.

389. The night spirits are said to be "in the form of supernatural black curassows" (*Crax alector*). This is a big black turkeylike bird with a white belly. Its plaintive call—weeping, according to the Yanomam—is heard especially during the night, and intermittently during the day.

390. Lit., "Here is my spurt!" (See note 394 below.)

391. The Demini River (lower Rio Negro basin).

392. The three rivers just mentioned are small affluents of the Parima River headwaters (upper Rio Branco). The waters of the rivers are said to flow from the underworld lake, Moturari, which surrounds the roots of the "rain tree," a place of permanent night (see Albert 1985, p. 575).

393. Respectively, *Penelope jacquacu*, *Tinamus major*, *Odontophorus gujanensis*, *Pipile pipile*, and *Crypturellus variegatus*. Around dusk they show their presence by their calls, which the Yanomam call "songs announcing the night."

394. From *shii*, "emission, spurt," and *titi*, "darkness, night."

395. The call of the night spirits is here likened to that of the black curassow (see note 389 above).

396. The Mucajai River (Rio Branco basin).

397. The Couto de Magalhães River (an affluent of the Mucajai River).

398. An affluent of the Couto de Magalhães River.

399. See narrative 22, note 123.

400. See narrative 4, note 14 and narrative 11, note 55.

401. See Lizot 1974, p. 64. Curiously the myth among the Yanomami is inverted: the killing of the *paluli* brings night for the Yanomami and day for the Sanema.

402. Kaslabigigipada, the Kaslabai (Long Lips), are a ferocious group of Yanomam on the lower Uraricoera.

403. Kanadakuni, Merevari, Paru; these names have been introduced to the Sanema by the Yekuana. But they are Arawak, not Carib, in origin. Before either the Sanema or the Yekuana expanded northward from the Orinoco area (the Yekuana from the Casiquiare-Padamo area, the Sanema from the north Parima), the Ventuari and Caura were inhabited by Guinau Arawaks. The Erebató used to be a Kariña (Carib) area until very recently (see Koch-Grünberg 1979, p. 248).

404. *Palalaisi* refers to the seeds of the tree *Anadenanthera peregrina*. Well known to the Yanomami as a hallucinogen, it is rare in Sanema territory, though Taylor reports it being traded into the Auaris area from the Matakuni (Taylor 1976). Like the hallucinogen prepared from the *Virola* tree which the Sanema also employ as an arrow poison, *Anadenanthera* seeds contain powerful tryptamines. According to the Sanema, the Yanomami used this snuff for an arrow poison as well. The practice has not been previously recorded but is quite plausible.

405. *Honama* (*Crypturellus variegatus*). This small tinamou calls at all times of day and night. In another version the people laugh.

406. *Musamai*, a small tree (*Amphirrox longifolia*).

407. In another version the Sanema first light flares to light their way. Commonly when this myth is told the curassow is speared, not shot with an arrow. One informant mentions that the curassow was speared with the wood of *pala-palaídada* (not identified).

408. The species mentioned are *paluli*, curassow (*Crax alector*); *kulemi*, Spix's guan (*Penelope jacquacu*); *manashi*, the piping guan (*Pipile pipile* and *P. cumanensis*); *kokoí*, raptors, a term covering eagles, hawks, falcons, and so on.

409. The following species are mentioned: *ilo*, the howler monkey

(*Alouatta seniculus*); *paso*, the spider monkey (*Ateles belzebuth*); *wisha*, the capuchin monkey (*Chiropotes satanas*); *washi*, the white monkey (*Cebus albifrons*); *honama*, lesser tinamou (*Crypturellus variegatus*); *paluli*, black curassow (*Crax alector*); *manashi*, blue-throated piping guan (*Pipile pipile* and *P. cumanensis*); *kulemi*, Spix's guan (*Penelope jacquacu*).

410. This text was edited from a single narrative told in 1985 by Kobi (headman of Watoriketheri, Serra do Demini).

411. The region of the Orinoco-Rio Branco interfluvium, in the center of Yanomami territory (see narrative 35, note 189).

412. Bore means "ghost." The Yanomam also associate the ceremonial plantain soup offered during *reahu* festivals (see Albert 1985, pp. 456-459) with ghosts, who are thought to be fond of it; its fermentation is attributed to the fact that they have tasted it.

413. The generic term for *Musa sapientium*, at least eight varieties of which are cultivated by the Yanomam.

414. Generic designation (Pseudopyllidae).

415. *Tityus* sp.

416. Hylidae, possibly *Osteocephalus taurinus*.

417. *Psarocolius decumanus*. These noisy and gregarious birds often represent groups of ancestors in Yanomam narratives.

418. An allusion to narrative 153.

419. See narrative 41, note 219.

420. Roasted in the embers when green, plantains are dry and firm. When they are roasted fully ripe they are of a pasty and gluey consistency.

421. See narrative 50, note 308.

422. The leaf-cutter ant when it was human.

423. Although the Yanomamo grow maize, which together with yuca has long been the staple food for the majority of Venezuelan Indians, they do not cultivate it intensively. One ingenious reason that they give to explain the absence of maize in their plantations is that they do not know how to store the seeds. According to reliable sources, it seems that the Yanomamo south of the Orinoco cultivate it more and even celebrate the *reahu* at harvest time. Until the middle of this century the selfsame Iyëwei-teri cultivated a lot of maize. Helena Valero remembers that when she was among the Puunabiwei-teri and the Witokaya-teri, the Iyëwei-teri frequently invited the others to a maize *reahu* celebration. Today the chief, the informant for this myth, no longer cultivates maize because he says he has lost the *hekura* spirit Koye-riwë, and consequently he can no longer count on the assistance of that spirit. He lost it, he says, because when his first son died (before Renato), he cried a lot and was very sad. When a shaman's *hekura* spirits see their master despondent and they feel neglected they become disgusted and abandon him.

424. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi.

425. *Atta sexdens*. This big red ant devastates the Yanomam plantations by cutting off the leaves of all the cultivated plants, except those of the maize (*Zea mays*) plants (see Gourou 1982, p. 83).

426. This narrative does not explain why Ant lost his mother-in-law in his garden. Two different versions collected in other communities specify that it was in revenge for her complaints that she did not receive enough food.

427. *Myrmothera campanisona*, a small brown running bird which hides in the tangled secondary vegetation.

428. Arianamë commented at the beginning of this narrative: "Ant was an untiring worker who had cleared an enormous garden on both sides of a river. He did not stop felling trees, and when he returned to the collective house his fellow residents would ask him: 'What are you doing that's taking so long? We keep hearing trees being felled!' He lied in reply: 'I was trying to gather honey, but the tree I cut down to open a bees' nest got stuck in the branches of some nearby trees, and I had to cut down those as well.' But in reality he was clearing a huge garden. After burning the felled vegetation he only had to tap the ground with his heel to make cultivated plants grow: 'Here, manioc will grow. Here, bananas. Here, sugarcane. Here, maize!' he would say, and the plants would start to grow. He did not have to work long digging up the soil in order to plant. Thus he had planted an enormous garden of maize."

429. Mothers-in-law usually enter the garden of their sons-in-law in the company of their daughters.

430. See narrative 35, note 182.

431. *Conopias trivirgata*. This small bird, common in gardens and clearings, takes over the nests of other birds.

432. This is the place of origin of the cluster of communities to which the narrator's group belongs. It is located on the upper Parima River.

433. See narrative 11, note 43.

434. Regarding Yanomami maize plantations, see Biocca 1968, pp. 214–215, and Lizot 1980, pp. 27–28.

435. Arianamë added at the end of this narrative: "After the transformation of his mother-in-law, Ant was also transformed. Going into the forest he cleared a straight path there, free from all vegetation. Then he turned into a *koyo* ant and hid in the ground."

436. See Lizot 1975b, p. 69; Biocca 1971, p. 164.

437. *Obo*, armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*).

438. *Bwobwomane*, antpitta (*Grallaria* sp.).

439. *Oka*, freshwater crabs. These are common in the small stony streams that course down toward the big rivers. Collecting crabs is a typically female occupation.

440. This being is sometimes identified as *bwobwomanean*, antpitta (*Grallaria* sp.).

441. This text was edited from a single narrative told in 1981 by Hewënakë (a headman of Thoothobitheri, upper Demini River).

442. *Dioscorea trifida*. The Yanomam cultivate at least three varieties of yams. They are a secondary cultigen, each person having only a few scattered plants in his garden. They also gather two wild *Dioscorea* sp., as well as three other types of wild tubers.

443. In another version the narrator specified that the yams let out a rattle of pain (they are said to still produce a sound when they are broken off) and they bled profusely.

444. Flat basket tightly woven with lashes of liana (*Heteropsis spruceana*).

445. These small tubers are planted in holes about 30 cm deep which are covered with a clump of earth. Their climbing stalks are supported by props in the form of tripods.

446. An allusion to narrative 198.
447. *Pendare* is the Venezuelan term for *kaimani* fruits; see note 455 below.
448. *Hekula*.
449. A rare shot attempted when killing quail.
450. *Teso*, all hummingbirds not including hermits.
451. *Moka*, frog (*Osteocephalus* sp.?).
452. *Mosa isi*, tanagers (*Tanagra* spp.).
453. Same species as preceding note.
454. *A'ushi*; the adjective can equally mean "white."
455. *Kaimani*, *pendare* (*Couma macrocarpa*).
456. *Hiuliuna*, edible fruit (*Clarisia* aff. *ilicifolia*).
457. *Asmada*, edible fruit (*Pseudolmedia laevis*).
458. According to another informant, when the trees sprang upright they sprayed the entire forest with blood which is why they all bear fruit. The blood became the red resin of the *hiuliuna* and the red fruits of the *asmada*. The *ōshi* of the *hekula*'s bones and the white hairs on their heads became the white latex of the *kaimani*.
459. *I'ibi he'an* or *hiuliuna he'an* or *take kudamiawai* (not identified).
460. The *morrocoy* (fish) when it was a man.
461. The wild boar when it was a man.
462. The armadillo when it was a man.
463. The peccary when it was a man.
464. The wild boar when it was a man.
465. Published in Becher 1960, p. 114.
466. *Cacicus cela* L.
467. *Guilielma speciosa* Mart.
468. When I asked Hewemão in 1970 to comment a bit on this myth, he told me to my surprise that he must have been mistaken the first time he told it, for the *pupunha* palms existed before the bananas. They came to the earth through the *japim*, and on Poré's orders, he said, but before the bananas.
469. The mockingbird when it was a man.
470. The deer when it was a man.
471. She said this because she was of the deer family, and deer are very fond of *macanilla* fruit.
472. According to versions by other Yanomamo groups, Haya-riwë, in addition to pulling up the skin on his arms and legs, scraped them with a shell (*warora*: possibly the origin of his daughter's name), with which, according to the myths, our ancestors used to scrape yuca. Before they became acculturated, many Yanomamo used to scrape yuca with *kohara*, which is the shell of the *criollo guacuca*.
473. This text was edited from two narratives told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi.
474. *Mazama americana*, the largest of the Amazonian Cervidae. Among other foods this deer eats palm fruits (*manaka* and *rasha*) and manioc leaves.
475. *Ramphocelus carbo*. This small bird is common in the gardens and often builds its nest in the *rashasikë* cultivated palms.
476. Yanomam marital service consists of agricultural work, hunting, and gathering of forest products (honey, palm fruits). Gifts of manufactured objects are also increasingly appreciated.

477. The cultivated palm *Bactris gasipaes* (see narrative 33, note 150).

478. The rule of avoidance between sons-in-law and parents-in-law causes the latter to transmit their instructions to the former using their daughters as intermediaries.

479. A variety of *rasha* fruit (the Yanomam cultivate at least five) named after the greatly appreciated fruits of the *abiahi* tree (*Micropholis splendens*).

480. *Socratea exorrhiza*, a wild palm whose trunk, unlike the *rashasikë* palm, has no spines. Its abundant fruits are inedible and when ripe slightly resemble *rasha* fruits.

481. A device made of two wooden Xs attached one above the other to the *rashasikë* palm trunk with lianas. These Xs are moved along the trunk, one by the arms, the other by the feet, permitting one to climb the tree avoiding the large spines which cover it.

482. *Bixa orellana* (see narrative 42, note 235).

483. See narrative 11, note 48.

484. See narrative 42, note 234.

485. The sharpened and notched palm-wood arrowpoints used for hunting monkeys are coated with the same resin used to make the *yākōana* hallucinogenic snuff. Once they have broken inside the animal the substance acts as a muscle relaxant, preventing the monkey from remaining up in the tree by holding on to branches.

486. A round plate of clay on which Yanomam women bake their cassava cakes.

487. See narrative 47, note 270.

488. See narrative 33, note 148.

489. This is part of the chant performed by the shamans to invoke this mythical personage in the form of a spirit helper.

490. A lanceolate bamboo used to hunt large mammals.

491. See narrative 4, note 12.

492. See Lizot 1975b, p. 57; Chagnon 1968, p. 46; Zerries 1964, p. 275.

493. *Sakona/sakina*, a dark-red snuff containing tryptamines prepared from the resin of *Virola* trees.

494. *Hasa* (*Mazama americana*).

495. *Ashekonomi*, *oropendola* (*Cacicus uropygialis*).

496. The address term applied to most women, *nagai*, means literally "little vagina."

497. Peach palm, *lasa amo* (*Guilielma gasipaes* or *Bactris gasipaes*), a cultivated palm bearing red and yellow fruits of notable nutrient value. The deer is referring to *managa amo*, however, which he has mistakenly called *lasa amo*.

498. The jaw of the peccary is used as a small plane in the shaving of bows.

499. The fruit of the bacaba palm.

500. Of the forty or so species of honey known to the Sanema, this honey, *oi-ola*, is one of the more common. The bees, though stingless, are relatively fierce and tangle in one's hair.

501. The honey mentioned is *oi-ola*.

502. *Suni nagi*, a type of *alawali* (not identified). *Polemo*, to become jaguars or "jaguarize." The verb is used to describe intoxication with drugs (including alcohol).

503. This sound is made by vibrating the lips while humming.
504. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979.
505. *Eira barbara*, a large Mustelidae whose favorite food is honey which it eats going from one bees' nest to the next.
506. When a bees' nest is opened part of the honey is immediately eaten on the spot. When the honey is plentiful it is wrapped in leaf packages and carried home where it is mixed with water to make a drink. See narrative 111, note 526.
507. The sometimes tart honey of the *timanakë* bee, *Trigona* (*Trigona*) sp., whose nest is found concealed among the roots of trees.
508. The honey of the *mashibomënakë* bee, *Melipona* sp. Its nest is found attached high up on tree trunks.
509. The honey of the *himotonakë* bee, *Melipona* sp., whose nest is found in hollow branches.
510. The fragrant honey of the *yamanamanakë* and *yoinakë* bees, *Scaptotrigona* sp., whose nests are found in hollow branches.
511. The honey of the *yërimanakë* bee, *Trigona* (*Trigona*) sp., whose nest is found halfway up in hollow trees.
512. The honey of the *tishobomënakë* bee, *Scaura* (*Scaura*) sp., which makes its nest in abandoned termites' nests.
513. The tart honey of the *hwashiashinakë* bee, *Tetragona* sp., whose nest is found in hollow branches.
514. The sour honey of the aggressive *batareakasinakë* bee, *Partamona* sp., whose nest is found in abandoned termites' nests.
515. The tart honey of the very aggressive *shakinakë* bee, *Trigona* (*Trigona*) *amalthea*, whose nest is found high up in hollow trees.
516. The honey of the *buuashinakë* bee, *Scaptotrigona* sp., whose nest is found rather low down in hollow trees.
517. The sour honey of the *rebomënakë* bee (not identified), whose nest is hidden in the ground.
518. The sour and slightly toxic honey of the *hiboronakë* bee (not identified), whose nest is found very high up in holes in the trees.
519. The honey of the *hrarimënakë* bee (not identified).
520. The honey of the *ōinakë* bee, *Trigona* (*Trigona*) sp., whose nest is attached high up on the tree trunks.
521. The honey of the *koshoronakë* bee, *Trigona* (*Trigona*) cf. *dallatorreana*, whose nest is attached high up on the tree trunks.
522. An allusion to the end of narrative 111.
523. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Hewënakë in 1981.
524. *Capito niger*. A small bird which nests in hollow trees. It uses its large beak to penetrate the bark of trees that contain bees' nests in order to eat the honey of which it is very fond.
525. Two other versions of this narrative indicate that the honey was to be given by Black Barbet to his mother-in-law as part of his premarital service (see narrative 102, note 476).
526. Large leaves of an unidentified plant which the Yanomam use to make food packages. These packages serve as containers, and are used to roast the food in the embers.
527. See narrative 110, note 506.

528. Interjection used to draw attention to what one is doing or to an object one is showing.

529. See narrative 42, note 232.

530. Interjection expressing annoyance.

531. See narrative 35, note 182.

532. An allusion to narrative 110.

533. These entrances are frequently wax tubes, the size and form of which vary from one bee species to another. They are an important clue for the experienced eyes of the Yanomam to detect the presence of bees' nests. The black barbet likes to peck at them, and thus, "to hide the honeys."

534. These formal speeches are used by factional leaders to suggest collective activities, and by wise elders in general to narrate myths and the history of their group (see also narrative 11, note 46).

535. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Hewënakë in 1981.

536. The small armadillo *Cabassous unicinctus*. The Yanomam say it has a stuffed nose.

537. *Trigona* (Trigona) sp. These bees build their nests among the roots of trees, where armadillos open them to eat their honey.

538. See narrative 110, note 506.

539. See narrative 102, note 476.

540. Another informant commented that Small Armadillo's father-in-law was Giant Armadillo (*Priodontes giganteus*).

541. See narrative 84, note 411.

542. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Buushimë (headman of Wakathautheri, upper Catrimani River).

543. Urucu comes from the seeds that are found inside the bristly shells of the shrub *Bixa orellana*. These seeds are covered with an oily vermilion substance.

544. *Oryzomys (Oecomys) bicolor*, a small nocturnal tree-dwelling rodent of the Cricetidae family, which frequently enters Yanomam houses.

545. An allusion to the role of Mouse in narrative 130.

546. See narrative 42, note 234.

547. The sloth when it was a man.

548. The *koetema* sparrow hawk when it was a man.

549. *Texo* is the hummingbird; *maikox-emi* or *waikoxemi* is a little bird with black feathers. In actual fact the Yanomamo became familiar with cotton only after their contact with the Caribs, and therefore its introduction is recent. Indeed, around the middle of this century it was still rare in some villages. It is therefore almost certain that in an earlier version of the myth *Texo-riwë* or another mythical creature must have taught the Yanomamo to make the penis string using another vegetal fiber or some other vegetal material, e.g., a thin liana. According to Alfredo Jahn the introduction of cotton among the Paleo-Indians and Arawaks of Venezuela is attributed to the Carib invaders. To the south of the upper Orinoco Helena Valero found that all the groups contacted cultivated cotton, especially the Namowei-teri and the Irota-teri, who had two varieties of the plant.

550. *Waomĩ-kona* is a bird with a long tail and a disagreeable song. It is found in some areas around the upper Orinoco.

551. *Warama*, *yoro siema*, and *yokaro* baskets are similar to *yorchi kesi*, only of different sizes.

552. See Colchester and Lister 1978.

553. The *sipina* is a mythical monkey said to have once been a howler monkey. Some say it is black, others that it is red. They are very fierce, have enormous strength, and not only eat other howler monkeys but even Sanema. In the Yekuana version of this myth (see note 552) the monkey is identified as a spider monkey, not a *sipina*. Other Sanema in telling this myth speak of the *paso* (*Ateles belzebuth*) as the provider of basketry.

554. *Kotoma*. The manioc press is a relatively recent acquisition by the Sanema. There are many Sanema who still cannot make them.

555. A single term *sode* applies equally to sieves and to the close-plaited tessellated baskets known as *guapa*.

556. *Koli*. The term refers to at least two species of birds, the caciques (*Psarcolius viridis* and *Gymnostinops yuracares*) which build "meter-long purse-shaped nests, many of which hang from the outer branches of high trees" (Schauensee and Phelps 1979, p. 309).

557. *Wanimegipada*, the ceiba tree (*Ceiba pentandra*), a forest giant, with wide-spreading branches and large buttressed roots. The down of the seeds is used to make blow-dart pistons.

558. The huge houses of the Yekuana are the most spectacular constructions in the Venezuelan Amazonas, reaching over 60 feet in height and being as much as 120 feet in diameter (see Barandiarán 1966, and Colchester and Lister 1978).

559. *Asaka* (not identified).

560. The Sanema have recently learned to plait their hammock's scale lines in the Yekuana fashion.

561. See Arvelo-Jiménez 1968, p. 94.

562. *Askada* (*Acrocomia* sp.?).

563. *Xoro* is the swallow, which lives in large numbers on the banks of the rivers and streams. It is often seen sitting in the bamboo stands. The form *Xorori* is the same as *Xoro-riwë*, that is, it refers to the ancestor who transformed into a swallow.

564. See narrative 192.

565. The *rahaka* was the knife that was used especially for cutting up animals and cleaning them. To clean game or to cut their hair the women customarily used a twig from a *guastua* called *uhe*, which grows wild in the forest.

566. *Aroami* is a *mapanare*.

567. The "hormiga 24" when it was a man.

568. Helena Valero heard this myth from the lips of the mother of Fusiwë, the chief of the Namowei-teri, and told it to Ettore Biocca. I have copied it here, for the myth told by my usual informant, the chief of the Iyëwei-teri, was rather incoherent and thus not a literary piece comparable to the one left us by Helena Valero. This is understandable: the last generation of the Iyëwei-teri do not make curare.

569. See Lizot 1972; 1975b, p. 21; 1976, p. 19.

570. *Tapir*, *sama* (*Tapirus terrestris*).

571. The Sanema's spirit and the location of their feelings and thoughts is centered in their chest, the heart.

572. *Maakoli-shumawan*, Curare-Woman.

573. *Sadodomiwai*, the warbling antbird (*Hypocnemis cantator*).

574. Discussing this myth with a different informant I was told that Omao

took the bird's call as a signal that his penis would peel back and that correspondingly a girl's labia would open, so he dived into the river. He did so because Lalagigi's house was in the river and he wanted to take Lalagigi's daughter. The *sadodomi* bird does not signal the presence of the curare vine; it is the call of the *kwadodomi* bird that reveals the *maakoli* vine.

575. This text was edited from a single narrative told in 1978 by Warasi (the late headman of Hwayautheri, upper Catrimani River).

576. Lit. "Great Ghost Spirit." Borebatari is considered a malevolent forest spirit (*ně wari*). Humanoid, whitish in color, and nocturnal, he is associated with riverbanks and with the deep forest, where he is thought to hunt the human beings that enter his territory as if they were game animals. Here he represents the deadly principle of the curare.

577. Curare is obtained by percolating or soaking the dry alburnum scrapings from the climbing stems of some *Strychnos* sp. shrubs (see Lizot 1972). The Yanomam of the Catrimani and Toototobi rivers stopped using it in the 1940s when they settled in the lowlands of the Rio Branco and Rio Negro basin, in a region where curare shrubs did not grow.

578. See narrative 84, note 411.

579. Several *Strychnos* sp. climbing shrubs are found in the vegetation near rivers or in deep primary forest (see Grenand *et al.* 1987, pp. 266-272), the habitat precisely associated with Borebatari.

580. See narrative 102, note 485.

581. Lit. "choked forest," i.e. forest which is not penetrated (frequented, used) by human beings.

582. This "annunciatory call" is also that of the revenants (see narratives 47 and 246). It is said to indicate the presence in the forest of the *Strychnos* sp. shrubs. It is described as the audible manifestation of the mortal principle of the curare.

583. See narrative 76, note 364. The tobacco is said to prevent the absorption of the harmful vapors of the curare.

584. *Sedenabi*, foreigner, as opposed to *Nabi*, Yekuana, and *Sanima*, human.

585. The word, here translated as "incomplete," usually refers to the larval forms of butterflies, i.e. caterpillars and young fledgling birds. The sense is of unformed, unfinished.

586. *Tili*, lit., "taken," an exclamation that accompanies the killing of a game animal for the pot.

587. The particular informant who tells this myth considers God and Omao as synonymous. He has had contact with the evangelical missionaries for at least fifteen years.

588. *Magamdodo*, strong woody lianas of the species *Heteropsis integerrima*. The term applies to the simple hammock made from the liana.

589. *Shilaka isi*, a cultivated cane that also occurs wild on the banks of certain rivers (*Gynerium sagittatum*).

590. *Shilaka nagai*, usually made from a small tree (not identified).

591. *Shitokolia* (*Cecropia* cf. *metensis* Cuatr.). The fibrous bark of young trees is preferred to the fiber obtained from *samadodo* (*Ananas comosus* var.) for making strong bowstrings.

592. *Laka* (*Guadua* sp.). A lanceolate arrowpoint is fashioned to kill larger game.

593. The tenon is made from the *arali* tree (not identified) to hold the bone point.

594. The bone point is usually made of the long leg bones of *paluli* (*Crax alector*) and preferably *paso* (*Ateles belzebuth*).

595. *Kashawai*, *kasnawai*, and *kashtali'ai* are three different species of mouse, usually arboreal in habit (not identified).

596. *Wanapanaima*, the arboreal opossum (Didelphidae), is, like the above-mentioned mice, considered inedible. It is a particularly unattractive animal in Sanema terms, but is as often associated with the arboreal mice as with the common opossum *pubmudami*.

597. *Nana* (*Bixa orellana* L.).

598. In fact the ferocious *heu ho!* war cry of the Sanema is very rarely uttered these days. Visitors are more likely to make the high-pitched call of the Yekuana: "*Hi hi hiiiii! Hi hi hiiiii!*"

599. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979.

600. The white people (see narrative 33, note 169). Omamë is frequently associated with the creation of the white man (see narrative 33, note 143 and the end of narrative 210). Regarding the creation of metal by Omamë, see also the end of narrative 167. Another informant added that it was "Omamë's supernatural image" which taught the white men how to make metal implements.

601. Regarding the traditional Yanomam digging stick, see narrative 198, note 64. Another informant also associated Omamë with the creation of stone axes, relating how he caused some stones to explode by heating them, and polished the edge of the fragments in order to make axe blades.

602. This narrative seems to be an elaboration derived from the episode in narrative 198 in which Omamë and Yoasi turn into tools when their father-in-law approaches.

603. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi and Arianamë.

604. *Didelphis marsupialis*, a malodorous marsupial with a thin fur. It sleeps during the day in hollow trees or in abandoned armadillo burrows.

605. See narrative 102, note 476.

606. *Leptotila verreauxi*.

607. Arianamë added here that Opossum and Honey, who were co-residents, had gone to the village of the girls' father to offer to do premarital service, the former for the younger girl, the latter for the older. However, the potential father-in-law rejected Opossum and finally sent his two daughters to marry Honey.

608. The fragrant honey of the *yamanamanakë* bee (*Scaptotrigona* sp.) (see narrative 110, note 510).

609. A bouquet of bright red tail feathers of *Ara macao* and *Ara chloroptera*.

610. *Momotus momota*. A large green solitary bird with a thin racket-tipped tail which swings like a pendulum.

611. Bouquets of red macaw tail feathers stuck into armbands are a basic ceremonial ornament for young Yanomam men. Apart from their aesthetic appeal, an abundance of such feathers (and other ornaments made of small bird hides) indicates that their wearer is a good hunter (a decisive marital quality).

612. *Urera caracasana*. A stinging plant with a brittle stem.

613. A highly prized reputation for a Yanomam hunter. Tapir hunters are few and well known far from their community.

614. The smell of the opossum is described as similar to that of rotting meat.

615. *Gryllus* sp. These crickets infest old houses, devouring the leaves in the roof as well as food, tobacco, and ornaments.

616. There are never accusations of sorcery between co-residents among the Yanomam (except against outside men marrying in). Regarding the different forms of Yanomam sorcery, see Albert 1985, chaps. 8 and 9.

617. *Tunga penetrans*. A kind of flea which penetrates under the skin of the feet in order to lay its eggs. The floors of old houses are infested with these insects.

618. *Corythopsis torquata*. A small terrestrial bird which forages in the low underbrush. The Yanomam say that it produces a constant sound that resembles the crackling of broken twigs.

619. See narrative 11, note 39.

620. An allusion to narrative 198.

621. The opossum ferrets around everywhere during the night while hunting in the forest.

622. *Tabebuia serratifolia*, a large tree with very hard wood.

623. The *Corythopsis torquata* bird walks swiftly on the forest floor.

624. *Camponotus (Myrmepomis) sericeiventris*. A large, black, aggressive ant with grayish hindquarters and a concave back. It constantly runs around on the trunks of the hollow trees in which it makes its nest.

625. An expression from shamanic sessions to turn away the rain. Manokoi commented here that Opossum is trying not to get wet during his ritual state of homicide (see narrative 47, note 255) because this would blind him by causing the fat supposed to be exuded during the homicide ritual to flow into his eyes (see Albert 1985, pp. 366-367). The Yanomam also say that the opossum fears the rain which causes it to stop hunting and return to its hiding place.

626. *Oryzomys (Oecomys) bicolor*, a small, nocturnal tree-dwelling mouse. See narrative 113, note 544.

627. *Cyclopes didactylus*, a very small tree-dwelling anteater with powerful claws.

628. This technique is often used to gather fruit from the cultivated *rasha* palm (*Bactris gasipaes*) which has a thorny trunk, or to gain access to bees' nests in very large trees.

629. Usually used to fell large buttressed trees like *Ceiba petandra* or to remove bark of other trees in order to make ceremonial troughs (*Croton* sp.) or provisional boats (*Tabebuia* sp.).

630. This small rodent has pink paws resembling minuscule hands, and that is why Mouse is said to have let go of the detached tree. It also has black-edged, slightly bulging eyes because, it is said, Mouse fell on his face.

631. See narrative 4, note 14, and narrative 22, note 123.

632. For the Yanomam to mention the personal name of somebody, or negative traits in his physique or behavior, is considered an insult (see Albert 1985, pp. 395-398).

633. Parrots: *Amazona farinosa*, *Amazona amazonica*, *Amazona ochrocephala*, *Pionus menstruus*, *Pionites melanocephala*; macaws: *Ara macao*, *Ara chloroptera*,

Ara ararauna; toucans: *Rhamphastos tucanus*, *Rhamphastos cuvieri*, *Rhamphastos vitellinus*, *Pteroglossus pluricinctus*; gray-winged trumpeter: *Psophia crepitans*; marbled wood quail: *Odontophorus gujanensis*.

634. One informant added that the axes that became dull gave origin to the short and curved beak of the parrots, macaws, etc., and the more powerful axes to the huge beak of the toucans.

635. Black curassow: *Crax alector*; toucans: *Rhamphastos tucanus* and *Rhamphastos cuvieri*; cacique: *Cacicus haemorrhus*; guan: *Penelope jacquacu*; macaws: *Ara macao*, *Ara chloroptera*; piping guan: *Pipile pipile*; wood quail: *Odontophorus gujanensis*; agouti: *Dasyprocta aguti*; woodpecker: *Campephilus rubricollis*; red brocket: *Mazama americana*; howler monkey: *Alouatta seniculus*; puma: *Felis concolor*; trumpeter: *Psophia crepitans*; tayra: *Eira barbara*; sloths: *Bradypus tridactylus*, *Choleopus didactylus*; white monkey: *Cebus albifrons*; spider monkey: *Ateles belzebuth*; capuchin monkey: *Chiropotes chiropotes*.

636. The color of today's animals is called their "body paint" in reference to the body paint of the animal ancestors.

637. That is to say, a culture hero, the proto Yanomamo who turned into an opossum, today more often called *taraimi*. In this Yanomamo region, because there are no skunks, the opossum appears as a malodorous animal by *antonomasia*.

638. A bee with a very sweet honey.

639. Magic plant which can cause physical harm or death. [Eds.]

640. The *guaricongo*.

641. The lizard which the criollos call *largarrabo*, in Ñeengatú called *tarapopeua*.

642. A harmless ant with a flat head which likes to climb to the top of the tallest trees. It does not bite, but if someone steps on it it pricks, using a stinger on its abdomen.

643. Performing the rite of expiation and purification.

644. The ancestors who turned into partridges.

645. The ancestors who turned into *loros carasucia* (parrots).

646. The ancestors who turned into parakeets.

647. The ancestors who turned into *loros reales* (parrots).

648. The ancestors who turned into *marianitos* or yellow-breasted parakeets.

649. Our informant, who is highly acculturated, candidly modernizes his mythological heroes. Here he puts steel axes (*hayokama*) in the hands of the ancestors.

650. The ancestors that turned into toucans.

651. The ancestors that turned into macaws.

652. The ancestor that turned into the large sloth.

653. The ancestor that turned into the small sloth.

654. See Lizot 1974, p. 80; Taylor 1974, pp. 108-109; 1976, p. 42.

655. It is tempting to treat the initial part of this myth as another version—or "inversion"—of the "Story of the Girl Mad about Honey" (Lévi-Strauss 1973, pp. 140-150). Samonamaniapada is clearly the master of honey (*samonamo ola* is a fragrant honey), while the dove girls who are crazy about him are obviously versions of the girl mad about honey. The stinking wicked fox has become the opossum (*ibid.*, p. 107) but the major inversion is that the husband does not kill the opossum but vice versa. Nevertheless

the seducer (the opossum is only successful in a Yanomami variant [Lizot 1974, pp. 80–89]) meets his doom in the end.

That the figurative madness about "honey," the man, is a transformation of the literal madness for honey proper is agreed by Lévi-Strauss (1973, pp. 163–164), but the Sanema and Yanomami versions disprove Lévi-Strauss's theory that the *literal* sense occurs when women are seduced by men. In the Yanomami version we have the seduction of a woman who is later *figuratively* attracted to honey (ibid., p. 164).

656. *Pubmudami*, opossum (*Didelphys* sp.); *kashtali*, a small inedible mouse said to be related to the *pubmudami*. In other versions the mouse mentioned is the *kasnawai*, a mouse with the appearance of a dormouse with large (burnlike) marks over the eyes. Nevertheless, taxonomically the *pubmudami* is considered something of an anomaly by the Sanema.

657. Small, weak softwood tree (*Urera caracasana*).

658. Large forest giant with buttressed roots (*Ceiba pentandra*).

659. *Pokola*, marbled wood quail (*Odontophorus gujanensis*).

660. *Magamdodo*, a liana (*Heteropsis integerrima*).

661. *Holetto*, white-tipped dove (*Leptotila verreauxi*) and/or the gray-fronted dove (*L. rufaxilla*).

662. A hammock made from the liana mentioned in note 660 above.

663. *Sisali*, a lizard (*Plica* sp.) said to be an evil spirit.

664. *Alawali*, cultivated sedges of the species *Cyperus*, are raised by the Sanema for a number of "magical" purposes, including "sorcery."

665. *Alawali*; can be used in numerous ways, the most common being to anoint a small dart with the powder and blow this at the enemy through a short tube.

666. *Wimigigi*, a snake (*Chironius* or *Dendrophidion*).

667. *Shuwa'u*, an exclamation meaning "I don't mean it really!"

668. They are all various species of ant. The term "stingers," which includes ants, also includes wasps, and biting and stinging insects of all kinds. Rarely, the same term is even applied to snakes.

669. *Kola ha'u tomawai*, another ant. His name means "wide-bottomed little agouti," the origin of which name the myth explains.

670. *Shindei*, huge hardwood forest giant (Leguminosae).

671. *No'a*, a term meaning consequence, payment, exchange, revenge.

672. The following animal species are mentioned in the rest of the myth: *dedemi*, the parrot (*Pyrrhura picta*); *shikuma*, the parakeet (*Brotogeris* spp.) and possibly the parrotlet (*Touit purpurata*); *kulikasa*, the parrot (*Amazona amazonica* and possibly *A. farinosa*); *anima*, the blue-headed parrot (*Pionus menstruus*); *shinanida*, the palm worms (not identified); *hosa*, ruddy quail dove (*Geotrygon montana*); *ala*, macaw (*Ara chloroptera*); *pishakami*, tanager (*Piranga flava & rubra*); *muspi*, term including toucans and toucanets; *penipenimi*, aracari (*Pteroglossus* spp.); *alualu*, toucanet (*Aulacorhynchus calochrychus*); *kedoni*, toucan (*Rhamphastos vitellinus*); *wagoga*, pigeon (*Columba* sp.); *washi*, white monkey (*Cebus albifrons*); *tuluiapada*, the jaguar (*Felis onca*); *managa*, ocelot (*Felis pardalis*); *kitanania*, the puma (*Felis concolor*); *shimi*, three-toed sloth (*Bradypus* sp.); *soko*, tamandua (*Tamandua tetradactyla*); *kalushi*, squirrel (*Sciurus granatensis*); *olasumi*, pygmy anteater (*Cyclopes didactylus*); *saullemi*, two-toed sloth (*Choloepus didactylus*); *eoni*, cock of the rock (*Rupicola rupicola*); *wasoshihi*, smaller squirrel (*Sciurus gilvicularis*?); *hai hai'omi*,

screaming piha (*Lipaugus vociferans*); *alam hean*, seed finch (*Oryzoborus* sp.?); *manashi*, blue-throated piping guan (*Pipile pipile* and *P. cumanensis*); *kulemi*, Spix's guan (*Penelope jacquacu*); *ānsupa*, toucan (*Rhamphastos cuvieri*).

673. *Pohawi'a*, tomahawk. Nowadays these tools, made from fragments of machete blades, are rare. They must have been common when the Sanema had little access to new metal tools.

674. One version mentions that the opossum had been very fat.

675. Lit., "No ho hoo!" the Sanema's exclamation on taking revenge.

676. In another version the birds also acquire their white markings from the opossum's fur.

677. Both are the names of birds.

678. Thus there are two different versions of the tale of Nāroriwe.

679. This text was edited from two narratives told by Ikahi in 1979 with commentaries by Marōkoi.

680. *Ciccaba virgata*. This nocturnal bird, most widespread of its genus, feeds on small mammals.

681. *Leopardus pardalis* (see narrative 42, note 243).

682. The large white-breasted toucans *Rhamphastos tucanus* and *Rhamphastos cuvieri*.

683. *Leucopternis melanops*. Another informant had suggested that he was the protagonist of the narrative in place of Ocelot. This hawk is also known for its hunting skill.

684. According to our informants, in this type of hunt the hunters would hide in trees that had *rishithotho* lianas (*Ficus* sp.) on whose fruits the birds like to feed. They would sit on a platform of palm wood (*Euterpe oleracea*) covered with leaves (*Oenocarpus bataua*). For the smaller birds they would use miniature bows with thin palm wood arrows (*Maximiliana regia*).

685. *Oxybelis aeneus*. A thin snake which winds its tail around the branches and holds the rest of its body rigid, suspended like a liana.

686. Besides the toucans, the birds mentioned are, respectively: *Amazona farinosa*, *Cacicus haemorrhous*, *Cyanerpes caeruleus*, *Tangara chilensis*, and *Cotinga cayana*. Regarding bird ornaments, see narrative 130, note 611.

687. See narrative 111, note 530.

688. Interjection equivalent to "Watch it!"

689. See note 685. Regarding this method of locating the way during trips, see Biocca 1968, p. 19.

690. See narrative 76, note 367.

691. "The Mountain of the *Pionus menstruus* parrots." A circular granite rock more than a thousand meters high (Pico Redondo), located at the headwaters of the Mucajai River.

692. "The Broken Mountain," a huge granite rock divided into two parts and located about five kilometers southeast of the Pico Redondo. The Yanomam also call it Krukurimakē, "The Mountain of Mottled Owl."

693. The Mucajai River (Rio Branco basin).

694. See narrative 47, note 255.

695. *Tityus* sp. A gray scorpion that hides under the leaves and in rotten wood. The Yanomam say that it is attracted by the blood of newly killed game and that it emerges at night, emitting a shrill call. They associate their bow with its tail and its sting with curare arrowheads. They use its tail to

rub the arms of hunters who fear the "spirits of clumsiness," and place it under the hammer of hunting shotguns to the same end.

696. See narrative 11, note 48.

697. The shaft has the ligature which keeps the arrowhead in place inside it (this part is called the "navel" of the arrow).

698. See narrative 41, note 219.

699. See narrative 42, note 232.

700. See narrative 124, note 577.

701. See narrative 42, note 233.

702. See narrative 4, note 7.

703. See narrative 47, note 276.

704. See narrative 84, note 411.

705. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Arianamē and Warasi.

706. The western Yanomami.

707. See narrative 47, note 249.

708. The fruits of the tree *Caryocar* cf. *pallidum*, which are eaten after being roasted in the embers.

709. *Nasua nasua*, a small carnivore of the Procyonidae family which lives in bands.

710. See narrative 47, note 255.

711. This symbolic state of contamination produced by a physical or supernatural killing (*unokai*) is said to expose one's body to all kinds of deformities (see Albert 1985, pp. 360-378).

712. The enemies who conduct these sorcery raids are said to separate upon leaving their victim's village in order to throw potential pursuers off the track.

713. See narrative 4, note 12.

714. See Lizot 1975b, p. 60; Taylor 1974, pp. 107-108.

715. The animals mentioned are the following: *paso*, spider monkey (*Ateles belzebuth*); *ilo*, howler monkey (*Alouatta seniculus*); *washi*, white monkey (*Cebus albifrons*); *haso*, kinkajou (*Brassaricyon gabii*); *tomi*, agouti (*Dasyprocta aguti*); *amoda*, paca (*Cuniculus paca*); *pose*, the collared peccary (*Dicotyles torquatus*); *wali*, the white-lipped peccary (*Dicotyles labiatus*); *sama*, tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*); *hasa*, forest deer (*Mazama americana*); *shialana*, picture (*Myoprocta pratti*).

716. The vine is known today as *walidodo* (*Bauhinia* spp.) and is found in all parts of the forest. Cut and broken into coarse fibrous strips it is occasionally used as an extempore binding for overnight shelters. The leaves resemble a cloven hoof. Pointing to the vine itself one informant remarked: "And here you can see peccaries' footprints." Indentations on the vine do indeed resemble, somewhat, peccary spoor.

717. One informant on ending the myth remarked: "And if the vine hadn't snapped, the tapirs and peccaries would all be in the trees with the monkeys."

718. Published (Becher 1960, p. 115) without Indian commentary.

I was told by the chief Hewemão that after the creation of the big tapir, who usually roams around in the forest by himself, Poré/Perimbó wanted to increase the population of the forest with smaller herd animals. The thought

came to him when he saw a group of *cuxiú-negro* monkeys. He caused such a violent storm that the monkeys were blown from the tree and at first could not climb up again. Only one succeeded, and he remained a *cuxiú-negro* monkey; all the others became peccaries.

719. *Chiroptes satanas* Humb.

720. *Pecari tajacu*.

721. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Buushimë in 1978, with commentaries by Ikahi.

722. *Tayassu albirostris*. See narrative 149, note 732.

723. See narrative 33, note 148.

724. *Stelopolybia* sp. Lit. "transformation wasp," a large brown wasp.

725. Large male dorsal musk gland typical of *Tayassu* peccary.

726. An allusion to narrative 149.

727. This text was edited from two narratives told by Buushimë in 1978.

728. An allusion to narrative 148.

729. *Tityus* sp. (see narrative 140, note 695).

730. The narrator here used the Yanomam term for "door" and the Portuguese word for "lid."

731. *Ciccaba virgata* (see narrative 140, note 680).

732. These peccaries live in migrating bands of between 100 and 150 members. They are fairly large in size (about thirty kg) and have a rapid gestation cycle, 148 days, usually producing a litter of four (see Sponsel 1986, p. 76). Furthermore, when the male leader is killed the band may wander for several weeks within a limited area (see Grenand 1980, p. 119). They are a fundamental game for the Yanomam, who say that the peccaries never diminish in number because when they die their ghosts immediately rejoin the troupe of the living in an infinite cycle.

733. Allusion to narrative 140.

734. Already published (Becher 1960, p. 115), but without the commentary by the Indians.

The chief Hewemão believes that it was a mark of great distinction for the monkey to be turned into a tapir. This transformation was also caused by Poré/Perimbó, and was not originally planned at all. It happened because one day the temperamental monkey accidentally fell from the tree, landing on his face and legs, which broke. All his attempts to climb up again were in vain. His unhappiness made his face grow longer and longer, and this caused Poré/Perimbó to think of transforming him into a tapir.

735. *Ateles paniscus* L.

736. *Tapirus americanus* Briss.

737. This text was edited from two narratives told by Ikahi in 1979.

738. *Coendou prehensilis*, a small tree-dwelling porcupine.

739. Sugary edible flowers from the *naihi* tree, *Manilkara bidentata*, which only grow in the highlands of Yanomami territory.

740. The birds *Cyanerpes caeruleus*, *Psarocolius decumanus*, and *Cacicus haemorrhous*, which forage in trees in noisy flocks.

741. See narrative 41, note 216.

742. See narrative 41, note 219.

743. See narrative 76, note 367.

744. Interjection expressing approbation.

745. See narrative 76, note 372.

746. *Dasypus novemcinctus*, the common nine-banded armadillo.

747. The red-rumped caciques weave long nests that hang from the branches of big trees.

748. A large dark-blue bird, probably *Neomorphus rufipennis* (rufous-winged ground-cuckoo).

749. See narrative 42, note 232.

750. Respectively, *Rhamphastos tucanus* and *Rhamphastos cuvieri*; *Ateles belzebuth*; *Dasypus novemcinctus*; *Tapirus terrestris*; *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*; *Panthera onca*.

751. This text was edited from a single narrative told in 1978 by Buushimë.

752. *Panthera onca*.

753. *Dasypus novemcinctus*.

754. See narrative 41, note 219.

755. The use of body paint is seen here as a way of humanizing Jaguar (see narrative 130, note 636).

756. See narrative 111, note 530.

757. See narrative 11, note 55.

758. *Osteocephalus taurinus*. These edible frogs gather to mate in the swamps during the rainy season.

759. See narrative 41, note 216.

760. A ball of resinous secretions from the tree *Hymenaea* cf. *intermedia*, used by the Yanomam to light their way or to illuminate their activities at night, and to start a fire.

761. See narrative 102, note 486.

762. An allusion to the *unokai* ritual condition of homicide in which the symbolic incorporation of the flesh and blood of the victim is said to weaken the killer (see narrative 47, notes 255 and 256).

763. *Mahe* plates are also used to roast the stones of certain wild fruits such as the *hayi* (see narrative 251, note 114).

764. *Micranda rossiana*.

765. "That's why," added another informant, "the jaguars now have 'boiled' (i.e. clear) eyes."

766. This myth has already been published (Becher 1960, pp. 114-115), but without the Indian explanation.

767. In 1970 the Surára chief Hewemão gave me the following explanation of this myth: In contrast to the spotted jaguar (*Felis onça* L.), who is an associate of Poré/Perimbó and therefore well disposed toward human beings, the black jaguar (*Panthera onça* L.) is considered to be unreliable. He was banished by the moon, and therefore he seeks the friendship of the *nonexi* (see Becher 1974, p. 3). His origin, i.e., his transformation from a toad, demonstrates his inferiority. Later he committed incest and killed one of Poré/Perimbó's daughters. Besides the toad the black jaguar is among the few animals that Poré/Perimbó holds in low esteem.

768. *Ilapada*, lit., "feline," but obviously the jaguar in this context.

769. *Kasnawai*, small ground mouse (not identified).

770. *Tolobo sai*, small ground mouse (not identified).

771. *Sakoli* (*Felis tigrina*).

772. *Tuluia* (*Felis onca*).

773. *Koli*, caciques (*Psarcolius viridis* and *Gymnostinops yuracares*).

774. *Hasa*, forest deer (*Mazama americana*).
775. *Ilaipada* or *kusma kitanani'a*, which mean, respectively, the "big feline cricket" and "cricket-puma" (not identified).
776. Hunting technique for chasing deer and tapirs (see Colchester and Lister 1978).
777. Agouti head.
778. *Merevari*, Arawak name for the upper Caura.
779. *Pole*. The term for dogs is the same as the term for evil carnivorous spirits in general (cf. Yanoma(ɛ)—*bore*: Lizot 1976, pp. 24 ff.; Becher 1974; Biocca 1971, pp. 163, 380). Dogs are a relatively recent acquisition of the Sanema.
780. This particular informant is the grandson of a Yekuana; he is, however, culturally a Sanema.
781. *Sama*, tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*); *soko*, tamandua (*Tamandua tetradactyla*); and *wali*, white-lipped peccary (*Dicotyles labiatus*).
782. *Ila*, a term usually used to embrace the felines; another informant used the term *poleapada* (big evil-carnivore-spirit).
783. *No'a*. The term also means revenge.
784. The myth shows many similarities to the tales the Yekuana tell of the risks of collecting blowpipe canes in the mountains; see Civrieux 1970 and Colchester and Lister 1978.
785. *Tibi*, the giant anteater (*Myrmecophaga tridactyla*).
786. *Soko*, the tamandua or climbing anteater (*Tamandua tetradactyla*).
787. *Anepo*, tree termites. They are edible.
788. *Pohawi'a*, small axes made with fragments of metal from broken machetes, in the form of stone axes.
789. *Soko*, the tamandua or climbing anteater (*Tamandua tetradactyla*); *tibi*, the giant anteater (*Myrmecophaga tridactyla*).
790. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi.
791. *Bradypus tridactylus*, a small sloth with a reddish and black spot on its back.
792. *Choleopus didactylus*, a large sloth.
793. Relationships of similarity in appearance and difference in size between natural species are often expressed by the Yanomam in terms of the relationship between father-in-law and son-in-law (see narrative 112, note 540).
794. Regarding this festival see narrative 11, note 43.
795. Allusion to narrative 41.
796. A nocturnal dance by couples generally formed by the women of the host village and the visiting men who are considered to be in classificatory relationships of husbands and wives. During the dance the men hold the women by the arm and intone ceremonial songs, all the while circling the central plaza of the house. This dance is said to celebrate the ceremonial food (see Albert 1985, pp. 463–469).
797. Fruits from the *Micrandra rossiana* tree.
798. Regarding *reahu* ceremonial foods see narrative 42, note 228.
799. *Eunectes murinus*, *Constrictor constrictor*, *Lachesis muta muta*, *Bothrops atrox*.
800. Small rodents of the Cricetidae family.

801. An allusion to narrative 41.
802. See narrative 35, note 180.
803. The Yanomam say that the *hwakëmu* dance "makes their skin soften" because it rubs against the soft skin of the women.
804. Regarding the procession of the funeral game and the diurnal *hwakëmu* dance that accompanies it during the *reahu* festival, see Albert 1985, pp. 482-487.
805. See narrative 11, note 42.
806. See narrative 11, note 48.
807. Regarding the collective inhalation of *yākōana* at the end of the *reahu* festival, see Albert 1985, pp. 494-497.
808. Regarding this hatchet, see Albert 1988, p. 95, and Carneiro 1979, p. 55, notes 6 and 7.
809. Fiber of the soft inner bark of the tree *Cecropia* cf. *obtus* or *Cecropia metensis* which the Yanomam formerly used to make their strings.
810. From the verb *haomāi*: "to bind."
811. See narrative 33, note 149.
812. See narrative 4, note 7.
813. See narrative 210 about the flight of Omamë, and narrative 128 about Omamë's creation of metal.
814. The *hwakëmu* dance ritually stages intercommunal marriage which might be possible from the point of view of the kinship terminology but not necessarily desirable from a sociopolitical point of view (the partners are often already married or committed to others). When the *hwakëmu* thus goes beyond the ceremonial celebration of intervillage alliance and leads to adultery and abduction it can provoke serious conflicts: head-beating duels and even, between distant groups, warfare.
815. *Shimi*, the larger tree sloth (*Bradypus tridactylus*).
816. *Washi*, the white monkey (*Cebus albifrons*).
817. The myth, of course, explains the chosen habitats of the animals.
818. Compare Lizot 1975b, p. 104.
819. *Tesa* applies to all the hummingbirds (not including hermits, *tesa huma*).
820. *Tapirus terrestris*.
821. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979.
822. After the generic term for Trochilidae.
823. *Tapirus terrestris*, the largest terrestrial mammal in the Amazonian forest (200 to 300 kg).
824. The Yanomam consider that to mention a physical characteristic to somebody who is marked by it is an insult, equivalent to a public naming (see Albert 1985, pp. 397-398).
825. *Elizabetha princeps*, a wood reputed for its excellent and long-lasting combustion.
826. See narrative 4, note 14.
827. See narrative 47, note 255.
828. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi.
829. *Tapirus terrestris* (see narrative 171, note 823). A few Yanomam men specialize in hunting tapirs and following their extremely circuitous trail for days (see narrative 130, note 613).

830. *Bradypus tridactylus*, a small sloth which is often seen in *Cecropia* trees.

831. *Cymbilaimus lineatus*, a small insect-eating bird commonly found in the tangled undergrowth.

832. A falcon, *Daptrius ater*.

833. *Cecropia* sp. A tree with soft wood and a hollow trunk typical of secondary vegetation.

834. Another informant said that Three-Toed Sloth also pointed out angrily to Tapir that he was "ridiculously visible," a comment which caused him to leave.

835. A close description of tapir behavior.

836. See narrative 84, note 411.

837. See narrative 111, note 530.

838. The Yanomam say that tapirs "answer" to the call of the black caracara and that the latter descends to eat their ticks.

839. *Shoabe!* is the vocative of *shoayë*, "father-in-law." The Yanomam say that this call is the "announcing song" of tapirs.

840. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Hewënakë in 1981.

841. *Cacicus haemorrhous*, a gregarious bird which forages in noisy flocks (see narrative 50, note 311).

842. *Perissocephalus tricolor*. This large brown bird with a distinctive bare face and forehead has a grave and very powerful call that resembles a bel-low.

843. See narrative 4, note 14.

844. *Pourouma guyanensis*. The large abrasive leaves of this tree are used by the Yanomam to polish their bows.

845. An unidentified edible frog.

846. See narrative 4, note 7.

847. *Gymnostinops yucarares*, a large green bird with bare cheeks showing a pinkish skin.

848. Frog is here a caricature of an intercommunal gossip and rumor-monger, a role the Yanomam often accuse their women of.

849. Unidentified tree.

850. *Leporinus copelandi* Steind.

851. *Brachyplatystoma filamentosa*.

852. *Rhamdia* sp.

853. *Gadus* sp.

854. *Characinidae* sp.

855. *Auchenipteridae* sp.

856. *Trachycoristes* sp.

857. I have already published this myth in my monograph *The Surára and the Pakidái* (Becher 1960, p. 114), but at that time I did not yet have the Indian interpretation.

858. *Epicrates cenchria*, a kind of snake. [Eds.]

859. The interpretation (by the chief Hewemão in 1970) is noteworthy. In Karemoná, he said, we are actually dealing with Poré, the lord of the moon (Becher 1974, p. 1), who returned to earth to test the discipline of the Surára. At the same time he wanted to point out to the young men the danger of undisciplined and quarrelsome behavior, especially toward women.

In the myth the *jibóia-vermelha* snake is regarded as a transformed man, and may therefore not be killed by hunters. But in reality it is much more than a human being. It was created by Poré/Perimbó and also represents the rainbow, *hātonahimaã*, the most important link between the moon and the earth. In the figure of the *jibóia-vermelha* the moon god/goddess lives primarily in the middle lake of blood on the moon (ibid.). Poré, a part of that deity, had turned himself into a man, Karemoná, from this snake, and subsequently he turned into the snake once more.

860. *Komdingigi* (*Anolis* sp.).

861. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979.

862. The Yanomam use the term *suutu* to designate the large reddish lice found in hammocks, and *noma* to refer to the smaller, black head lice (*Pediculus* sp.).

863. See narrative 153, note 744.

864. See narrative 41, note 219.

865. The narrator here imitates an accent which denotes that the words are spoken by a foreigner.

866. That is, sitting on one edge of the hammock and lifting the other as high as one's head with the left hand.

867. See narrative 4, note 12.

868. A large, reddish spider (Theraphosidae). The Yanomam say that its hair causes intense itching.

869. The itching caused by the lice is associated here with that caused by the spiders of the Theraphosidae family.

870. The shamans say that they "make their spirit helpers descend" by having them perform a presentation dance identical to the one performed by guests and hosts during *reahu* festivals (see narrative 50, note 313).

871. An outside group—Yanomami of the Ninam subgroup or Maku of the Uraricoera (?)—with which the Yanomam had contact in the first decades of the twentieth century. The term Maithabë is still used to designate a cluster of Yanomam groups of the Cutaiba River (the upper Uraricoera River), probably because it is located in the region formerly occupied by the Maitha people.

872. Probably the Serra do Melo Nunes, located between the upper Uraricoera and the upper Mucajai rivers.

873. Regarding Yanomam representation of epidemics, see Albert 1988.

874. The spread of lice is associated with the primeval period of the transgressions and transformations of the animal ancestors (see narrative 4, note 14), although it apparently also refers to historical events.

875. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Kobi.

876. *Cebus albifrons* (see narrative 80, note 386).

877. *Simulium* sp. The larvae of these hematophagous gnats live in streams, attached to stones. They are particularly abundant in the Yanomam territory.

878. Generic term. The Yanomam look for wasps' nests to eat their larvae which, wrapped in a leaf and roasted in the embers, are considered a delicacy.

879. *Oenocarpus bacaba*.

880. *Bixa orellana* (see narrative 113, note 543).

881. It is interesting to note that the *Simulium* gnats carry a microfilariasis (*Onchocerca volvulus*) which causes ocular lesions (see Yarzabal *et al.* 1983).

882. See narrative 4, note 14.

The Cycle of the Demiurge Brothers

181. The Birth of the Twins

The twins did not yet exist. The house of the Yanomami was enormous, but they must have wished to be transformed, for they began to eat the placentas of the children who were born. When they ate the placentas their cannibalistic urges grew stronger, and so they began to eat the newborn babies as they lay on the leaves placed on the ground for them. They killed the babies without being seen, in the absence of their fathers who were away hunting. The house was enormous, but the Yanomami turned into jaguars. Because they did not give up their cannibalism the house became depopulated, and the hearths lost their occupants. The population was decimated; there was no more village.

The only one to escape was Curare Woman. Because she was bitter she was able to survive. She hid her daughter Moyenayoma on the leafy roof of her hut. Jaguar was looking for the Yanomami; he was searching for the cacique people. They were hiding far away, and had spread red *rasha* skins on the ground. Jaguar's son knew where they were taking refuge, and had he not been mute he would certainly have informed his father. But as he was mute he was unable to tell him, and the jaguar searched in vain for them. While the animal continued his search, starved for meat, Curare Woman said to the child: "Little one, open your mouth and your father will return. Open your mouth and your father will return." Jaguar's son fell asleep with his mouth open, and Curare Woman scraped off a bit of her skin and dropped it into the boy's open mouth. He did not even wake up but died instantly. While Jaguar was on his way home in the rain the boy grew stiff. He lay there stretched out, his limbs rigid.

Jaguar arrived and thought that his son was asleep. However, he watched him to assure himself that he was breathing well. As the boy was absolutely motionless he said: "Mother-in-law!" "Yes." "Shall I eat him?" And Jaguar devoured his son. But his desire for

meat had not been satisfied, and so he began to search again. When he returned he said: "Mother-in-law, what if I ate you?" "Eat me, little one, eat me." Jaguar touched her with the tip of his tongue to taste her, but she was so bitter that he decided not to. Where had Curare Woman become so bitter?

Curare Woman was the only one who escaped. On the roof she was hiding Moyerayoma, her daughter. But finally the girl's urine caused the leaves on the roof to rot and crumble, and she became visible. She was pregnant. Jaguar saw her. He caused her to fall, and killed her. Then Curare Woman said: "Little one, give me that placenta so I can open it and prepare its contents to be eaten." She tore open the placenta which contained twins, and while Jaguar was eating and his attention was distracted she hid the two children. She placed Ōmawë and his brother in a palm spathe which she carefully covered. The twins grew big at once, causing Jaguar to ask: "Mother-in-law, what's that noise?" "It's hummingbirds beating their wings," she replied.

Jaguar had begun to search for the Yanomami again. When he returned he asked: "Mother-in-law, what if I ate you?" "Go ahead." Again he touched Curare Woman with his big tongue, but she disgusted him. He went off again, walking toward the place where the *rasha* skins covered the ground. There he searched, but did not find anything. In the meantime the twins grew into adults. When night came Jaguar fell asleep, his head facing backward. As soon as it was light he woke up and resumed his search, as he was hungry for meat. The twins went into the forest, tied the ends of a liana to a tree, and swung from it. Meanwhile Jaguar was following their trail, moving in a roundabout way. He was at the point of encountering them when they climbed down. They set off again, and ate some fruits. The tree was not very big but it had a lot of fruits which they ate. Jaguar reached the tree in which they were sitting. Ōmawë kept dropping the skins on the ground, and they made a pleasant sound as they fell. His older brother, the bad one, did the same, but his skins made a frightful sound. Jaguar raised his head toward them: "Little one, shall I climb up?" "Yes, please do; come up and eat fruits with us." They were eating the fruits of an isolated tree. Then they made it grow very tall. Jaguar began to climb up and reached a spot where the trunk was forked. Now the twins made the tree swell. That was how they caused Jaguar to fall. They climbed down while he lay unconscious on the ground.

Weakened by his fall and still hungry for meat Jaguar went back to the house. Meanwhile the twins had returned home to their

mother-in-law. They said to her: "Mother-in-law, we're going to make some lanceolate arrowheads. You must place yourself in the middle of the path and delouse him. Make him sit in such a way that his liver faces the path." They went off toward the region of Warapawë with the intention of making lanceolate bamboo points. In a place called Ruako there is bamboo which is used for making extremely dangerous arrowheads. That was where the trail of the twins ended; it did not continue beyond that point. There the twins circled, and then they changed direction and left the path. They made some arrowpoints, and on the way they shot an arrow at a deer. "I won't die," said the deer. After working to perfect their points they tried them again, but the animals they hit went far away to die. Then they gave up hunting and made some real lanceolate arrowheads. These invariably killed, even if they did not penetrate deeply but only grazed their target. The twins smoothed them.

The sun was as it is now; it was going down. Curare Woman said to Jaguar: "Little one, come here and I'll delouse you." "Yes!" From where he was sitting without sleeping, the man-eater turned his eyes toward Curare Woman. They sat down. She placed herself so that Jaguar's liver would face the path. Then she bent her head, and while keeping her distance, parted his hair and pretended to search for lice. Ômawë approached, bent over. He let his arrow fly. His older brother also launched an arrow which sounded *wasiki*! Both hit their target, killing Jaguar. The twins did not go that way; they circled around and came this way, without following the path.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Primeval Yanomami become cannibals and turn into jaguars, decimating population of their village. Only Curare Woman and her pregnant daughter survive. When Jaguar kills daughter, twin boys are born from her placenta. Curare Woman hides them, and they quickly grow into adults. Conspiring with Curare Woman, who pretends to delouse Jaguar, twins shoot and kill him with their specially made arrows.

Motif content

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| A511.2.3. | Culture hero is hidden in order to escape enemies. |
| A511.3.2. | Culture hero reared (educated) by extraordinary (supernatural) personages. |
| A511.4. | Growth of culture hero. |
| A515.1.1. | Twin culture heroes. |
| A531. | Culture hero (demigod) overcomes monsters. |

B15.1.+.	Jaguar sleeps with head facing backward. (B15.1. Animal unusual as to his head.)
B16.2.+.	Devastating jaguar. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)
D91.	Transformation: normal man to cannibal.
D112.6.	Transformation: man to jaguar.
D482.1.	Transformation: stretching tree. A tree magically shoots upward.
G30.	Person becomes cannibal.
G36.	Taste of human flesh leads to habitual cannibalism.
G510.4.	Hero overcomes devastating animal.
K515.1.	Children hidden to avoid their execution (death).
K810.	Fatal deception into trickster's power.
K910.	Murder by strategy.
K930.	Treacherous murder of enemy's children or charges.
Q402.	Punishment of children for parents' offenses.
R310.+.	Refuge on roof. (R310. Refuges.)
S11.3.8.	Father eats own children.
S111.	Murder by poisoning.
T584.2.	Child removed from body of dead mother.
T615.	Supernatural growth.
Z356.	Unique survivor.

182. The Birth of the Culture Heroes and the Death of the Original Jaguar¹

This story is really about Omaso and those people.

Curare-Woman lived with the Sanema ancestors, and the original jaguar² also lived in that house. This jaguar had killed all those Sanema. Any Sanema that he saw he killed immediately. He was so meat-hungry, that's why: *glun! glun! glun! glun!*

In that house there was a large canoe suspended from the rafters. Waipili the frog³ lived in the canoe. The canoe also contained a smaller vessel in which there were many tadpoles. One tadpole had climbed out and fallen to the floor. The jaguar tasted it. It was nice and salty.

"This is really good!" he said to Curare-Woman. He pulled the big canoe down, heave!—*blo!* Then he looked inside; there were many little *waipili* tadpoles swimming about. He ate them all up, one by one: *glun! glun! glun! glun!*

He then turned to eat the mother *waipili*. It was pregnant. "Do the guts!" he said. So Curare-Woman then prepared the guts. She took

two small tadpoles and popped them into a calabash⁴ without the jaguar noticing: *tolo!* Just two little tadpoles, Omao and his brother. The jaguar then ate the mother *waipili* and all the guts. "Is that the lot?" he asked. "Yes! That's all there is," lied Curare-Woman. The jaguar was still meat-hungry.

So the next day the jaguar went out hunting deer. "Mummy, mummy! I'm off hunting. Mummy!" he said. "When you come back, as you approach, you bang on the ground—*to! to! to! to!*—so you don't give me a fright," said Curare-Woman. "Right!" said the jaguar, and he went off hunting deer. While the jaguar was out hunting, Curare-Woman took little Omao and Soawe out of the calabash, and being cold they sat by the fire. Curare-Woman gave them sweet potatoes to eat.

Shortly the jaguar returned. *To! to! to! to!* he went. Little Omao heard the jaguar coming; little Omao laughed. Curare-Woman popped Omao and Soawe back into the calabash and, just as the jaguar was returning, spat on the remains of the sweet potatoes.

The jaguar returned. He saw the marks left by Omao and Soawe in the ashes of the fireplace. "*Wii!* Mummy! Look! People have left their marks in the ashes," said the jaguar. "No! It's just me, where I was sitting," said Curare-Woman. "I was cold so I sat by the fire." "Who's been eating these sweet potatoes, then?" asked the jaguar. "No! It's just me," lied Curare-Woman. The jaguar tasted the sweet potatoes' remains lying on the ground; they were very bitter. "I'm meat-hungry," said the jaguar, "I had no luck hunting." "Eat a piece of my neck then," said Curare-Woman. He tried a piece of her neck. It was very bitter. *Gla!* He spat it out. "Definitely not," said the jaguar.

Little Omao grew up fast. Down by the river by the water's edge he called out: "*Aaaaaaa! ululululu.*" The jaguar overheard. "Mummy. I'm going to have a look, mummy!" said the jaguar. "You go and look then," replied Curare-Woman. "Right!" said the jaguar. He went off to look down by the banks of the river. But when he got there he found only blowflies—*dene! dene! dene! dene! dene!*—they buzzed. "Oh!" said the jaguar, and he tried again to clap the flies in his hands as they buzzed about his head. "Oh!" Then downstream again he heard people. "*Talau! aaaaaa! ha ha ha ha ha ha ha!*" they went. The jaguar went quickly downstream. But when he reached the spot he again found only blowflies. *Dene! dene! dene! dene!* they buzzed. "Oh!" said the jaguar. He tried again to clap them in his hands. "Oh!" The jaguar returned home to his mother's house.

Next day Omao went out to collect *asmada* fruits.⁵ "Right now there are *asmada*, mummy!" said Omao. The jaguar overheard. "Where? Where?" he asked. "This way," called Omao. "Let me come too," said the jaguar. Then under his breath: "Very interesting! Over there, is it?" The jaguar followed after Omao who kept well ahead of him. "This way! This way!" Omao called. Quickly climbing up into an *asmada* tree he again called the jaguar over. "Which way?" asked the jaguar. "Climb straight up the trunk," replied Omao. The jaguar began to climb up. But as he passed the waist of the tree Omao ran his hands down the trunk from above. The trunk swelled up into a bulge.⁶ The jaguar could not get past. "Which way?" asked the jaguar again. "Climb up that *ashkada* palm⁷ over there," pointed Omao. The palm grew close to the *asmada* tree, and its top was bent over into the tree's branches by a vine. The jaguar climbed up.

As the jaguar reached the top of the tree, Omao cut the vine. The palm tree sprang upright flinging the jaguar through the air. The jaguar fell on his back against a rock. *Gla!* "Aa! aa! aa! aa!" went the jaguar, and so he died.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 31–33.

Summary

Ravenous jaguar kills all Sanema. Curare-Woman saves two tadpoles, Omao and Soawe, and secretly raises them. When Omao is older he tricks jaguar into climbing tree and then catapults him against rock, killing him.

Motif content

A511.2.3.	Culture hero is hidden in order to escape enemies.
A511.4.	Growth of culture hero.
A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
A531.	Culture hero (demigod) overcomes monsters.
B16.2.+.	Devastating jaguar. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)
D489.+.	Tree magically grows larger. (D489. Objects made larger—miscellaneous.)
G510.4.	Hero overcomes devastating animal.
K515.1.	Children hidden to avoid their execution (death).
K810.	Fatal deception into trickster's power.
K910.	Murder by strategy.
K1112.	Bending the tree.
R150.	Rescuers.

183. The Omawy Twins Split Open the Jaguar

Because the Omawys (Omawy and his brother) had already gotten their reasoning powers, they planned immediately to get back at the jaguar by splitting him open, so they prepared a big sharp rock down there. Then Omawy had to laugh: "*Ha ha ha huuu!*"

The jaguar stealthily approached the place where Omawy was laughing. The two Sanuma were standing facing each other. The jaguar stalked them . . . stalked them . . . stalked them. The jaguar wrapped his arms around Omawy, but his arms came up empty and hugged the air. There where he hugged the air was the sound: *tenene, tenene* (sound of a small bee). "Oh phooey!" the jaguar said. After the jaguar said that and went away, they started laughing again. The jaguar said: "I'm going down there and take a look again." Then he ran fast, and he had a really good view of them, but he did not grab them. Without hesitating they said: "Take some *hause* fruits from the tree. Hey! Take some *hause* fruits from the tree. There's a *hause* fruit tree back around there." He did not realize that they wanted to split him open. He was happy and said: "Hey, hey, hey!" Jaguar said that because he was meat-hungry. While he was excited, Omawy climbed up the tree ahead of him. Omawy made the *hause* tree, or the *ansomato* tree, big and hard to climb, and the tree was all clawed up. Because it was big and hard to climb, the jaguar was left hanging on and looking foolish. As he was hanging on and looking foolish, Omawy said: "Climb up this *ansaka* palm here," and the jaguar said: "Hey, hey, hey!"

Then the Omawys firmed themselves in the tree. Up the *ansaka* palm climbed the jaguar. When the *ansaka* palm leaned over and the jaguar was right at the point where the Omawy twins were they let go and the palm tree shot back and flung the jaguar: *uluk thau*. He crashed on the big rock and got cut. "*Aauu, aauu, aauu, aauu,*" the jaguar groaned.

Omawy got back at the jaguar by doing that. That's the story of the way it was.

Informant: Makosi

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

Jaguar tries to catch Omawy and his brother. Instead they cause him to be thrown against large rock.

Motif content

D489.+.	Tree magically grows larger. (D489. Objects made larger—miscellaneous.)
G510.4.	Hero overcomes devastating animal.
K1112.	Bending the tree.

184. Omawy Causes the Jaguar to Split Open

Long ago the jaguar ate all the people. Having finished eating all the people, the jaguar sank his teeth into the back of the neck of Maokolitasoma, Curare-Woman, but her neck was bitter. So he left it. Down where they were making noise, down where they were eating fruit from the *asomato* tree, he pounced on one of them but he fell without getting his prey. There was only a bee, which was actually Omawy—really two people. The jaguar clapped his paws together and said: "Oh!" After he had gone away, Omawy and his twin brother stayed back and ate the *asomato* fruits.

They went on making noise down there. The jaguar said to Maokolitasoma: "Oh, I'm going down to take a look." Maokolitasoma replied: "Go and take a look." The jaguar approached them, climbing up the *ansakoa* palm. After Omawy and his brother had blown hard on the palm tree, the jaguar climbed up and approached them. The jaguar in the palm was cast onto a big sharp rock, and Omawy caused him to split open on the big rock. "The Jaguar Gets Split Open" is the name of the story. "The Omawys (Omawy and His Brother) Cause the Jaguar To Split Open" is the name. The name is: "They Cause the Jaguar to Groan."

Informant: Sitiho

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

A515.1.1.	Twin culture heroes.
A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
A527.3.1.	Culture hero can transform self.
B16.2.+.	Devastating jaguar. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)
D182.1.	Transformation: man to bee.

- D1799.+. Magic results from blowing. (D1799. Magic results from other acts.)
G510.4. Hero overcomes devastating animal.

185. Curare-Woman Hides the Twins

The jaguar did away completely with all the Sanuma. The jaguar next ate Waipilitisoma (Frog-Woman) who was left. Then Maokolitasoma (Curare-Woman) was left living there. "Oh! These are my little ones," the jaguar said, and the woman said: "Here, here, here. Give them to me. Let me raise them." (The jaguar had ripped the uterus out of the pregnant frog-woman.) So he gave the little ones to Curare-Woman, but she immediately put them secretly off to the side into a small gourd and hung up only the placenta.

The Omawys (Omawy and his twin brother) gained their reasoning powers right away and they intended to get back at the jaguar and split him in two. When Omawy, inside the gourd, got his reasoning powers, Curare-Woman directed him to say: "I'm going to take revenge. I'm going to take revenge on you. I'm going to take revenge on you." And she quickly hung them back up again in the gourd.

Out there the jaguar, meat-hungry again, went out looking for where there was smoke. While out there he was roaming around in the forest, back home Curare-Woman took the Omawy twins out of the gourd, and after she let them sit around the house the jaguar started on his way home. As he was returning he growled: "*Aau, aau, aau,*" and so she put them back into the gourd.

As the Sanuma were sitting around at home, the jaguar on his way back was thinking. When he returned he sat there and said: "Mother, someone sat here. Someone sat here." "No. The fire was so smoky that I just kept moving from spot to spot," replied Curare-Woman.

Informant: Makosi

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

Curare-Woman saves infant boys (culture heroes) from man-eating jaguar.

Motif content

A511.1.	Birth of culture hero.
A511.2.	Care of culture hero.
A511.2.3.	Culture hero is hidden in order to escape enemies.
A511.3.2.	Culture hero reared (educated) by extraordinary (supernatural) personages.
A515.1.1.	Twin culture heroes.
A527.1.	Culture hero precocious.
B16.2. +.	Devastating jaguar. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)
K515.1.	Children hidden to avoid their execution (death).
R150.	Rescuers.
T584.2.	Child removed from body of dead mother.

186. The Birth of Omawý

Long ago there were two. The mother was Waipilitasoma (Frog-Woman). The grandmother was Maokolitasoma (Curare-Woman). There was Omawý. The jaguar ate the mother, Waipilitasoma. Then Maokolitasoma extracted the fetuses, put them into the mouth of a gourd, and caused two children to come out and appear. It was there in the mouth of the gourd where they were born that they immediately grew up.

Informant: Sitiho

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

A511.1.	Birth of culture hero.
A511.4.1.	Miraculous growth of culture hero.
A512.1.	Culture hero's grandmother.
A515.1.1.	Twin culture heroes.
B16.2. +.	Devastating jaguar. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)
R150. +.	Rescue by grandmother. (R150. Rescuers.)
T543.5.	Birth from gourd.
T584.2.	Child removed from body of dead mother.

187. Omamë and Yoasi Take Revenge on the Jaguar⁸

When Omamë did not yet exist a jaguar killed a Yanomam. Do you want me to tell you that story? I know it well.

The jaguar killed a Yanomam and dragged his body to a sandbank to devour him there. When it was full it covered the innards with sand downstream, and buried the head upstream, after crushing the neck. All the rest it had eaten, including the entire trunk of the body and all the members. After burying the innards and the head it left the sandbank. At dawn the head began to come to life again. At first it emitted loud moans: "*Hĩĩ! hĩĩ! hĩĩ!*" and then it gave form to a body which rose up. The head had been transformed, thus giving existence to Omamë.⁹ In the same way the innards which the jaguar had also covered with sand gave rise to Yoasi. That is the beginning of this story. A jaguar devoured a Yanomam, and from his remains Omamë and Yoasi were created.

Omamë and Yoasi began to talk, and left the sandbank where they had been transformed. They were wondering: "Where is the one who devoured us? That jaguar is still running! It must be over there!" They wanted to take revenge on the jaguar and thus also enter the *unokai* ritual condition of homicide by killing him.¹⁰ The jaguar was still nearby. "Let's be quiet! It's coming this way; it's approaching!" Immediately they climbed up into a *hayihi* tree,¹¹ sat down, and began to cut off its branches: *kuutu! kuutu! kuutu!* As the branches fell to the ground noisily—*wooooo! brao! woooo! brao!*—Omamë and Yoasi accompanied their fall with loud shouts: "*A a aë! a a aë! a a aë!*" They were pretending to pick *hayi* fruits in a tree where none grew, cutting the branches and making a lot of noise only to attract the jaguar. Indeed the latter stretched its neck to listen, and noticed where the noise was coming from: *kuutu! kuutu! kuutu! woooo! brao! woooo! brao! a a aë! a a aë!* It went in that direction.

Meanwhile Omamë made the trunk of the *hayihi* tree swell, and then he stuck a large number of metal blades¹² into it halfway up, one next to the other all around the trunk. That way, when the jaguar climbed up into the tree, Omamë wanted to prevent it from reaching him and Yoasi with its powerful paws. He wanted to make it climb the tree as far as the swollen part of the trunk where the blades were. He had placed them all around in such a way that they would impede the jaguar's progress: here—*thikë!* there—*thikë!* on

this side—*thikē!* on that side—*thikē!* behind—*thikē!* They were iron blades,¹³ very sharp-edged, and there were a lot of them.

Omamē and Yoasi continued to shout and laugh noisily to attract the jaguar to their tree: "*A a aē! A a aē! Ha ha ha ha!*" The jaguar came closer and closer, following their tracks, and began to climb. They noticed that the tree was moving and heard the sound of the jaguar's claws against the trunk: *hī! kri! kri! kri!* They stared in the direction it was coming from, saying to one another: "Let's be quiet! Let's be quiet! There it is! It's the jaguar climbing up!" They laughed quietly, gloating in advance: "*Ha ha ha ha!*" The jaguar was climbing, and they could hear the sound of its claws approaching: *kri! kri! kri!* Omamē had also placed very pointed iron blades nearly all around the base of the tree, like that, next to one another. These he had planted with the intention of killing the jaguar by making it fall on them. They were big metal blades, sharp, and very numerous. This was Omamē's work.

The jaguar had reached a spot just below Omamē and Yoasi. Pressed flat against the trunk it tried to reach them by striking violently in their direction with its paws: *houuu! kriii! houuu! kriii!* But it failed to catch them, for its paws kept hitting the iron blades planted by Omamē. Look, like this, I am showing you! Its paws could not get beyond the obstacle of the blades, and its claws failed to reach their aim: *kriii! kriii! kriii!* That is how Omamē was in the early times when he was created.

Finally the jaguar's tail began to twitch nervously and to thump against the tree: *krēti! krēti! krēti!* It was beginning to grow tired. It continued to hit mightily with its paws which again only met the iron blades, trying incessantly here, there, everywhere. In vain. In the end its strength began to ebb, and its paws lost their grip on the trunk. Suddenly it fell down from the tree—*houuuuu!*—and was impaled on the pointed blades which Omamē had placed around the base: *waaaaa! kraaashi! kraaashi! kraaashi!* That was the end of the jaguar; it was cut into pieces.

That is what Omamē did to the jaguar and how he took revenge on it by planting metal blades. Thus Omamē and Yoasi took revenge on the jaguar by cutting it up, paying it back in kind for having devoured them when they were in the form of a Yanomam. After their revenge both of them went on living alone. They were really alone. There were no women at all in those days.¹⁴

Informant: Hewēnakē

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Omawë and Yoasi are created from head and innards of man devoured by jaguar. To take revenge on jaguar they lure it up into tree which they have surrounded with sharp iron blades. Unable to reach them jaguar eventually falls down and is impaled on blades.

Motif content

A511.1.4.	Magic origin of culture hero.
A515.1.1.	Twin culture heroes.
A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
B16.2.+.	Devastating jaguar. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)
D437.+.	Transformation: head to person. (D437.
	Transformation: part of animal or person to person.)
D437.+.	Transformation: intestines to person. (D437.
	Transformation: part of animal or person to person.)
D489.+.	Tree magically grows larger. (D489. Objects made larger—miscellaneous.)
D1610.5.	Speaking head.
E783.	Vital head.
E783.5.	Vital head speaks.
G510.4.	Hero overcomes devastating animal.
J610.	Forethought in conflict with others—general.
K810.	Fatal deception into trickster's power.
K910.	Murder by strategy.
K1113.1.	Dupe persuaded to climb tall tree.

188. A Tree That Swelled

Ōmawë and Yoawë were sitting in a tree eating fruits. The kernels whistled in a pleasant way as they fell. Jaguar came to the foot of the tree and asked: "What are you eating?" "We're eating *apia* fruits. *Apia* fruits!" They were eating the fruits of a tree that was still young and small. "Break off a branch for me; I'd like to see the pulp of the fruits and taste it." "All right." In order to deceive Jaguar, Ōmawë shook a branch without fruits. "They won't fall; come up and eat in the tree with us!" "I really don't feel like climbing." Ōmawë and Yoawë continued to shake a branch that had no fruits. "They really won't fall." The tree in which they were perched was forked, split into two main branches. It was not very thick, but because they wanted to make Jaguar fall down they were going to make it swell.

Jaguar began to climb. When he was halfway up the tree they caused the trunk to swell. Unable to grasp it any longer he became

afraid and shouted: "How big the tree is here!" "That's how it was when I climbed up," said Ōmawē to him. Jaguar let go and fell. Ōmawē and Yoawē climbed down while Jaguar lay on the ground without breathing. When he regained consciousness he went away. The twins had caused the tree trunk to swell.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A515.1.1.	Twin culture heroes.
A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
D489.+.	Tree magically grows larger. (D489. Objects made larger—miscellaneous.)
K1020.	Deception into disastrous attempt to procure food.
K1113.1.	Dupe persuaded to climb tall tree.

189. Omao and Soao

Long ago there was a woman who was pregnant. One day the big jaguar came and devoured her. When he found the uterus he wanted to eat it as well, but at that moment a toad came and told him that that should not be eaten. The jaguar left the uterus in the forest and went away.

The toad took the uterus and carried it home. After a few months two twin boys were born from it whom the toad named Omao and Soao. The two boys were brothers but the toad was not their mother although he had fed them and protected them from all dangers.

One day the jaguar returned and heard the two boys talking. He realized what had happened and tried to kill them, but they took a giant leap into a very tall tree. There they stayed for a long time, living on the fruits on the tree. The jaguar lay in constant wait for them, greedy for his tasty meal. After a while he tried to climb the tree but when he was close to the boys they jumped down. The jaguar followed suit, but unfortunately for him he hit the ground so hard that he died.

The two brothers went into the forest. They were alone. Overwhelmed by their feeling of solitude they decided to create man. They wanted to make men using very hard wood so that they would not die, and they began to search in the forest for the sturdiest tree they could find. Although they saw many, Omao was not satisfied

and continued the search. His brother Soao became discouraged and finally lost his patience completely. Taking out his axe he felled the nearest tree and began to carve out the people from the soft wood. When Omao came and saw the tree that his brother had felled he was overcome by sadness, for he had a foreboding that men now would die young for lack of strength. Furious with his brother he seized him by the arm and threw him down on top of a nest of wasps, which stung Soao so badly that he fled terrified through the forest, screaming.

Sometimes polished axes are found in the forest. They belonged to Omao, who used them to cut four very strong trees. However, he did not make men from them; he made snakes. They do not die, because they are constantly being rejuvenated by changing their skin.

Afterward Omao and Soao wanted to create women. As Soao was an excellent fisherman Omao made him a hook so he could go to the river to fish. But Soao lost the hook and returned without a catch. Omao made him another hook, a stronger one, and this time Soao caught an enormous fish. Omao put it in a basket saying that it was his wife, and told Soao not to touch her. Although she was very beautiful Soao did not touch her.

One day Omao said to his brother that he wanted to make a wife for him and also for the other men. He said he was going to a riverbank, and asked Soao to watch over his sister-in-law, and to be very careful not to touch her.

Omao went away, and after walking a great distance he reached the shore of a large river. There he found numerous beautiful butterflies, from which he wanted to create his brother's wife and the wives of the other men. The butterflies turned out to be very timid and fled every time Omao approached. Finally he turned himself into a fly and laid out some sweet bait to attract his quarry. But all was in vain, for precisely at the moment that he was about to grab the most beautiful butterfly he heard a cry which he identified as coming from his wife. And in fact Soao, who had grown tired of waiting for his brother and his wife, had lost his patience and had opened the basket holding his sister-in-law, intending to have sex with her. However, she gave a tremendous shout and escaped. The butterflies were frightened and fled from the riverbank.

Annoyed, Omao left his brother alone on the earth and went to the sky.

Summary

Twin brothers Omao and Soao are born from their dead mother's uterus. After escaping from jaguar they decide to create man. Ignoring his brother's advice, Soao creates man from soft, nondurable wood.

Omao marries fish-woman, then goes off to catch butterflies from which to create wives for men. During his absence Soao tries to rape his brother's wife. Angrily, Omao ascends to heaven.

Motif content

A15.2.	Brothers as creators.
A73.	Lonely creator.
A511.1.	Birth of culture hero.
A511.2.	Care of culture hero.
A511.3.2.	Culture hero reared (educated) by extraordinary (supernatural) personages.
A515.1.1.	Twin culture heroes.
A515.1.1.2.	Twin culture heroes—one foolish, one clever.
A566.2.	Culture hero ascends to heaven.
A1210.	Creation of man by creator.
A1251.	Creation of man from tree.
A1280.	First man (woman).
A1320.	Determination of span of life.
A1390.+.	Why man is weak: made from soft wood instead of hard. (A1390. Ordaining of human life—miscellaneous.)
A2578.+.	Why snakes have long life. (A2578. Why animal has long life.)
B493.2.	Helpful toad.
B654.	Marriage to fish in human form.
D185.1.	Transformation: man to fly.
F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.
J1700.	Fools.
J2650.	Bungling fool.
P251.5.4.	Two brothers as contrasts.
Q453.+.	Punishment: being stung by wasps. (Q453. Punishment: being bitten by animal.)
R311.	Tree refuge.
T425.	Brother-in-law seduces (seeks to seduce) sister-in-law.
T540.	Miraculous birth.
W196.	Lack of patience.

190. The Origin of the Sanema¹⁵

It was long, long ago that the great curassow cried, during the time of the ancestors. And before that the ancestors did not exist at all. There was only a single ancestor, and that was Omao; and Omao was about to create the Sanema. These Shamatali (Southern Sanema), these *sedenabi* (foreigners), these too Omao was yet to create, and it was we Sanema that Omao was just about to create.

Down by the big river Omao went to collect *poli* trees.¹⁶ Having collected a single tree he went on downstream, far downstream, to find another. Returning with the single tree that he had collected he came on his younger brother Soawe.¹⁷ "Go and collect me more Shidishina,"¹⁸ he said to Soawe. Then Omao went off again to collect more himself. The tree people accompanied him, and again he collected a single tree. "Oh, dear! My elder brother will expect me to collect this wood very quickly, I'm afraid," said Soawe from where he sat. So he went out and hastily collected many lengths of *kodalinese*¹⁹ wood. Once he had collected them, Omao returned. He saw all the *kodalinese* lying on the ground. "Ga!—really bad."²⁰ That younger brother of mine, he's really bad, I'm afraid," so said Omao angrily. The Sanema were made from the *kodalinese*. Omao made us from the *kodalinese* wood. "Ha! ha! ha! ha! ha! ha! ha! ha!" so laughed the *hanakasa* weasels,²¹ the reflections of women, when they saw all the *kodalinese* that Soawe had collected. And so it was that we Sanema became really feeble.

"That bad younger brother of mine, he's made me really angry," said Omao. "It was snakes that I was going to make all feeble. I was going to make that *hedugigi* anaconda²² die just as soon as he had had a child. And those children to die as quickly. And it was the Sanema that I was going to make from *poli* trees so that they could cast their old skins. They could dive into the river—*kopu*!—and, lying on the sand, they could peel off their old skin: *gledididi*! They would thus become fresh and new as the inside was revealed. Once they had become really elderly, both husband and wife, they could have dived into the rivers and stripped off their old skins—*gledidi*!—and so become beautiful again."²³ That was what I had wanted to do!" said Omao. But instead Soawe had gone and collected a load of trash, and Omao became really angry and made us Sanema from that. And so because these weak trees had been collected the Sanema die really quickly. We were created from that *kodalinese* wood. So we became weak. So we die. So we mourn, instead of be-

ing able to peel off our skins when we become really old, as we would like.

And because Soawe had collected those weakly trees, Omao became really angry. Omao left the world; way, way, way downriver he went to the bottom of the sky. But Soawe, he did not go there too; he went off elsewhere.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 37–38.

Summary

Omao wants to create man from hard wood to make people live long. Instead his foolish brother Soawe makes men from soft wood.

Motif content

A15.2.	Brothers as creators.
A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A515.1.1.2.+.	Culture heroes brothers—one foolish, one clever. (A515.1.1.2. Twin culture heroes—one foolish, one clever.)
A566.2.	Culture hero ascends to heaven.
A1210.	Creation of man by creator.
A1251.	Creation of man from tree.
A1280.	First man (woman).
A1319.12.1.	Why man does not change his skin.
A1319.14.	Origin of man's skin.
A1320.	Determination of span of life.
A1390.+.	Why man is weak: made from soft wood instead of hard. (A1390. Ordaining of human life—miscellaneous.)
A1611.+.	Origin of the Sanema. (A1611. Origin of particular tribes.)
A2578.+.	Why snakes have long life. (A2578. Why animal has long life.)
J1700.	Fools.
P251.5.4.	Two brothers as contrasts.

191. Yoasi and the Short Life Span²⁴

The Yanomam were nearly given a life which does not end. Omamë wanted to plant in the ground a stake made from a real *borehi* tree²⁵ in order to attach to it the hammock belonging to Tëbërësikë's daughter.²⁶ But Yoasi impatiently cut a *kotoboriusihi*

tree²⁷ instead and barked it, letting its fragile bark bend and sag. Omamë was about to plant a *borehi* stake in the ground, but Yoasi caused the bark of a *kotoboriusihi* stake to bend and sag, and since then the Yanomam die. It was Yoasi who taught us to die. That's why we die easily. If Omamë had succeeded in planting a real *borehi* stake in the ground and had attached to it Tëbërësikë's daughter's hammock we would not die. Yoasi ruined it, and it is because of him that we die now. If Omamë could have used a real stake of *borehi* wood, Tëbërësikë's daughter would have changed her skin. When she grew old she would have changed her skin and become a pubescent girl again, like the bark of the *borehi* tree which renews itself when it grows old. That nearly happened, but Yoasi chose a stake of soft wood and threw away the *borehi* trunk. Unfortunately Yoasi interposed himself and did this behind Omamë's back. He was detestable.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A515.1.1.2.+.	Culture heroes brothers—one foolish, one clever. (A515.1.1.2. Twin culture heroes—one foolish, one clever.)
A1319.12.1.	Why man does not change his skin.
A1320.	Determination of span of life.
A1335.3.	Origin of death from unwise choice.
P251.5.4.	Two brothers as contrasts.

192. Omawë

Long ago the ancestors lived. All were sons and grandsons of the blood of Peribo-riwë. One of them was Omawë, the man who taught us Yanomamo many things. He was the son of Poapoama. Poapoama was the daughter of Kohararo-riwë and Mamokori-yoma. Kohararo-riwë and Heïmi-riwë were the chiefs of those people.

So Omawë was a grandson of Mamokori-yoma. Ira (Jaguar), too, was human in those days, and also one of Mamokori-yoma's grandsons. When Omawë was still inside his mother's stomach Ira ate Poapoama, but he did not eat the fetus. He took it between his

hands, making the sound *kari, kari*.²⁸ Then he took it to Mamokori-yoma and gave it to her. "Take him, grandmother," he said. The old woman took the baby and put him in a pot, covering it with a basket so that no one would see him. In that pot she raised Omawë. He grew quickly and soon he was a man.

Omawë had two more brothers. The oldest was named Yoawë.

The people of those days liked to eat fish a lot. One day Yoawë went fishing. When he returned he was angry. Omawë was singing, intoxicated by snuff. When he saw his brother he asked: "Yoawë, why are you angry?" He called him by his name so that the non-Yanomamo would learn to call their children by name. He asked him: "Are you perhaps upset because you didn't catch anything?" Yoawë did not reply. Once more Omawë asked him, and then he answered: "Shut up! I'm angry." "Why?" "Because while I was fishing I saw two very beautiful girls with long hair emerging from the water, and they stopped and looked at me. Then I pulled in my fish, but it fell next to them and I wasn't able to go and pick it up." "Why didn't you copulate with them?" said Omawë to him. "Is that the only reason you came back angry? You didn't know how to take advantage of the girls."

The next day Omawë wanted to go with Yoawë to the same stream to see whether those beautiful women would appear again. He wanted to abduct them, one woman for each of them. They arrived, and sat down at the water's edge. One woman did not take long to emerge from the water. She was beautiful, with very long hair. But she was alone. Omawë fell in love, and without further ado he grabbed her and carried her off to his house. "That's what you should have done," he said to Yoawë. "But you only looked at them. Now I've really got a pretty wife." That woman was the daughter of Rahara-riwë²⁹ and was named Kamanae-yoma.

One day Omawë said to his wife: "I want to eat my fish with cassava. Let's go to the plantation so you can pull up a few yucas." They went. Omawë stopped in front of a ceiba tree and said: "This is the plant. Pull up its roots so you can make cassava." "This isn't yuca," said his wife. "It's a ceiba." "No, it's yuca," said Omawë. "I've eaten cassava from this yuca." The woman insisted, but it got her nowhere. Finally she had to start digging until she had extracted an enormous root from the tree. They returned home with it. Kamanae-yoma began to grate the tree root, and made cassava with it. He ate it, but she did not. It was very hard and tasted bad.

Rahara-riwë had gotten angry with Omawë. His daughter Kamanae-yoma was not happy living with her husband. She was

tired of seeing him eating ceiba cassava. Omawë had a very beautiful daughter with this woman. She grew quickly.

For a change, Omawë's people would sometimes go food-gathering in the forest. Once when Omawë was inside his lean-to a man came to him, weeping and asking for a woman. It was Yarimi-riwë, a real womanizer. Now he wanted Omawë's pretty daughter. As Omawë was a good-hearted man he finally gave her to him. But look what happened.

When Yarimi-riwë went to have sex with his new wife her vulva bit his penis.³⁰ That is to say, Kamanae-yoma had placed a starving *caribe* fish inside, and it ate the first thing it came across. The man started running, screaming in pain: "Ko, ko, ko!" Still running he scrambled up a tree and there he stayed, transformed into a white monkey. Omawë watched him as he ran and pointed to him, saying his name so that his people would know it: "Hoaxi-kë-ka! Hoaxi-kë-ka!"

When they returned from the forest Omawë again asked for ceiba cassava. Kamanae-yoma was tired of grating tree roots, and one day she said to her husband: "You people are eating ceiba roots, that's all. That's not cassava. Let's go to my father's house so you can see the plant which is used to make real cassava. Then you'll see how tasty yuca cassava is to eat with fish!"

Omawë agreed, and the next day he, his wife, and his brother set out toward Rahara-riwë's house. The latter was still angry because Omawë had abducted his daughter. They arrived. Rahara-riwë did not offer them any food. The following day Kamanae-yoma said to her father: "Father, I'll take my husband and his brother through your plantation to show them the plants you're cultivating." "All right, go." Rahara-riwë said this because now he wanted to take revenge. While they went to the plantation he took snuff until he was intoxicated. He took a lot. As he had great power over water he made the lagoon rise higher and higher. To this day it is Rahara who makes the rivers rise.

Omawë and his wife arrived at Rahara-riwë's plantation. "Look at this plant," said his wife to him, showing him one. "It's called sweet yuca, and its roots taste very good." Then she showed him another plant, pulled out a large root, and showed it to him, saying: "Look, this is bitter yuca. It's used for making cassava. Yuca is nice and soft to grate, and you make me grate ceiba roots."

Omawë was struck dumb with astonishment at seeing all those yuca plants. But at that moment he happened to glance over toward the edge of the plantation, and saw a wall of water coming toward

them. "Look!" he said fearfully to his wife, "there's water coming!" Kamanae-yoma knew who had sent the water. She grabbed Omawë's arm and shouted: "Let's go, let's take shelter!"

They ran to Rahara-riwë's house and entered. But the water kept coming, flooding everything. It entered Rahara-riwë's house as well. Then, without Omawë and Yoawë realizing it, Rahara-riwë left the house and also made his daughter leave. Omawë and Yoawë remained inside and Rahara-riwë closed off the exit. The water rose even higher. Omawë and Yoawë knew how to swim and they were swimming. They were crying desperately, fearful of drowning. Rahara-riwë watched them through the cracks without pity, laughing. When the water reached the roof Rahara-riwë made a hole and peeked inside. As he could see neither Omawë nor Yoawë he assumed that they had drowned.

But that was not the case. Omawë also had magic power, and he and his brother had transformed themselves into those crickets that we call *kirikiri*³¹ and had hidden in a small area of the roof that was not under water. There they waited very quietly for the water to subside, looking down.

Believing them to be dead Rahara-riwë finally made the water go down slightly. He was astounded to see Omawë and Yoawë standing in the middle of the house in human form, looking at him. Once more he made the water rise, but the two brothers again turned into crickets, thus escaping yet again. Rahara-riwë flooded the area one more time, and Omawë and Yoawë saved themselves as before. When Rahara-riwë caused the water to subside the two brothers were in the house, having resumed their human form. Then Rahara-riwë entered with his daughter and his people.

Now Omawë was the one who was angry. That same afternoon he said to his wife: "Here they want to drown us. Let's go home." They left. *Xiri*, the man left; *xiri*, the woman left after him; *xiri*, his brother. Rahara-riwë had not given them even a small yuca. Omawë was furious as he walked along the path. He said to his wife: "Why would your father want to drown me?" And he scolded her harshly. The woman walked behind him, weeping.

They arrived home. There the two brothers said: "Let's take revenge." The next day they blew a lot of snuff into one another's noses. They wanted to turn into flying spirits in order to punish Rahara-riwë. Ascending to the sky they had a ritual conversation with Motoka-riwë,³² asking him to dry up all the water on earth. That was the first time that the Yanomamo went up to the sky. Before them no one had had that power; no one had discovered the path that leads to Motoka-riwë. In those days it rained every day.

They descended. Soon summer came, fierce and hot, and even the lagoon where Rahara-riwë lived dried up. His people were thirsty, and wept. He was so thirsty that his whole skin was wrinkled.

But the children of Omawë and Yoawë were also thirsty, and they cried. Their wives also cried, asking for water. Omawë scolded his wife, saying: "Look, I was going to leave your father to die of thirst, for he wanted me to drown. It was he who made me angry, therefore I had to punish him. But because now my son is also dying of thirst I'll make the water reappear. I'll bring water up from underground, and that way you, your son and your father will be able to drink."

Omawë took his family to the source of the Xukumäna-këu.³³ There he lay down on the ground in several places to listen, to find out whether there was water below. *Tup, tup*—he heard the sound of all the water underground. Where he heard that there was most water and where it sounded very near he took his spear³⁴ and drove it into the ground. When he removed it water immediately spurted out. It kept on flowing. "Come and drink so you won't cry any longer," said Omawë to his son. The boy ran over to drink: *wüu, wüu, wüu*. Then everybody else there drank. Afterward Omawë plugged the hole.

At the same time, far from there, Rahara-riwë was drinking his own urine, nearly dead from thirst. He and his people were weeping. Omawë told Kamanae-yoma to call him, and Rahara-riwë came. Again Omawë opened the hole, and the water spurted out so Rahara-riwë could drink: *wüu, wüu, wüu*.

When he stopped drinking the stream of water increased. Some of it reached all the way to the sky, and there it remained. That is the water that falls today when it rains. The rest of the water flooded everything, near, far away, the entire earth. The water went back and forth. Whenever it returned it would call: "I am hungry for meat!" The shamans made magic, but the water went on rising. Then one of them said: "Let's throw it an old woman to satisfy its hunger." The Yanomamo seized an old woman among them and threw her into the water, where she disappeared. The sea had eaten her. As a result the water at once began to subside. Finally it could only be seen far away, leaving everything else dry, until it could not go any lower. That is what the foreigners call "the sea." Over here only the large rivers remained, through which flowed the water that came from the ground.

Then Omawë took his family and set out to see what had become of the earth. He would pick up the dead fish and eat them. Whenever he threw the fish bones rivers and streams were formed. He

walked along, inventing things. By now he no longer wanted his first wife, so he went to those Yanomamo who had escaped and stole the daughter of Maroha-riwë.³⁵ She was very pretty, and he liked her better than the other. Her name was Hauyakari-yoma.³⁶ Together with her and his family Omawë returned to the headwaters of the Xukumäna-këu. There he built a communal house and lived in it for some time. He also arranged a *reahu* festival and invited his Yanomamo neighbors. As there were a lot of *cunurí* fruits around there he told them to bring many baskets. That way he taught them that one could have a *reahu* even without using bananas.

During the *reahu*, while Omawë was conversing, his son Horetoriwë³⁷ was playing outside with the other children. Suddenly the boy heard some birds singing: "Siiieke-ke-ke-ke, kea, kea!" He became frightened and ran to tell them inside. It was the first time he heard a bird like that. He said: "Father, there are people coming who want to skin us!" Omawë interrupted his conversation and ran to see. "Where, where?" he asked. "Siiieke-ke-ke, kea, kea!"³⁸

Omawë became frightened as well and ran inside the communal house. Calling Yoawë he said to him: "Brother, let's get away from here. There are people coming over there who want to skin us!" Quickly they made their tobacco rolls and put them in their mouths, picked up their baskets with *cunurí* fruits, and left. The other Yanomamo took their baskets and went in another direction, upstream. They are the people whom we call Waika today.

Omawë and his family walked along the banks of the Xukumäna-këu, downstream.³⁹ In the afternoon they built their lean-tos, ate *cunurí* fruits, and slept, and the next day they continued traveling. The lean-tos which they left behind in time turned into rocks which can be seen still. Along the way Omawë shot a tapir, and it, too, turned into stone. There it is as a memento. I saw⁴⁰ it in the forest. As they walked Omawë threw *cunurí* seeds, and where they fell they sprouted so the Yanomamo could gather the fruits later.⁴¹ When he ate *cunurí*, little pieces fell on the ground and turned into *abré*, the little beetles that eat excrement.⁴²

Omawë continued to go far away, sleeping many nights, as many moons passed. Far in the distance he settled down with his family, and from his people the foreigners originated. The sons learned to make *matohi*: machetes, axes, jars, cloth. If it were not for Omawë, today the foreigners would not exist.

We, the Yanomamo of today, are descended from those people who took refuge on the hill of Mayo-kekä.

Informant: The chief of the Iyëwei-teri

Source: Cocco 1972, pp. 469–474.

Summary

Omawë abducts daughter of water-spirit and marries her. Over her protests he forces her to grate tree roots and make "cassava," insisting that roots are yuca. One day she invites him and his brother to visit her father's plantation to show them real yuca. Still angry over his daughter's abduction, water-spirit tries to drown brothers by causing flood, but they escape by repeatedly turning into crickets. In revenge Omawë causes drought on earth. Seeing everyone dying of thirst he relents, however, and brings up water from underground. When flood results, people subdue waters by sacrificing old woman.

Omawë travels far with his family, creating rivers, rocks, fruit trees, and beetles on the way. Finally they settle down, and from them originate the *napë* (foreigners).

Motif content

A220.	Sun-god.
A511.2.+.	Culture hero raised in pot. (A511.2. Care of culture hero.)
A511.4.	Growth of culture hero.
A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
A527.3.1.	Culture hero can transform self.
A560.	Culture hero's (demigod's) departure.
A566.2.	Culture hero ascends to heaven.
A592.+.	Son of culture hero. (A592. Culture hero and descendants.)
A910.4.	Bodies of water remnant of flood.
A920.	Origin of the seas.
A930.	Origin of streams.
A977.5.	Origin of particular rock.
A1010.	Deluge.
A1016.+.	Flood caused by water gushing out of hole in earth. (A1016. Pseudo-scientific explanations of the flood.)
A1018.3.	Flood brought as revenge for injury.
A1028.	Bringing deluge to end.
A1131.	Origin of rain.
A1263.1.	Man created from blood.
A1614.9.	Origin of white man.
A2021.	Creation of beetle.
A2571.+.	How monkey received its name. (A2571. How animals received their names.)

B143.1.	Bird gives warning.
B147.2.2.	Bird of ill-omen.
D118.2.	Transformation: man (woman) to monkey.
D183.2.	Transformation: man to cricket.
D421.+.	Transformation: tapir to stone. (D421. Transformation: mammal (wild) to object.)
D441.2.+.	Transformation: fruit to beetle. (D441.2. Transformation: fruit to animal.)
D450.+.	Transformation: hut to rock. (D450. Transformation: object to another object.)
D631.1.1.	Person changes appearance at will.
D642.2.	Transformation to escape death.
D1610.36.	Speaking water.
D1766.2.	Magic results produced by sacrifices.
D1812.5.1.12.2.	Bird calls as evil omen.
D2091.7.1.	River magically caused to rise against enemy.
D2091.8.	Magic drought to destroy enemy.
D2143.2.	Drought produced by magic.
D2151.0.2.	Waters made to dry up.
D2151.2.	Magic control of rivers.
F68.	Ascent to upper world by magic.
F420.1.2.1.	Water-maidens are of unusual beauty.
F420.2.3.	Water-spirits have garden.
F420.3.1.	Water-spirits have family life under water.
F420.4.1.	Water-spirits possess magic power.
F420.5.2.6.	Water-spirits take revenge on mortals.
F420.6.1.	Marriage or liaison of mortals and water-spirits.
F420.6.1.6.	Offspring of marriage between mortal and water-spirit.
F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.
F986.	Extraordinary occurrences concerning fishing.
G10.	Cannibalism.
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
J1800.+.	Tree root thought to be yuca. (J1800. One thing mistaken for another—miscellaneous.)
K1210.	Humiliated or baffled lovers.
K1213.	Terrorizing the paramour (importunate lover).
Q552.3.3.	Drought as punishment.
Q583.	Fitting bodily injury as punishment.
R10.1.	Princess (maiden) abducted.
R311.	Tree refuge.
S260.1.	Human sacrifice.
T323.	Escape from undesired lover by strategy.
T584.2.	Child removed from body of dead mother.

193. The Daughter of the Waters

Ōmawë and Yoawë captured a woman and took her home.

Yoawë had gone fishing. He was squatting at the edge of the water when he noticed a pretty woman sitting on the sand. "Oh!" he exclaimed in surprise. This woman lived underwater. Her house was just like ours, and inside it was as dry as it is here, but above the leafy roof there was water. Like here, there was a blazing fire, and ashes. When Yoawë saw the woman he decided to seize her, and he changed into a Guianan cock of the rock, a beautiful orange bird. "Eeee," he said, imitating the call of the bird while fluttering from one place to another. Once or twice he brushed against her, but the woman made fun of him. He transformed himself into a red-headed tanager. "Brown head! Brown head!" she repeated. "Brown-headed tanager! Orange bird with a narrow forehead!" He was unable to catch her.

He fluttered around her for a long time and then became discouraged. Angrily he returned home. He was so upset that he let burn the package of fish which he had placed over the coals to cook. Night came, and he fell asleep. Dawn was already on the horizon when his younger brother, Handsome One, came. "Ugly One, Ugly One, why did you let the fish burn?" "I saw a beautiful woman, and I fell asleep in a bad mood." "Is that true? Did you really see her? Let's go and take a look." Yoawë assured him: "On the other side of the river, downstream, where the river meanders, I saw an unfamiliar woman sitting." "Let's go; she'll come back and sit in the same place."

Indeed, the woman was sitting on the sand. "There she is; it's really she. There! There!" In her ears she wore splendid pendants, red like glowing coals. She sat there. "Come on, little brother, there she is again." They fell silent, and a moment passed. "Let's try." Once more Yoawë turned himself into an orange Guianan cock of the rock. He flew low and settled in one spot, then another, between his brother and the woman. She began to mock him again: "Narrow forehead!" She threw pieces of wood at him. "Orange bird with a narrow forehead! Thin forehead!" She persisted in saying this, so he changed into a red-headed tanager once more. "Brown head!" He crawled in between her thighs. "Brown head!" In despair Yoawë rejoined his brother. "She keeps repeating that." He became a heron. "Head with light hair! Head with light hair!" Yoawë returned to his brother. "She doesn't stop making fun of me. Why don't you assume another form."

Ugly One now turned himself into a cricket and ran along the sand, and then he became one of those little monkeys with round eyes and thin limbs that move about in the trees during the night. He crawled under the sand, and thus hidden he lay there motionless. The younger man turned into a paradise tanager. "*Sisisisi*," he called. "Father! Father! Father!" she cried. He fluttered around her, his feathers glinting in the light. "Father! Father!" The one hiding in the sand seized her, and the other grabbed her by the arm. They had her encircled in the wink of an eye.

Rahararitawë was the father of that woman. All around him a vast sheet of water was spread out like a shell. That was where he lived. The brothers wanted to go home with their captive, but the water began to break over them, and Yoawë had to stay behind to hold it off with the help of the *hekura* spirits. They arrived home. Sapajou Monkey was there; he was their son-in-law. (As you know, among the Yanomami sons-in-law perform premarital service.) Through the entrance of the woman's vagina many fish could be seen crowding together. The son-in-law was excited: "Father-in-law, father-in-law, let me try. Let me try first." "No, don't do anything." The mouths of the fish were truly menacing. "I'd like to be the first to have intercourse with her." "Don't do anything." Although they told him no, it was hard to restrain their son-in-law's aroused sexual desire. Finally they gave in: "All right, try it." Sapajou entered the woman, but the fish that filled her vagina cut off his penis. He fled, leaping from one tree to another, and from then on all the trees he had held on to bore a transversal red mark left by his bleeding penis.

After this incident, which they had caused, the twins ingested some hallucinogen. They forced the fish with their bloody mouths to jump out of the woman's vagina. When there were no more fish left they could be said to have made her vagina human; they had given her a truly human trait. The younger brother said to the older without beating about the bush: "Ugly One, now you try it." The fish were no longer to be seen, but a terrible noise could be heard: *shokë, shokë, shokë*. "The people, wherever they are, will get their ears dirty," commented Handsome One. The real name of the younger twin was Kuyarowë, and that of the older was Yawetiwë.

When nothing else remained for them to do they put their newly acquired wife to work. They wanted her to grate the roots of a ceiba tree in the same way that manioc roots are grated to get flour. They made her grate the tree roots, pretending that they were manioc roots. She thought: "How is it possible? Do manioc roots look like this? They are hard. My father has real manioc." She told them at

once about manioc. "My father owns real manioc." "Really?" "My father's manioc plants have a short stem; that's real manioc. It's easy to make into flour; it's soft; it can be ground easily. This is hard."

They began their journey without losing a moment. Rahararitawë's daughter walked in the lead, guiding them. They were going to ask for manioc. It never occurred to them that her father might turn out to be hostile; they went to visit him. The water under which the father's dwelling lay was still. When they approached, a large silvery fish broke the surface. The two husbands kept back. "Here's the leafy roof of my father's house. Here's the entrance, where palm leaves block the passage." Incredulously the husbands kept back, frightened by the water. "Is it really true?" "There's the entrance." She walked on through the water. "There's the entrance, right where the palm leaves are." "Get some ashes." She fetched ashes that looked just like the ashes here. Then she took her husbands by the arm, and they found themselves on solid ground, just like the ground here. Rahararitawë had his back to them. Approaching him, they expressed their request in ritual form. They asked for manioc. They did not get the plants at once; they brought home only roots.

It was Rahararitawë himself who brought them the plants. When he came he was accompanied by an enormous mass of water which preceded him. "Here comes my father." The entire region was submerged under a wave of water, and the fire went out. Another wave broke against the first one, and the hearth was carried off. The water flooded their house and was already reaching the level of their hammocks so that they were forced to tie them higher up. But the water continued to rise in spite of their efforts to hold it back. Yoawë turned into a wasp, but the tubular opening of the nest, which curved downward, rested in the water. He changed his mind, and turned into a cricket. Handsome One, Kuyarowë, took refuge on the upper part of the poles on the roof. He succeeded in stabilizing the level of the water, and remained safe in one of the last places that were still dry. Meanwhile Yoawë kept moving about.

After bringing the manioc plants Rahararitawë returned home, and the water subsided. "He has dishonored us!" shouted the twins furiously. They planted the manioc cuttings at once, and when they had finished they inhaled some hallucinogen. Then they brought the sun to above the sheet of water which covered Rahararitawë's dwelling, and lowered it so that its rays would enter obliquely under the roof. The water evaporated, and the house dried. Rahararitawë was thirsty, and began to run madly in search of water. "I'm dying of

thirst!" They made him run. He sucked the sand; he filled his mouth with mud that contained tapir dung; he stopped at all the holes in the forest which usually held dark and stagnant water. There he sat for a moment, and then he began to run again. Everywhere the alligators had dried out.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Yoawë and Ōmawë make repeated attempts to capture water woman on riverbank, turning themselves into various animals to do so. Finally they succeed. After they magically remove voracious fish from her vagina, Yoawë has intercourse with her.

Water woman takes both brothers to her father (water monster) to show them what manioc looks like. Water monster later comes to give them manioc plants, accompanied by masses of water which floods their house. After water subsides they take revenge by magically causing sun to dry up water around monster's house.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
A527.3.1.	Culture hero can transform self.
A1010.	Deluge.
A1028.	Bringing deluge to end.
A2751.3.	Markings on bark of plant.
D118.2.	Transformation: man (woman) to monkey.
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D180.+.	Transformation: man to wasp. (D180. Transformation: man to insect.)
D183.2.	Transformation: man to cricket.
D610.	Repeated transformation.
D631.1.1.	Person changes appearance at will.
D642.2.	Transformation to escape death.
D2091.8.	Magic drought to destroy enemy.
D2143.2.	Drought produced by magic.
D2149.6.+.	Magic control of the sun. (D2149.6. Magic control of heavenly bodies.)
D2151.	Magic control of waters.
D2151.0.2.	Waters made to dry up.
F133.	Submarine otherworld.
F403.2.+.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
F420.1.2.1.	Water-maidens are of unusual beauty.
F420.2.	Home of water-spirits.

F420.3.5.	Water-spirits visited by mortal.
F420.4. +.	Water-woman's vagina is full of fish. (F420.4. Characteristics of water-spirits.)
F420.4.1.	Water-spirits possess magic power.
F420.5.1.7.	Water-spirits give gifts to mortals.
F420.6.1.	Marriage or liaison of mortals and water-spirits.
F420.7.1.	Visit to water goddess' underwater home.
F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.
F986.	Extraordinary occurrences concerning fishing.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.
J1800. +.	Tree root thought to be yuca. (J1800. One thing mistaken for another—miscellaneous.)
K1210.	Humiliated or baffled lovers.
Q552.3.3.	Drought as punishment.
Q583.	Fitting bodily injury as punishment.
R10.1.	Princess (maiden) abducted.
R310. +.	Refuge on roof. (R310. Refuges.)
T70.	The scorned lover.
T75.0.1.	Suitors ill-treated.
T75.1.	Scorn of unloved suitor punished.

194. The Origin of Yuca

One day Yoawë went fishing. At first he caught a few little fish, but then he got nothing. He looked for termites' nests and threw some termites on the water as bait, and when he continued fishing he was lucky and managed to catch a few more fish.

As he was busy cleaning them the beautiful Hokotoyōma, the daughter of Rahararithawë, appeared in the water. He tried to catch her, but the woman was slippery, and besides that she bit him. She escaped and did not appear again. He returned home, very angry that he had let the woman get away. After placing the fish on the fire he lay down in his hammock with his arm under his head, as the Yanomami customarily do when they are angry. He forgot all about the fish, and they were burned. Night fell, and although his brother Omawë was present they did not talk.

The next morning Omawë asked him: "*Werishe*,⁴³ why were you so upset when you returned from fishing last night?" "Because I let a beautiful woman who appeared in the water get away." "Really?" "That's right." The two brothers went off in the direction where the episode had taken place. "This is where she disappeared," said

Yoawë. Then he transformed himself into a *gallito de las rocas* and began to fly from one side to the other to see if he could find the woman in the water. She saw the little bird and cried: "Ugly nose, ugly nose!" Then Yoawë turned into a *tangara* bird. When she saw it she cried: "Yellow head, yellow head!" Faced with failure, Yoawë transformed himself into a cricket and hid in the sand on the shore. Omawë turned into a beautiful bird, a seven-colored *tangara*. When the woman saw his beauty she came out of the water, calling to her father: "Father, I'm going to catch a pet animal for myself!" "Catch it," answered her father. She went after the bird. She had nearly reached it when Yoawë, who was behind her, resumed his human form, and between the two of them they pulled her from the water.

Hoashiriwë, who was Omawë's son-in-law, had been watching all this, and was overcome by desire for the woman.

They laid her down on the shore and began to clean her skin, which was very sticky. They could see her vagina; it was full of fish with terrible teeth. The two brothers pulled the fish out with hooks. Because of their kinship with Hoashiriwë they let him copulate with the woman. As he did, his penis was cut off by the bite of a fish which still remained in the vagina. Hoashiriwë screamed with pain and bled profusely. He went running off and disappeared, never to be seen again.

Omawë and Yoawë pulled out the last fish, and one after the other they copulated with the woman. Then Omawë took her home.

One day he told the woman to grate yuca (in reality it was only ceiba roots). "That's not yuca," she said. "It's ceiba roots. My father has real yuca and it's very tasty; it's a beautiful plant with large, tender leaves." They told Hokotoyōma to fetch yuca, and also to bring back a few seedlings for them to plant. Before leaving she said: "Pay attention and be very careful. When I pull up the yuca from the ground the earth will tremble and it will sound like thunder." "Tell your father to come as well," were the last words she heard. She left. A short time later she pulled up the yuca, and there was a loud noise, like thunder. "We must be very careful," said Omawë and Yoawë, frightened.

Hokotoyōma invited her father to come with her. Rahararithawë accepted, although he was still very angry with Omawë for having abducted his daughter. Each step he took sounded: *bon, bon, bon*. As he was a great shaman he sent a lot of water toward Omawë's house. The house was filled with water, which put out the fire and rose up toward the ceiling. Quickly Yoawë turned into a cricket and Omawë turned into a *chiripa*, and they hid on the roof.

Rahararithawē came with the intention of killing the two brothers, but he could not find them and went away.

In the meantime Omawē talked to the sun, asking him to remove the water. The whole earth began to dry up, and gradually the rocks reappeared. Sun moved to above the river and it dried up as well. Rahararithawē was so thirsty that he cried, and he searched for water everywhere but could not find any. He ate damp earth; he ate tapir excrement.

Today the little *suhareami* birds live in the places where he went looking for water.

That was how the two brothers found yuca.

Informant: Monouthēri Raemawē

Source: Finkers 1986, pp. 30–32.

Summary

Two brothers catch water-woman. After removing sharp-toothed fish from her vagina they have sex with her, and she marries one of them, Omawē. One day she goes to fetch yuca (previously unknown among people). Then her father, angry over his daughter's abduction, causes earth to flood, but Omawē asks sun to dry up all water.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
A527.3.1.	Culture hero can transform self.
A1018.3.	Flood brought as revenge for injury.
A1010.	Deluge.
A1028.	Bringing deluge to end.
A2686.4.+.	Origin of yuca. (A2686.4. Origin of edible roots.)
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D183.2.	Transformation: man to cricket.
D631.1.1.	Person changes appearance at will.
D642.2.	Transformation to escape death.
D647.	Transformation to seek lost (or unknown) person.
D2091.8.	Magic drought to destroy enemy.
D2143.2.	Drought produced by magic.
D2151.	Magic control of waters.
D2151.0.2.	Waters made to dry up.
F420.1.2.1.	Water-maidens are of unusual beauty.
F420.2.3.	Water-spirits have garden.
F420.3.1.	Water-spirits have family life under water.

F420.4. +.	Water-woman's vagina is full of fish. (F420.4. Characteristics of water-spirits.)
F420.4.1.	Water-spirits possess magic power.
F420.5.2.6.	Water-spirits take revenge on mortals.
F420.6.1.	Marriage or liaison of mortals and water-spirits.
F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.
F986.	Extraordinary occurrences concerning fishing.
J1800. +.	Tree root thought to be yuca. (J1800. One thing mistaken for another—miscellaneous.)
K1210.	Humiliated or baffled lovers.
Q552.3.3.	Drought as punishment.
Q583.	Fitting bodily injury as punishment.
R10.1.	Princess (maiden) abducted.

195. The Daughter of the Waters

The sapajou monkeys were the first to notice the woman whom Ōmawē was going to marry. They had seen Hōkōtōyōma and kept watching her with a wide smile on their faces, sitting in a row close together. The woman was in the water, rhythmically raising and lowering her arms above her head. The monkeys followed her with their eyes, their mouths grimacing. They would very much have liked to grab her by the arms. They did not even stop to think whether they were strong enough.

Hōkōtōyōma was the daughter of the water monster. Still moving her arms she walked toward a place where the high riverbank made a wide curve. The deep water was inhabited by numerous fish. When Ōmawē and his brother appeared the sapajous became annoyed and hid their faces behind their crossed arms; they wanted the woman for themselves. Ōmawē asked them: "What are you doing?" Unwilling to admit what they were doing they remained silent. "Older brother, the river is full of fish here. Go and get some worms. I'm going to fish; we'll have some fish to eat. We'll eat here, and then we'll move on again." Yoawē went to look for worms in a place where numerous rocks were standing. He took the worms and threw a termites' nest into the water to get started. "Here are the worms; hurry up and start fishing." "Can they have seen her?" wondered the monkeys, who were sitting scattered around. "Older brother, that's enough; we've got enough fish. Now clean them." Carried by the current the termites were floating on the water, forming a slowly widening arc.

When Yoawë, Bad One, squatted to clean the fish his eyes fell on Hōkōtōyōma. Her breasts were erect and firm, and she was still raising and lowering her arms above her head. "Little brother, Ōmawë, there's a woman here who keeps raising and lowering her arms. She's in the middle of the water." Ōmawë looked. "Be quiet, we're going to catch her." The woman had circled around and was coming back. "Big brother, go and squat over there. As for me I'll wait where she just turned around." Yoawë squatted at the edge of the river, his scrotum resting on the ground. Hōkōtōyōma walked in the direction of Bad One, still moving her arms in the same way. She was getting close to him. It never occurred to her that they would take her as their wife. When she was near, Yoawë threw himself into the water to seize her. "Over here, Ōmawë, come quickly!" "Hold her firmly, hold her firmly!" But she slipped away between his arms. "She got away from me!" Furious, Ōmawë sat down some distance away. He felt like hitting his brother. "You might have asked yourself beforehand whether you were strong enough!" "She was so slippery," replied Bad One.

They cooked the fish over the coals, wrapped in leaves. Angry over their failed attempt they sat with their backs to each other. They forgot to turn the package that was roasting. Finally Ōmawë turned to his brother: "Older brother, older brother, don't be angry. Look, this package is roasted only on one side." The leaves of the package were still green on one side, but were burned on the other. "Older brother, eat the fish." Yoawë turned around. "She's strong; don't think she's weak." "You didn't think she could escape from your grip." They sat down and ate the fish. "Throw the leaves over there. Big brother, go and get some worms, and we'll start fishing again. She'll return. Also bring a lot of termites' nests."

Yoawë threw a nest into the water and went back to get another. The termites clung to the surface of the water and began to spread out all along the curved shore. The fish lunged at the surface to swallow them. Suddenly Ōmawë said: "Brother, brother, there she is, raising and lowering her arms in the middle of the river! She was resting over there. Brother, stay calm; I'm going where she's going." Suddenly Hōkōtōyōma appeared by the riverbank, and then she returned to the middle of the river. "I'll take up my position over there." Ōmawë went away, bent over, and then crouched down. The woman circled around, raising and lowering her arms, but she was watchful. The moment she turned back Ōmawë jumped on her, seized her around the waist, and intertwined his legs with hers. "Yoawë, come quickly!" "Ōmawë, hold her firmly!" said Bad One.

Clasping her from each side they managed to drag her up on the shore. She was slippery, covered all over with that substance which makes it impossible to hold fish. They held her and scraped her skin. "Who could have cut her hair so well?" Her hair hung evenly around her head, all the same length. The monkeys were happy. They were sexually aroused, and gave out lustful cries and fondled the woman. Ōmawē made Hōkōtōyōma lie down and said to the insufferable monkeys: "All right, have sex." The monkeys did so. However, no sooner would one introduce his penis than fish would bite it off with their teeth. The monkeys cried in pain. This went on: one of them would enter the woman and would cry out in pain; another would follow him and would cry out in turn, and so on. As soon as one introduced his penis it would be cut off. Finally the same fate had befallen them all except an old monkey. He entered her like the others and immediately gave a cry of pain. The monkeys' severed penises lay scattered on the ground. Again their moans could be heard: "*Ko, ko, ko.*"

"Older brother, go and get some worms." Ōmawē spread the woman's thighs, and through the orifice they could see piranhas jostling. He caught them. When they had completely stopped biting he said: "Older brother, have sex with her. Have sex." He sat down some distance away. While he had his back turned Swinging Testicles penetrated the woman. He took his scrotum, which was dragging along the ground, and covered his anus with it, entered her, and moved around. A terrible sound could be heard: *soka, soka*. When he had finished Ōmawē came up to him and said: "That's not how it should be done. You will arouse the desire of the men who listen; we mustn't do those disgusting things." Taking the woman by the arm he looked for a suitable place to lay her down. He had intercourse silently; one did not even notice it. "That's how it should be done."

Yoawē sat there, feeling ashamed. "Little brother, I'm the one who shall marry her." "No, I won't let you take her! Why would I give her to you? Let's get moving, quickly, let's go! It is I who shall marry her; I won't give her to you." Ōmawē was the first to leave. "Come, older brother, don't argue." Yoawē was the last to get up. It was Ōmawē who married the woman.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

While fishing in river, Ōmawē and Yoawē see water woman and try to capture her. After initial failure they succeed. They let monkeys have

intercourse with her first, but piranhas inside her vagina bite off their penises. Ōmawē remove piranhas and tells his brother to have sex with woman which Yoawē does, noisily. Ōmawē shows him how to do it silently and then takes woman as his wife.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
F420.4.+.	Characteristic gestures of water-spirit. (F420.4. Characteristics of water-spirits.)
F420.4.+.	Water-woman's vagina is full of fish. (F420.4. Characteristics of water-spirits.)
F420.6.1.	Marriage or liaison of mortals and water-spirits.
F986.	Extraordinary occurrences concerning fishing.
G308.2.	Water-monster.
K1210.	Humiliated or baffled lovers.
Q583.	Fitting bodily injury as punishment.
R10.1.	Princess (maiden) abducted.

196. The Brothers, the Girl, and the Piranha

One day the brothers Tohorá and Kanikawö from the Surára tribe went fishing. After catching a lot of fish, especially piranhas,⁴⁴ with their bows and arrows they suddenly heard a voice telling them not to kill any more piranhas. Tohorá obeyed, but Kanikawö just laughed and kept shooting at the piranhas with his arrows.

As he was busy doing this a pretty young girl, Kayaromú, came to fetch water. The sight of her aroused Kanikawö sexually so strongly that he wanted to have intercourse with her at once. When he tried to grab her she ran off, jumped into the water, and stayed submerged for a long time.

Finally she came to the surface again. But when she swam to shore and climbed up, Kanikawö seized her, threw her to the ground, and raped her. Tohorá wanted to defend her against his brother, but it was already too late. However, at that very moment howls of pain were heard from Kanikawö. He felt as if his penis were trapped in a mouth with sharp teeth, and it burned like fire. Trying to pull it out he failed, for the penis had been bitten off inside the vagina. From the girl's vagina a thick stream of blood poured, together with a piranha which still held the severed penis between its sharp teeth. The girl picked up the piranha and threw it into the water. It turned bright red at once, attracting innumerable other piranhas, which

quickly ate the penis. While Tohorá took care of his badly wounded brother, the girl disappeared without a trace.⁴⁵

Informant: Kurikayawö

Source: Becher 1974, p. 28.

Motif content

F556.	Remarkable voice.
F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.
P251.5.4.	Two brothers as contrasts.
Q244.	Punishment for ravisher.
Q451.10.1.	Punishment: castration.
Q583.	Fitting bodily injury as punishment.
T471.	Rape.

197. Omamë and Yoasi Catch the Daughter of Tëbërësikë⁴⁶

Omamë and Yoasi were living alone when the former caught the daughter of Tëbërësikë⁴⁷ while he was fishing. He saw her first; his brother had remained in their house. She took hold of his line while he was fishing.⁴⁸ Thus he caught her without his brother Yoasi knowing it, and copulated with her.

Once Yoasi also saw the woman because he had gone to fish in the same place as Omamë. He was slowly pulling in his line from the water when she took hold of it. He pulled her halfway out of the water. She was very pretty, with armlets decorated with fragrant *buuhanakë* leaves.⁴⁹ She had taken hold of the line with her hand and was letting herself be pulled out of the water, thinking it was Omamë again; that was how Yoasi also caught her. But as soon as she noted how ugly he was she quickly let herself fall back into the river: *kobikë*! She was not afraid of Omamë, but Yoasi frightened her with his white eyelids and the white spots all over his skin; it was he who taught us to have *yoasibë* spots.⁵⁰ Yoasi threw his fishing line back into the water repeatedly to catch her again but all he caught was fish, and he did not succeed in seeing her again.

That made him very angry, for he suspected that Omamë was probably having sex with her secretly. Tired and annoyed by his futile attempts he returned to the house, lay down furiously in his

hammock with his back turned, and let the leaf package of fish, which he had placed in the embers to roast, burn by not turning it. Angrily he thought: "To think that I nearly had sex with that woman!" Seeing him like that Omamë understood: "*Ha!*"⁵¹ He saw my woman! Obviously he is furious!" He decided to let his brother copulate with the daughter of Tëbërësikë the following day. When they woke up he said to Yoasi, who had gone to sleep still angry: "Yoasi! Paint your body with urucu⁵² this morning! Insert macaw tail feathers⁵³ in your cotton armbands! Put mealy parrot feathers in the lobes of your ears!⁵⁴ Stick white down on your hair!⁵⁵ Didn't you let your leaf package of fish burn yesterday?" Yoasi replied: "*Ha!*"⁵⁶ and after he understood he began to paint his body with red urucu spots. Omamë likewise decorated himself, covering his body and face with urucu. He also inserted macaw tail feathers into his armbands. After they had finished adorning themselves they both set out.

When they reached the river Omamë concealed his brother a bit to the side in the undergrowth. "Stay over here and crouch down!" he advised. He threw his line into the waters: *hooo! sero!* Immediately the daughter of Tëbërësikë took hold of it: *hää!* He began to pull in the line—*utu! utu! utu! utu!*—gradually bringing her closer to him: *kurai!* She stood on the riverbank. "Well, that's how women are!" he said. He took her by the arm, and led her to where Yoasi was hiding. He gave her to his brother who impatiently approached and began to copulate with her. Omamë left and continued fishing. All the while Yoasi kept copulating with the woman. She had a vulva but she was a virgin. The Yanomam women whom Omamë would later create from a palm stalk⁵⁷ did not have a vulva. Tëbërësikë's daughter had a vulva but she did not conceive a child; she was in fact a supernatural being. She later fled with Omamë.⁵⁸

Yoasi copulated for a long time without stopping. A bit later he returned to the house with the woman and there began to copulate immoderately with her again: *sokë! sokë! sokë!* That was the sound his penis made going in and out all night long. This went on until dawn. Omamë was exasperated and finally he exclaimed: "Yoasi, don't overdo it! That filthy noise hurts my ears! I don't want you to make her vagina foamy!" But Yoasi went on copulating ceaselessly, and made the woman's vagina damp and foamy:⁵⁹ *sokë ēēē! sokë ēēē! sokë! ēēē!* That was the sound made by Yoasi's penis until dawn. It lasted very long.

Omamë was angry and wanted to clean Tëbërësikë's daughter's vulva with fragrant leaves from the *rarumahi* tree.⁶⁰ He went to look

for one of these trees in the forest. But Yoasi, who was in a hurry, took advantage of his absence to rub the woman's vulva with the malodorous flowers of the *riyamoshirimahi* tree:⁶¹ *sheki wa! sheki wa! sheki wa!* That is why ever since then women's vaginas smell of the penis. When Omamë returned he realized that Yoasi had already rubbed the woman's vulva with stinking flowers. He threw away the fragrant flowers that he had brought and lay down furiously in his hammock with his back turned.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Omamë accidentally catches daughter of supernatural water being while fishing, and they have intercourse. When his brother Yoasi finds out he is so angry that Omamë lets him share the woman. However, Yoasi's insatiable sexual appetite annoys Omamë. To spite his brother, Yoasi finally rubs woman's vulva with malodorous flowers.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A1236.	Mankind emerges from tree.
A1280.	First man (woman).
A1372.+.	Why women smell the way they do. (A1372. Origin of other special characteristics of women.)
F420.1.2.1.	Water-maidens are of unusual beauty.
F420.6.1.	Marriage or liaison of mortals and water-spirits.
F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.
F576.	Extraordinary ugliness.
F986.	Extraordinary occurrences concerning fishing.
P251.5.4.	Two brothers as contrasts.
W181.	Jealousy.

198. Tëbërësikë Gives Omamë and Yoasi Cultivated Plants⁶²

Omamë's father-in-law once arrived at the brothers' house with the cultivated plants. He was Tëbërësikë, the father of the woman whom Omamë had pulled out while fishing.⁶³ He came to their

house to give them cultivated plants so that they might plant them for their marital service and feed his daughter. He lived far away, in the waters.

Suddenly they heard a great noise: *houuuuuu*! Tëbërësikë's daughter told them: "Father is about to arrive. He is bringing cultivated plants which he will give us." No sooner had she said this than they heard his approaching footsteps. The brothers became so frightened that they transformed themselves. As soon as he heard his father-in-law, Omamë, who was listening intently, turned into a *sihemë* digging stick⁶⁴ wedged underneath the roof beams of the house. For his part Yoasi turned himself into an axe lying on the floor, and Omamë's son became a bow leaning against a post of the house.

On his back Tëbërësikë was carrying a large *bashoahi* bag.⁶⁵ He had come to give them cultivated plants and to teach them how to plant papayas, *horokoto* gourds, sugarcane, sweet potatoes, taro, *rasha* palms, tobacco, and arrow reeds.⁶⁶ He presented the cultivated plants to his daughter and taught her how to cultivate them: "Here are the sugarcane, the papayas, and the *shiahimakë* bananas! These are *monabirimëkikë* plantains! And here are *bareamakë* plantains and *baishimakë* bananas!⁶⁷ You will plant the shoots of all these! Here's the climbing stem of the sweet potato; you will have it planted! Here are yams;⁶⁸ you will have them planted! Here are *marakaashi* calabash plants;⁶⁹ you will have them planted! These are the seeds of the little *boraashi* gourd;⁷⁰ you will have them planted! This is a packet of tobacco seeds; after making people burn off a parcel of land you will have them sown!"

He kept talking like that for a long time while Omamë was wedged under the frame of the roof in the form of a digging stick and Yoasi was lying on the ground in the form of an axe: "Here are the arrow reeds; you will see to it that they are planted! Here are the sweet potato climbing stems, and the taros; you will have them planted as well!" That was how he kept teaching her how to grow the cultivated plants: "Here are the papaya seeds, the gourd seeds!" That was how he named the cultigens. When he had finished he returned to his house underwater: *houuuuuu*! As soon as he had left Omamë, his son, and Yoasi resumed their human form: *thëi*! That is how Omamë used to be!

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Supernatural water creature who is also owner of cultivated plants goes to house of Omamë and Yoasi where his daughter is living. While both men hide in fear he gives his daughter plants and tells her how to grow them.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
A527.3.1.	Culture hero can transform self.
A592.+.	Son of culture hero. (A592. Culture hero and descendants.)
A1441.	Acquisition of agriculture.
A2684.	Origin of cultivated plants.
A2781.	Origin of plant names.
D217.	Transformation: man to stick.
D250.+.	Transformation: man to axe. (D250. Transformation: man to manufactured object.)
D250.+.	Transformation: man to bow. (D250. Transformation: man to manufactured object.)
D631.1.1.	Person changes appearance at will.
D642.5.	Transformation to escape notice.
F420.2.	Home of water-spirits.
F420.5.1.7.	Water-spirits give gifts to mortals.
F420.5.1.8.	Water-spirits give advice.
F420.6.1.	Marriage or liaison of mortals and water-spirits.

199. Lalagigi Provides the Crops⁷¹

At this time the ancestors did not yet exist at all, any of them. They were all yet to be created. The one original one, Omao, he alone existed and it was Omao who created the Sanema. But Omao did not know of yuca, and he was very hungry. Omao obtained yuca from Lalagigi⁷² and Omao also took Lalagigi's daughter. It was Lalagigi who knew all about yuca; he it was who conceived the yuca. He had not obtained it from anyone; he just knew all about it. His soul-space⁷³ conceived the yuca and so Lalagigi understood. "A ai! a ai! You must give me your daughter to be my wife," said Omao to Lalagigi in a longing tone. And Lalagigi gave Omao his daughter in reply. So it was that Omao took Lalagigi's daughter away from him.⁷⁴

"You must acquire yuca from your father," said Omap to Lalagigi's daughter.⁷⁵ "'Give us yuca to take with us,' you must say." The girl agreed. "Daddy! Daddy! There is tapir meat sitting here on the grill," she said. Omap had killed some tapirs. He had stacked them to grill over the fire in order to give it to Lalagigi. So Lalagigi came to visit to collect his share of the meat; for Omap ate the tapir also. As Lalagigi approached, Omap became frightened and he transformed into a cricket⁷⁶ and hid among some *nimo* palm⁷⁷ leaves in the roof. He sat there, still, among the rubbish. Soawe turned himself into a walking stick.

And Lalagigi did not notice them. In payment for the meat he heaped the yuca cuttings on the floor.⁷⁸ He gave yams too⁷⁹ and a basketful of cocoyams⁸⁰ and maize seeds⁸¹ and plantain peepers⁸² and banana peepers; all the crops he heaped on the floor. It was in exchange for all the tapir meat. "Well, thank you," said Omap (to himself). "Tell him to go home quick!" said the cricket to Lalagigi's daughter: "Ke ke ke ke ke." The girl understood the message and relayed it to her father. "Daddy! You go on home now!" she said, and so Lalagigi returned home. At which point God⁸³ changed himself back into a man. "Well, much thanks, and that's that!" Yuca, yams, bananas, plantains, maize, all the crops had been heaped on the floor as payment for the meat. And thus it was that, in time, the Sanema acquired yuca from Omap and thus the Yekuana also received their crops. "And we'll get really full up!" said the Yekuana.

If it had not been for Lalagigi, if long ago he had not given these crops to Omap, we'd still be without yuca and we would be very hungry.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 34-35.

Summary

Culture hero obtains cultivated plants from his father-in-law (supernatural creature) by giving meat in exchange.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A527.3.1.	Culture hero can transform self.
A1210.	Creation of man by creator.
A1420.	Acquisition of food supply for human race.
A1441.	Acquisition of agriculture.
A1611.+.	Origin of the Sanema. (A1611. Origin of particular tribes.)

A2684.	Origin of cultivated plants.
D183.2.	Transformation: man to cricket.
D217.	Transformation: man to stick.
D631.1.1.	Person changes appearance at will.
D642.5.	Transformation to escape notice.

200. The Wives of Omao⁸⁴

Omao went fishing in a river where the crab people and the *shuli*⁸⁵ people lived. Omao fished out Shulishuma from the waters with a fishhook. "Well, thank you!" exclaimed Omao, and he proceeded to copulate with the girl: *gloso! gloso! gloso! gloso!* "Me too!" said Soawe, Omao's younger brother. "Let me copulate too!" And so he too copulated: *sokā! sokā! sokā! sokā!*⁸⁶ "No! Not like that!" said Omao. "That's really bad! You must do it like this!" And he copulated again with the girl: *wanai! wanai! wanai! wanai!*

They returned home and Omao stored his wife in a basket. He said he would go downstream to catch another wife for his younger brother. So he went off far downriver.

While he was out, the younger brother began to feel lustful again. He tried to copulate with the girl through the basket. The girl squirmed about to avoid the penetration as Soawe tried several times to insert his penis into her through different gaps in the basket weave. Eventually the girl leaped out and fled back to the river.

When Omao returned he saw that his wife had fled. "*Wiii!* My rotten younger brother has been all lustful, and my wife has fled back to the river," he exclaimed. But Omao fished out another wife from the river, Hualishuma.⁸⁷ Omao and Soawe both had children by that woman, one each.

One day Omao went out hunting far downstream. Omao's little son was fishing by the bank of the river, shooting small fish with palm-frond arrows.⁸⁸ Soawe came up behind him and thrust him underwater and drowned him. When Omao returned he saw that his son was missing. "*Wiii!* That Soawe has killed my son!" he exclaimed. He knew what had happened.⁸⁹

Soawe slept. He slept deeply. Omao went far downstream. Far, far downstream he went in the night while Soawe was sleeping. Omao was a great shaman. He went far, far downstream to the very edge. When Soawe awoke he saw that his brother had gone. He chased him downstream in a canoe. When he came to the house of

some people he asked them if his brother had passed by. "He passed by, yes, but many days ago," they replied, holding up two hands to indicate the period.

Omao came to the place where the waters reach the heavens. He came to the house of the otter people.⁹⁰ He climbed into the canoe with them. The canoe closed right over and they went off downstream underwater very swiftly; swiftly they swept on downstream and so went up into the sky. Later when Soawe arrived he found that Omao had gone. They talked to each other across the sky. Omao is in the sky but Soawe remained below, separated from his brother, all by himself.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 35–36.

Summary

Omao catches fish-women for himself and Soawe.

One day Soawe drowns Omao's son. Omao travels to sky, and Soawe tries in vain to join him.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
A566.2.	Culture hero ascends to heaven.
A592.+.	Son of culture hero. (A592. Culture hero and descendants.)
B654.	Marriage to fish in human form.
D1810.	Magic knowledge.
D2126.	Magic underwater journey.
F50.+.	River to heaven. (F50. Access to upper world.)
F60.+.	Journey to upper world in canoe. (F60. Transportation to or from upper world.)
P251.5.4.	Two brothers as contrasts.
S71.	Cruel uncle.
S131.	Murder by drowning.
T425.	Brother-in-law seduces (seeks to seduce) sister-in-law.

201. Omawy Leaves Soawy, His Twin Brother

As Omawy was down there in a canoe, he was met by the old ancestors, the otters (*Lutra platensis*), who were in a canoe. "Which

way did you come?" "That way," one of them said, so he went the way they indicated. He was met by the old ancestors, the Brazilian otters (*Pteroneura brasiliensis*). "Which way did you come?" "That way," they said, so Omawy went the way they indicated. Downriver there was another stretch in which the river became a maze of channels. There he was met by the old ancestors, the trumpeter bird people. "Which way did you come?" "That way," they said, so Omawy went the way they indicated. Downriver there was another stretch of various channels in the river. He was met by the old ancestors, the vulture people. "Which way did you come? The river is a maze of channels making it hard to get through," said Omawy. "That way," they said, and he said: "Okay." They made an aircraft and told him: "Fly in this craft," so Omawy got in and went off up in the air. He flew along, and downriver where the river was big he landed. Where he landed he made a house right away, a house with a roof made of metal sheets. That is how it was with Omawy.

Soawy was back there looking and looking for his older brother. It became really dark and he went and asked various people, one non-Indian after another, until he got way down beyond, at the lower end of the river. Finally those living there told him: "Your older brother just now passed by here." That is what they told him as he was searching very hard for his older brother. So immediately Soawy went downriver and was met by the old ancestors, the Brazilian otter people. "Which way did you come?" Now Omawy had told them not to tell Soawy which way he had gone, so the old ancestors, the Brazilian otter people, said: "We don't know."

"Which way could he have gone?" Soawy said after they left. As he was saying that, after a long time, he succeeded in getting through the channels and then he came to another maze of channels. "Which way did you come?" he asked, but they said they did not know the way, and only after a long time did he succeed in getting through. This kept happening to him until he came to the place where the old ancestors, the vulture people, were coming toward him. "Did you see my older brother pass by here?" "He passed by here—a long time ago," they said. "Where did my older brother go through this maze of channels and rapids?" "We don't know," they said, but then they told him: "Get into this craft." The old ancestors, the vulture people, took off with Soawy, went off up in the air, and went after Omawy. As they were up in the air they told him to keep watching. He saw many non-Indian houses, one after another.

On ahead there was a bright shining roof. Pointing to it they told Soawy: "There is your older brother's house." "Quick! Land right

there with me," said Soawy, so they landed. Even as he approached and looked, Omawy was lying in his hammock. Omawy said: "As I was about to make my people who would be resistant to death . . . (you had to go and make people who were not resistant to death). Now don't make me angry again by coming after me." And he lay there angry as Soawy approached. Soawy lived right there next to his older brother, but Omawy continued to be angry at Soawy.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

Angry with his brother, Omawy travels far away. Brother follows, and finally succeeds in finding him.

Motif content

A515.1.1.	Twin culture heroes.
F1021.	Extraordinary flights through air.
H1233.	Helpers on quest.
H1235.	Succession of helpers on quest.
H1385.8.	Quest for lost brother(s).

202. Omamē Causes the Rivers to Burst Forth⁹¹

It was Omamē who pierced the ground to make the rivers burst forth. This was in the place where the river Kaithē u, an affluent of the Hwara u,⁹² has its source, in the region where the headwaters of all the rivers are.⁹³ Omamē made the waters burst forth by piercing the ground in his garden, and they flowed downward. That was over there, far away, in the forest where Omamē was living.

Omamē's son,⁹⁴ who was with his father while he was working in his garden, was very thirsty after eating taros⁹⁵ that had been roasted in the embers. The boy's tongue was dried out, and he complained endlessly: "Father, I'm thirsty! I'm very thirsty!" At first Omamē answered: "Wait a little! Later you'll be able to drink all you want!" But still the boy continued to insist and whine: "Father, I'm thirsty! I'm very thirsty!"⁹⁶ Exasperated by his whining Omamē abruptly raised his *sihemē* digging stick⁹⁷ and drove it violently into

the ground—*koshshshshshsho!*—piercing the surface of the earth. Suddenly a mighty jet of water gushed forth from the place he had just pierced: *bēssssso!* The boy immediately tried to put his mouth next to the water to quench his thirst: *kroui! kroui! kroui!* But the gush was so powerful that he was thrown violently backward, and he fled in terror.

That was how the sources of the rivers burst forth—*houuuuuu!*—in the place where the source of the Hwara u is today. The earth was torn open by the force of the gushing water, where the rivers now end upstream, where Omamē pierced the ground. That was where he used to have a garden squeezed in among the hills, near the river Rihu u.⁹⁸ The waters continued to gush upward—*hōōōōō!*—out of sight, and the ground was dissolving. Then they began to turn into a rapid—*hō! hō! hō!*—forming the Kaithē u, as the old people named it. I have seen it with my own eyes, at the source of the Hwara u, in that direction.⁹⁹ The old people with whom I was traveling in the highlands showed it to me and said: “There’s the Kaithē u! That’s the river that Omamē caused to burst forth by piercing the ground! Over there was Omamē’s garden!” That is what they told me while we were traveling across gardens abandoned by our ancestors.¹⁰⁰ Back there is where Omamē lived and had a garden, in the direction of the river Ami u,¹⁰¹ near the affluents of the Barimi u River¹⁰² headwaters.

In the place where the water gushed forth the powerful stream formed a rapid which gave rise to the Hwara u. It flowed noisily: *hwara! hwara! hwara! hwara!* That is how this rapid sounds, and it gave the river its name. Omamē caused the rivers to gush forth by piercing the earth. He did not destroy the forest; he simply caused the sources of the rivers to burst forth, and determined their individual course as they rapidly began to flow downward in all directions. It was Omamē who pierced the earth to make the waters burst forth and, as he was dissatisfied because the forest was badly formed, he made the rivers flow properly and he caused the headwaters of the Hwara u to gush out of the ground.

Thus the waters which burst forth also formed the source of the Kokoi u River’s¹⁰³ headwaters which end near the source of the Hwara u. Over there are the sources of the Ishoa u¹⁰⁴ and Barimi u rivers, and also those of the rivers Wakatha u, Weyahana u, and Hero u.¹⁰⁵ That is how the headwaters of the rivers are, in that forest over there. The course of the rivers remained as Omamē had determined, and we still drink their waters. Omamē ordered the forest. Since those times the rivers remained as Omamē had made them.

Previously there were no rivers on the earth's surface; there was no water. In the place where today the rivers' headwaters nearly touch one could only hear the sound of the waters in the underworld. That was where Omamē pierced the ground. The water was underground, deep down, and Omamē made it come out. It was the water of Moturari¹⁰⁶ that surged up and flowed far into the distance. It was the same Moturari whose waters carried the Hayowari people far away.¹⁰⁷ It bathes the lands of the underworld, the territory of the Aōbataribē.¹⁰⁸ They are the ones who drink its water. Omamē caused Moturari's waters to gush forth and spread out in all directions to form the rivers, and it is still the waters of Moturari which swells them.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

To provide water for his small son who is thirsty Omamē pierces ground, causing water to gush forth from subterranean lake. Thus rivers are created.

Motif content

A533.	Culture hero regulates rivers.
A592.+.	Son of culture hero. (A592. Culture hero and descendants.)
A930.	Origin of streams.
A930.1.	Creator of rivers.
A935.	Origin of falls (cataracts).
A1016.+.	Flood caused by water gushing out of hole in earth. (A1016. Pseudo-scientific explanations of the flood.)
F162.6.	Lakes in otherworld.
F167.	Inhabitants of otherworld.

203. The Flood

It was Koromarithawē who brought the water out of the earth with his beak.

Omawē's son was thirsty and looked for water, but there was none. At sunset he was still searching for water, crying from thirst. Omawē was also looking everywhere. Then it seemed to him that he heard the sound of water, like a river, but he could not find the

river. He realized that the sound was coming from the earth. He called Koromarithawë so that he would make a hole in the earth with his long beak. Omawë was his grandfather.

Koromarithawë pecked at the ground, digging a deep hole. Around noon a jet of water spurted out. "Come closer," said Koromarithawë to Omawë. Hearing this the boy also approached and drank a lot, until the stream of water knocked him over.

Omawë wanted to cover the hole but could not. The entire earth grew very soft, covered with water from one side to the other. "Look," said Koromarithawë, "the earth is being flooded."

Each one got into a canoe and went down the river, each on his own. The good man, who was named Omawë, said: "Aaaaaa!" and went rapidly like a motorboat. Finally he fell asleep. While he slept the bird sang: "Jora, jora, jora." "Ah, now my brother is approaching!" he said when he heard the bird. His brother Yoawë had also heard the bird, and said the same. In the morning another bird sang: "Iri, iri." "Now we're getting closer," said the two, and finally they met where the river ends.

There, at the end of the earth, the two brothers are living. There they found the bamboo which is used to make arrowpoints of the kind called *hetu* and *eiamo*. They are the guardians of this bamboo.

Informant: Hakokoiwë

Source: Finkers 1986, pp. 179-180.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A592.+.	Son of culture hero. (A592. Culture hero and descendants.)
A1010.	Deluge.
A1016.1.	Flood from animals' boring into ground.
A1021.	Deluge: escape in boat (ark).
B450.	Helpful birds.

204. The Flood

Omawë's son was thirsty and cried all the time. In those days there was no water, neither streams nor rivers. As there was no water and his son was thirsty, Omawë pierced the ground with his bow in a place where he heard the water welling up underground.

Krosho, it sounded when he plunged his bow into the earth. Giant Armadillo was the master of the underground water, and his back immediately appeared on the surface. When Ōmawē pulled out his bow the water burst forth all the way up to the sky and settled where Thunder lives. Is there not a sheet of water up there? There is water where Thunder lives, even a lot of it. Ōmawē pierced the ground and the water reached Thunder. It settled in the sky, forming a sheet.

When his son had drunk until his stomach was swollen Ōmawē tried to plug the hole with a stone, but the earth crumbled and a bank was formed. The water broke violently against it and spread out, carrying off the Yanomami. To escape the flood some people hung their hammocks in palm trees. Some took refuge on Mount Maiyō, others on Mount Hōmahewē, still others on Mount Koawē. The flood remained; the water was like a cannibal that had not been satisfied. Then the people hastily shaved the head of an old woman and painted curved lines on her face. As the water did not recede they threw her in.

When the sacrifice had been carried out the water began to run off, and the flood subsided. Those who had managed to escape took some long sticks and used them as hooks to pull in taro plants, *kuratha* and *pareami* plantain plants, *rasha* palms, manioc plants, and *rōkōmī*, *paushimī*, and *monarimī* banana plants. They intended to plant them. They also gathered *hēimērēmī* and *mrakamī* taro plants, and even pulled in a drowned tapir which was already swollen. Nevertheless they ate it. A long time passed before the ground became firm again. Then they descended.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Ōmawē causes water to gush forth from underground. People take refuge from resulting flood in trees and on mountaintops.

Motif content

- | | |
|----------|---|
| A420.+. | Armadillo as master of underworld lake. (A420. God of water.) |
| A592.+. | Son of culture hero. (A592. Culture hero and descendants.) |
| A1010. | Deluge. |
| A1016.+. | Flood caused by water gushing out of hole in earth. (A1016. Pseudo-scientific explanations of the flood.) |

A1022.	Escape from deluge on mountain.
A1023.	Escape from deluge on tree.
A1028.	Bringing deluge to end.
D1766.2.	Magic results produced by sacrifices.
D2151.0.2.	Waters made to dry up.
F162.6.	Lakes in otherworld.
F167.1.+.	Armadillo lives in underworld. (F167.1. Animals in otherworld.)
R311.	Tree refuge.
S260.1.	Human sacrifice.

205. The Flood

A long time ago there lived Omawë, his brother Yoawë, and Häihäyomiriwë.

Omawë killed a tapir, and they all ate a lot of tapir meat. After eating all that meat Omawë's son was very thirsty, but there was no water.

Omawë heard the sound of water from under the earth, and Yoawë began to dig a hole in that spot. Using his digging stick he made a deep hole, but did not reach the water. Omawë continued digging after him, but could not reach the water either.

Omawë's son was dying of thirst, so Omawë called his son-in-law Koromarithawë. The latter was at the back of Omawë, listening. "Come, my son-in-law," said Omawë. "Help us get to the water." Koromarithawë drew himself up straight and tall, and began to dig very rapidly. In a moment he had reached the water. From the hole burst a tremendous jet of water. He called to Omawë's son: "Come here, take your gourd and drink!" Omawë's son drank a lot of water very quickly until he had quenched his thirst. Immediately after he stopped he died, after drinking all that water.

The water from the subterranean source kept cascading out, upward, very high. Omawë tried to cover the hole but failed. The earth all around grew soft and gradually saturated with water. Quickly Omawë made a canoe and traveled downstream.

The rain that falls today is the water which spurted upward from the underground source.

Informant: Paruriwë

Source: Finkers 1986, pp. 179-180.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A592.+.	Son of culture hero. (A592. Culture hero and descendants.)
A1010.	Deluge.
A1016.+.	Flood caused by water gushing out of hole in earth. (A1016. Pseudo-scientific explanations of the flood.)
A1021.	Deluge: escape in boat (ark).
A1131.	Origin of rain.
F639.1.	Mighty digger.

206. The Surfacing of Water

The Omawys (Omawy and his twin brother) were not at a loss as to what to do when they let their son get thirsty. They poked a hole in the ground, made water come up, and gave their son a drink of water. It was like that. The father said: "Okay. Are you still thirsty?" "No," was the reply. "My thirst has completely gone away," he said. That's what was done to the distant ancestors.

Informant: Lapai

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

A515.1.1.	Twin culture heroes.
A592.+.	Son of culture hero. (A592. Culture hero and descendants.)

207. The Source of the Big River¹⁰⁹

Long ago there was no big river. The big river did not exist at all. By the place where the big river was to be, a small child cried and cried. The baby cried for water because it was thirsty. It cried so much that it became thin and wasted. "Don't do that," said an elder. He took a stick and dug a hole. The water poured out and became a river. The elder drew water and gave it to the child. The baby drank and drank! He became that small bird that calls "*Swiii*."¹¹⁰

Now whenever that bird calls "*Swiii! swiii! swiii!*" it is a signal that a child is dying.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 53.

Motif content

A930.	Origin of streams.
B147.2.2.	Bird of ill-omen.
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D1812.5.1.12.2.	Bird calls as evil omen.
M341.	Death prophesied.

208. The Origin of Fish

A long time ago Omawē and his brother Yoawē lived in a place where there grew a lot of *momo* fruit. One day they wanted to have a feast. They filled some baskets with *momo* seeds, tied them shut, and put them in the water to remove the poison. They intended to have a feast. Yoawē said to his brother: "Younger brother, let's arrange a big feast so we can learn how to fight hard." (It was Yoawē who taught us how to fight.)

While they were making *himou*¹¹¹ his son came out of the house to hunt birds. After a while he came running back to the house very frightened and said: "A bird told me that they are going to kill us. They are going to eat our skin, open our breasts and stomachs, and take out our hearts and intestines!" (This is the little bird called *wāshoshorema*, which talks like this: "*Si-i-ke-kea-kea.*") Hearing the boy talk the two brothers were frightened and said: "They will certainly kill us." And they fled at once to another place. Before leaving they tore open the baskets so the seeds would fall out, for they could not wait until they were edible to eat them. The seeds fell from the baskets and turned into little white stones which settled on the bottom of the water. One basket alone remained whole, and was transformed into a *rahara* (a water monster).

They ran for a long time until they were exhausted, and then sat down to rest. Omawē cut the leaves of a *ketipa*, leaving the plant still rooted in the ground. Subsequently it turned into a beautiful hill of pure stone.

They continued their journey. When they sat down to rest once more they cut a palm and planted it in the ground. It turned into a large hill, covered with trees and shrubs.

They continued on their way until they reached a river which the shamans call Horewato, and there they created the fishes. On the riverbank they found a large ceiba tree. From the heart of this tree Omawë took a piece of wood and threw it into the water, and it instantly turned into a *sardinita*¹¹² fish. He took another piece and threw it into the water as well, and it became a *caribe*.¹¹³ As he continued taking pieces of wood and throwing them into the water fish were created: *bocón*,¹¹⁴ *guabina*,¹¹⁵ and so on. Omawë also made the first hooks for catching fish. Then he took a piece of the ceiba's bark and dropped it into the water, and it turned into a ray.

Yoawë was walking in the water, and he stepped on the ray, which stung him in the foot. He shouted from pain but then controlled himself. Thus he taught the Yanomami how they must bear pain. Omawë also walked in the water and stepped on the ray, and it stung his foot, but he felt nothing. He said: "I'm not going to feel any pain."

Then he took another piece of bark, dropped it into the water, and waited to see what would become of it. Seeing the tracks of an alligator he called his brother: "*Wārīshewë*,¹¹⁶ look at the alligator tracks!" Using a stick he searched in the water for the animal until he caught it. He scraped another piece of bark until it was very smooth and dropped it into the water, and at once it turned into an electric eel. Entering the water to grab the eel Yoawë received a powerful shock, and he shouted from fear and pain: "Here's the electric eel!" Omawë grabbed it too, but felt nothing. They threw many pieces of wood into the water, and they became fishes: *pavón*,¹¹⁷ *corroncho*,¹¹⁸ *sapuara*,¹¹⁹ *bagre puñon*,¹²⁰ and many others. One piece of wood they painted with *warapa* resin, and it became a *rayado*.¹²¹ They threw a branch into the water, and it turned into a *guabina*.¹²² Omawë also thought of other things. He cut off a piece of a liana called *āroto*, and it turned into a water snake. All this the two brothers did in the Horewato River. In the place where they did it no one can go, for the fish there are very dangerous.

Omawë and Yoawë left the Horewato and found another stream. They sat down on the bank. Pulling off a long strip of bark from an *omaoma* tree they made a kind of large trumpet and began playing with it in the water. It fell in and turned into a *rahara*, a very dangerous monster, which nearly devoured the two brothers. But they

were able to escape from the water in time and quickly left that dangerous place.

Source: Finkers 1986, pp. 149-150.

Summary

Fleeing from presumed danger two brothers reach river. By throwing pieces of wood into water they create many species of fish.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A541.+.	Culture hero teaches people how to fight. (A541. Culture hero teaches arts and crafts.)
A545.	Culture hero establishes customs.
A1457.1.	Origin of the fish hook.
A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A1714.	Animals from various transformed objects.
A2100.	Creation of fish.
A2140.+.	Creation of alligator. (A2140. Creation of reptiles.)
A2145.	Creation of snake (serpent).
A2413.+.	Stripes of fish. (A2413. Origin of animal's stripes.)
B143.1.	Bird gives warning.
D441.+.	Transformation: liana to snake. (D441. Transformation: vegetable form to animal.)
D441.3.+.	Transformation: tree branch to fish. (D441.3. Transformation: branch of tree to animal.)
D441.10.+.	Transformation: chip of wood to alligator. (D441.10. Transformation: chips of wood to animal.)
D441.10.+.	Transformation: chip of wood to fish. (D441.10. Transformation: chips of wood to animal.)
D451.1.+.	Transformation: palm to hill. (D451.1. Transformation: tree to other object.)
D451.2.+.	Transformation: plant to hill. (D451.2. Transformation: plant to other object.)
D471.+.	Transformation: seed to stone. (D471. Transformation: object to stone.)
D490.+.	Transformation: basket to water-monster. (D490. Miscellaneous forms of transformation.)
G308.2.	Water-monster.
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
R220.	Flights.

209. The Creation of Fish

The twins cut down a ceiba tree from which they removed some bark fragments. They dropped these into the water and they were transformed into piranhas. Then they removed some chips from an alburnum and threw them into the water, and the alburnum chips turned into many *mērōkē* and *hatate* fish. That is what we call them.

From alburnum chips the *yaraka* fish were created; from ceiba bark fragments the *mosi* fish were created; and from a long splinter the *hekurapi* fish were created. At least that is what I call them.

The little piranhas with the red bellies came from a wide splinter; the twins named them *siparariwē*. The *ishawaritomī* fish have a different origin. When Ōmawē had pierced the ground with his bow, causing the flood, and an old woman was sacrificed to appease the waters, she turned into an *ishawaritomī* fish.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A515.1.1.	Twin culture heroes.
A1010.	Deluge.
A1016.+.	Flood caused by water gushing out of hole in earth. (A1016. Pseudo-scientific explanations of the flood.)
A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A1714.	Animals from various transformed objects.
A2100.	Creation of fish.
D170.+.	Transformation: woman to fish. (D170. Transformation: man to fish.)
D441.10.+.	Transformation: chip of wood to fish. (D441.10. Transformation: chips of wood to animal.)
S260.1.	Human sacrifice.

210. Omamē Flees, Frightened by a Bird¹²³

It was the warbling antbird *si ēkēkēmē*¹²⁴ that frightened Omamē and made him flee downstream to where the rivers are very large. It was in this direction he fled, from the river Kaithē u,¹²⁵ very far away. He lived near the headwaters of the Barimi u River,¹²⁶ and that was where he fled from.

Omamē's son—the one that he had made in Yoasi's calf—had gone out in the morning to hunt for little birds in his father's

garden.¹²⁷ Suddenly he heard the call of the warbling antbird re-sounding in the forest: "*Si ēkēkē kē kē kē!*" He thought it was an evil creature of the forest. Frightened, the boy fled and ran home to warn Omamē: "Father! Father! A supernatural forest creature wants to tear our skin!"¹²⁸ His threatening voice is moving toward us!" The bird's call had in fact followed him and had gotten closer: "*Si ēkēkē kē kē kē!*" He insisted: "Father! Father! Listen! It's that voice that we hear! Let's hurry!" Omamē listened and agreed: "*Heishobē!*"¹²⁹ He fled at once—*hooooo!*—followed by his son, by Yoasi, and by Tēbērēsikē's daughter.¹³⁰

He disappeared like that forever. He had already turned us into Yanomam, that is why he left and why he can no longer be seen. He fled over there, downstream of the Barimi u, after creating the mountains.¹³¹ That is where he lives. He fled over there and we do not see him any more. He fled over there and became a supernatural being. It was he who created you foreigners¹³² and made you grow very numerous. It was he who made you. Wherever he halted during his flight he made you numerous. Omamē abandoned us here, that is why we are just a few people, because Omamē was not wise. He abandoned us. It was the small bird *si ēkēkēmē* that made him flee.

To hide his trail from the bird *si ēkēkēmē*, to make him lose his tracks, Omamē hid in a region where the sands spread everywhere. That is where he really created you foreigners and made you numerous. He gave you an inarticulate language. As for us he abandoned us; that is why we speak straight, as can be heard. He left us here alone in his flight.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Frightened by bird call Omamē flees with his family, creating foreigners as he travels.

Motif content

- | | |
|----------|--|
| A515.1. | Culture heroes brothers. |
| A560. | Culture hero's (demigod's) departure. |
| A570. | Culture hero still lives. |
| A592. +. | Son of culture hero. (A592. Culture hero and descendants.) |
| A960. | Creation of mountains (hills). |

A1611.+.	Origin of the Yanomami. (A1611. Origin of particular tribes.)
A1614.9.	Origin of white man.
A1616.	Origin of particular languages.
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
J1811.	Animal cries misunderstood.
J1820.	Inappropriate action from misunderstanding.
R220.	Flights.
T541.5.+.	Birth from man's calf. (T541.5. Birth from man's thigh.)

211. Omamë Creates the Mountains in His Flight¹³³

While Omamë was fleeing, frightened by the warbling antbird,¹³⁴ he threw behind him *hokosikë* palm leaves,¹³⁵ planting them in the ground: *kosssssi!* These leaves immediately turned into mountains. Those are the mountains that can be seen rising in the forest. Originally they were palm leaves. It was Omamë who planted them in the ground as he fled: *hë! thikë!* When planted they transformed into mountains. Today they are mountains like Wereikikë, Obikikë, and Shekereikikë which we see near here.¹³⁶ Those mountains which you call "seha"¹³⁷ are the traces that Omamë left behind him in his flight. All the many mountains in the forest are the work of Omamë. While creating mountains everywhere he made the forest rough and inhospitable. He planted all those mountains in his flight. First he planted Wëribusimakë¹³⁸—*koshshshshsho!*—then Hakomakë¹³⁹—*thikë!*—then Arimamakë¹⁴⁰—*thikë!*—then Waimamakë¹⁴¹—*thikë!*—then Oroikikë¹⁴²—*hou! thikë!*—Takaimakë¹⁴³—*hou! thikë!*—Rëbraikikë¹⁴⁴—*hou! thikë!*—then Ruëkikë¹⁴⁵—*hou! thikë!*—then Warorikikë¹⁴⁶—*hou! thikë!* That is how he made the mountains that I mentioned, one after the other. What other mountains did he create? Oh, yes! Arebëthamakë¹⁴⁷—*thikë!*—and Tireikikë¹⁴⁸—*thikë!* That was how, in primeval times, Omamë planted the mountains and fled in the direction they still mark. That is what the old people told me. It was in that direction, over there.¹⁴⁹ He fled downriver and crossed the river Barimi u and the river Aru u¹⁵⁰ where they are large: *kobikë!* He wanted the warbling antbird to lose track of him. He can no longer be seen; he fled very far away. He fled toward the river Aru u, where the forest ends, where there are no more trees, where the

earth becomes sand. Omamē was a supernatural being, and he put the forest in a bad way in his flight in order to throw the warbling antbird off his tracks. He also created wasps whose nests he left behind him here and there; that is why they are still to be found in the forest.

That is how Omamē disappeared. Now he can no longer be seen.¹⁵¹ He fled to a place far away together with Yoasi, with Tēbērēsikē's daughter, and with the child whom he had made in Yoasi's calf. They all fled. It was the warbling antbird's call that made them flee: "Si ēkēkē kē kē kē!"

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

In his flight away from bird mistaken for evil being Omamē throws palm leaves behind him. Leaves turn into present-day mountains.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A560.	Culture hero's (demigod's) departure.
A570.	Culture hero still lives.
A592.+.	Child of culture hero. (A592. Culture hero and descendants.)
A960.	Creation of mountains (hills).
A962.	Mountains (hills) from ancient activities of god (hero).
A2000.+.	Creation of wasp. (A2000. Creation of insects.)
D451.8.+.	Transformation: leaf to mountain. (D451.8. Transformation: leaf to another object.)
D672.	Obstacle flight. Fugitives throw objects behind them which magically become obstacles in pursuer's path.
D932.0.1.	Mountain created by magic.
D2165.3.	Magic used to prevent pursuit.
R220.	Flights.
T541.5.+.	Birth from man's calf. (T541.5. Birth from man's thigh.)

212. The Flight of Ōmawē and Yoawē

Ōmawē's son-in-law grazed a bird with his arrow, and its feathers went flying. He pursued the bird, circling around, and would cer-

tainly have caught it if it had not begun to sing while he was pursuing it: "Skin, skin, skin." Those were its words. The son-in-law thought: "It wants to skin us!" Frightened, he ran home without even looking for the arrow he had launched. "Father-in-law, the bird intends to skin us!" he said. "That was the voice of an evil creature." They fled at once and never returned. Ōmawë and his brother, traveling in a roundabout way, reached the place downstream where the Orinoco plunges underground. From then on that was where they lived. At that moment the twins turned into supernatural beings who sent the spirits of sickness and epidemics.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A515.1.1.	Twin culture heroes.
A560.	Culture hero's (demigod's) departure.
D90.+.	Transformation: man to supernatural being. (D90. Transformation: man to different man—miscellaneous.)
F493.1.	Spirits of various kinds of disease.
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
J1811.	Animal cries misunderstood.
J1820.	Inappropriate action from misunderstanding.
R220.	Flights.

213. The Departure of Ōmawë and Yoawë

Ōmawë plaited an openwork basket which immediately turned into a *rahara* monster. Ōmawë was a Yanomami. It was the warbling antbird that chased him away from here. During their flight Ōmawë and Yoawë shot arrows at a tapir which was crossing the Hërita River, and the animal turned into a rock on the riverbank. Then the twins followed the river downstream until they reached the Ocamo River. From then on they lived downstream; that was where they returned to live. They left no hut, no house. Do not think that they lived in this or that place; only their footprints remain.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
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A560.	Culture hero's (demigod's) departure.
D421.+.	Transformation: tapir to stone. (D421. Transformation: mammal (wild) to object.)
D490.+.	Transformation: basket to water-monster. (D490. Miscellaneous forms of transformation.)
G308.2.	Water-monster.
R220.	Flights.

214. Ōmawë and Yoawë Gather *Momo* Fruits

The two demiurges went to gather *momo* fruits. In those days the Yanomami were not yet familiar with these fruits. So they went to look for some, for they wanted to use them in a funerary ceremony. After transforming their blowgun darts into spirits they launched them at the fruits growing on the low branches that hung down near the ground. The ones that they actually hit with their darts turned into beetles.

The two brothers placed some other darts in their blowguns. This time they aimed at the fruits in the center of the tree, those that hang down in a cluster. The ones they hit made a sound—*u!*—when they fell. Yoawë's wife picked some new leaves from a *wapu* tree and hummed as they fell: "*Ra, ra, ra, fall softly, fall softly.*"

When they had gathered enough *momo* fruits they left a basketful in the forest, and then they went to cut leaves, long and wide like the leaves of a banana plant. They brought them back and stuck them in the ground. Ōmawë, the handsome one, planted the leaves in the ground. Then they celebrated the ceremony.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A527.3.	Culture hero as magician.
D436.+.	Transformation: dart to spirit. (D436. Transformation: manufactured object to person.)
D441.2.+.	Transformation: fruit to beetle. (D441.2. Transformation: fruit to animal.)

215. The Origin of the Leahumo Festival

Omaue planted *momona*.¹⁵² He let them grow and bear fruit, which he then picked and let dry in the sun. Then the fruits opened. He gathered them and boiled them until they were soft. Again he put them in the sun, and they dried. After placing them in a basket he tied the top of the basket with fiber and hung the bundle in the water. When the fruits were very soft he removed them from the water. He called his brother Yoasiwe: "Come on, let's organize a feast." They also smoked a tapir. The two of them danced. Yoasiwe's son wanted to kill a little bird because he thought it was a jaguar. However, because the bird sang he did not kill it. He fled before the singing bird, and so did Omaue and Yoasiwe. They, too, believed the bird was a jaguar who wanted to kill them. They fled as far as the river, leaving everything behind in Omaue's house. Later they returned to the house and covered it with stones.

Informant: Henrique

Source: Knobloch 1967, pp. 150–151.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A592.+.	Son of culture hero. (A592. Culture hero and descendants.)
A1535.	Origin of secular feasts.
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
J1750.	One animal mistaken for another.
J1820.	Inappropriate action from misunderstanding.
R220.	Flights.

216. The Origin of the Wai-a-mo Song

Omaue and his brother Yoasiwe celebrated the Leahumo festival together. During it they sang and played the Wai-a-mo song.¹⁵³

Informant: Daniel

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 151.

Motif content

- A515.1. Culture heroes brothers.
 A1464.2.1. Origin of particular song.

217. The Origin of the *Rahara* Water Monster

Ōmawë and Yoawë plaited an openwork basket, making the edge so wide that it touched the ground when they held it. No doubt they intended to create the *rahara* monster. They amused themselves by throwing the basket back and forth to each other. "Here it comes, older brother!" "Watch out, Yoawë!" "Catch, Ōmawë!" But then they dropped the basket, which turned into the *rahara*.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

- A515.1. Culture heroes brothers.
 D490.+ Transformation: basket to water-monster. (D490.
 Miscellaneous forms of transformation.)

218. Yoawë Creates a Snake

Yoawë cut off a piece of a black liana with a circular cut. He sharpened one end to make the mouth and then placed the liana segment on the ground. That was how he created a venomous snake, the one that is yellowish. Yoawë approached, and the snake bit him. Because he did not feel any pain he thought these snakes were harmless. The snakes multiplied and scattered all over. One day when Yoawë came close to one of them it bit him. This time Yoawë crawled on the ground, howling with pain. It was he who had created them.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

- A2145. Creation of snake (serpent).
 D441.+ Transformation: liana to snake. (D441.
 Transformation: vegetable form to animal.)

219. The Creation of the *Irimi Si* Feline

Long ago the feline called the *irimi si* did not exist.

Ōmawē went into the forest early in the morning. He spoke some incomprehensible words, saying something like "Uuuu." That was how he created this feline.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A1810. Creation of felidae.

220. Ōmawē Creates a Poisonous Ant

It was Ōmawē who created the big poisonous ant. He had made a curare point and had coated it with poison. When he laid it across the path the point turned into a poisonous ant. "This ant really bit me!" he cried. The ants scattered and multiplied.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A2011. Creation of ant.
D444. +. Transformation: dart to ant. (D444. Transformation:
 manufactured object to animal.)

221. The Origin of Disease

Long ago when Ōmawē and his brother lived in this region there were no epidemics. It was when they turned into two malevolent beings that sickness and epidemics appeared; they created them. No, during the childhood and adult life of the twins there was no sickness. There were no diseases caused by spirits, only those caused by people who were familiar with certain magic plants which they burned to make one another ill. That was all there was. Ōmawē and Yoawē engendered the spirit Ōmēyēri and the rainbow; that was the origin of the epidemics that appeared everywhere. That was when the epidemics came.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A515.1.1.	Twin culture heroes.
A1337.	Origin of disease.
D90.+.	Transformation: man to supernatural being. (D90. Transformation: man to different man— miscellaneous.)
D1500.4.+.	Magic plant causes disease. (D1500.4. Magic object causes disease.)
D2064.	Magic sickness.
F413.	Origin of spirits.
F493.1.	Spirits of various kinds of disease.

222. The Stone

Ōmawë and Yoawë found a very smooth stone standing in their path. "How beautiful this stone is, older brother. It stands by itself; it is smooth. Big brother, pick it up and carry it on your shoulder." "Leave it; it's heavy." "Put it on your shoulder, big brother." Yoawë picked up the big stone and placed it across his shoulder. Thus he carried it. "Little brother, I'll wedge it into that forked tree." "No, wait; you can get rid of it farther along the way." Ōmawë wanted to insert it into a rock. They continued on their way, Yoawë still carrying the stone.

Finally they reached a rock. "This rock is just right." It was a mighty rock, overhanging the edge of a precipice. "Where shall we put the stone? You're tired, aren't you, big brother?" They drove the stone into the rock, and it did not even shake. "Big brother, make sure it's firmly in place." Yoawë pushed it. "It penetrated deeply. That's how it is, little brother." They wanted the rock to be given a name. That is what you demiurges do! No sooner had they left than Jaguar arrived at the rock. With his soft yet heavy step he had come upon their tracks. "Someone has just inserted that stone." He pushed it. "It certainly is firmly stuck! Those two are supernatural beings and it was they who plunged the stone into the rock," commented Jaguar.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

- A515.1. Culture heroes brothers.
 A526.7.+ Culture hero pushes stone into rock. (A526.7. Culture hero performs remarkable feats of strength and skill.)

223. The Palm Marrow

Ömawë wanted to extract palm marrow. "Older brother, the heart of this palm looks excellent; it really looks very good." "What are we going to open it with?" "We'll eat the palm marrow. Older brother, shoot at the stems of the palm leaves to detach them from the trunk. Let's extract that marrow; we can do it."

They shot at the palm. It was still young. They shot at it but were unable to extract the marrow however hard they tried. "Can't we get at that marrow somehow? I'm really hungry," said Ömawë. "Let's give up!" "Come on, older brother, try as hard as you can!" "Oh, my back!" They shot at the palm tirelessly. When it finally cracked it emitted a cry like a peccary.

When Ömawë had extracted the palm marrow he stopped saying: "I'm going to eat it." Instead he said: "I'm sweating. Older brother, I'm completely out of breath." "Don't mention it, little brother. If only I could bathe; if only there was a stream nearby." They leaned the palm against a tree and it turned into a white stone, fixed in the ground. The stone remained there, in the same position.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

- A515.1. Culture heroes brothers.
 D451.1.+ Transformation: tree to stone. (D451.1. Transformation: tree to other object.)
 D1610.2.+ Tree cries out. (D1610.2. Speaking tree.)

224. Omamë and the *Rasha* Palms¹⁵⁴

It was over there in the highlands¹⁵⁵ that Omamë transformed some Yanomam into *rasha* palms.¹⁵⁶ Our ancestors saw him trans-

form some Yanomam into palms. Yes, the man who met Omamë's son¹⁵⁷ was the one who also saw Omamë transform Yanomam into palms. If he were still alive you would hear the story from his lips, but he died from an epidemic, at Marakana,¹⁵⁸ when he was an old man, although still alert. If there had not been that epidemic he would still be here. It was he who saw Omamë transform some Yanomam into *rasha* palms. Some people had gone to Omamë's house to visit, and when they arrived he turned them into palm trees. Are there not *rasha* palms since then, like the ones you see over there? Omamë caused the *rasha* palms to grow, and then he made large fleshy fruits attach themselves to the palms. Then he gathered the fruits and boiled them. When they had boiled a long time he used a ladle¹⁵⁹ to spoon out some broth that was very rich. From that broth he revived the Yanomam whom he had transformed into *rasha* palms. It happened over there, at the source of the rivers. Omamë turned *rasha* fruit broth into Yanomam. Is that all right? Is the story long enough?

Informant: Hewënakë

Source: Albert ms.

Motif content

A592.+.	Son of culture hero. (A592. Culture hero and descendants.)
A2617.	Plants from transformed person (animal).
A2681.5.	Origin of palms.
D215.	Transformation: man to tree.
D431.4.+.	Transformation: fruit broth to person. (D431.4. Transformation: fruit to person.)

NOTES

1. See Lizot 1975b, p. 23; Chagnon 1968, p. 46; Wilbert 1963, p. 232.
2. The term used is *ila*, which is most accurately translated as "feline" or alternatively *pole'a*. It embraces all the felines and a number of evil beings. The gloss "jaguar" is thus an approximation, the true jaguar being referred to by the terminal taxon *tuluia*.
3. *Waipili* (*Leptodactylus* sp.). In some versions of this myth the *waipili* frog is said to be pregnant and the children actually pulled out of the womb. See Reid 1979, p. 335.
4. *Hologoda*, gourds of the species *Lagenaria siceraria*.

5. *Asmada* (*Pseudolmedia laevis*), red cherrylike fruits that are available during a short season, late April–early May.

6. The myth refers to the bulges in trees caused by tree cancers, *kulabi umnagi*.

7. *Ashkada amo* (*Acrocomia* sp.?).

8. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Hewēnakē in 1981.

9. This origin of Omamē is very different from the one evoked by Ikahi in narrative 11. The narrator married several Shamathari women of the Shauatheri community (upper Demini River) where he spends long periods. This could be an adapted borrowing.

10. See narrative 47, notes 255 and 276.

11. *Pseudolmedia laevis* (see narrative 251, note 103).

12. The narrator here used a Shamathari word for machete (*sibara*).

13. The narrator here used a generic Yanomam term to designate implements with metal blades (*bookikē*).

14. The narrator then launched into a version of narrative 22 which is very close to Ikahi's.

15. See Wilbert 1963, p. 232. This myth is not known among the Yanomami, it seems. The theme of explaining the brevity of human life as attributable to an accidental association with perishable natural phenomena is, however, widespread in South America (see Lévi-Strauss 1970, pp. 147–163).

16. *Poli*, a tree with very hard wood (not identified) that has a fine peeling bark. The trees are rare and widely dispersed.

17. It is probably quite significant that the Sanema consider Soawe as the younger brother of Omao, whereas the Yanomami express them as having the opposite relationship (e.g., Lizot 1975b, pp. 23 ff.) and also contradictorily call them "twins." (There is no term meaning "twins" in Sanema.) It may be that this fact is related to the Sanema's emphasis on patrilinearity which, apparently, is not common to all Yanomami groups (Ramos and Albert 1977).

18. *Shidishina*, the term used by the Yekuana to refer to the Sanema.

19. *Kodalina*, a very soft-wooded tree commonly found along riverbanks (*Trema micrantha*).

20. In two other versions Omao exclaims "*Sibalusi koni!*" or "*Sibalusi toni!*" a phrase whose meaning is not clear even to the Sanema. *Sibalusi* means "metal" in Sanema; *toni* means "one" in Yekuana. Perhaps Omao is crying "only that which is hard [metallic]."

21. *Hanakasa* (*Mustella frenata*). The Sanema believe that all human beings have a *nonoshi*, a term that means lit. "shadow" or "reflection," and which Ramos (1972) has translated as "alter ego spirit." Most women's *nonoshi* are said to occur in the form of this weasel, which it would be folly to try to kill, for the snake *nonoshi* of particularly tall women—*nonoshi gi' apada*—would take revenge. Men's *nonoshi* occur in the form of harpy eagles (*Harpia harpyja*).

22. *Lalagigi* and *hedugigi* are the two species of anaconda recognized by the Sanema.

23. In another version the informant specifically mentions that snakes were created from the *poli* trees. It may be noted that the Sanema say that the *hekula* spirits are able to rejuvenate themselves in exactly this way.

24. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979.
25. *Psidium* sp., a red hardwood tree whose bark peels off while renewing itself.
26. An allusion to narrative 197.
27. *Croton* sp., a tree with soft wood and a supple and fragile bark.
28. The sound of bones.
29. Rahara is a river monster. According to the Iyëwei-teri he is the uncle of the anaconda. Long ago he lived in a big lagoon called Akrawa. Nobody had seen him, of course; therefore he has to be understood to be the cause of the great disasters connected with the rivers. Those who claim to have seen him perhaps saw an anaconda which was a bit larger than the streams. The chief of the Iyëwei-teri says of Rahara: "He still lives in the big rivers, like the Orinoco. Swimming upstream in the rivers he makes a lagoon (*akrawa*) for himself, or enlarges one that he finds in order to live in it. He is bigger than an anaconda (*wai-koya*). His body resembles the trunk of a rotting papaw tree or a manioc strainer. Rahara draws people and animals to him, and when they come to drink he devours them." Helena Valero also remembers that near Korita there was a lagoon in which, according to the Korita-teri, Rahara lived. Tapir tracks could be seen leading to the lagoon, but not away from it. Dogs used to disappear in its water. That lagoon never dried up. The shamans warned people against drinking from it or fishing in it, for the bottom often shifted, which made it easier for the beast to catch his victims. Helena Valero never saw the monster and is of the opinion that it actually was an exceptionally large anaconda.
30. According to the Yanomamo, that is why the white monkey (into which Yarimi-riwë or Hoaxi-riwë was transformed) has a blunt penis. Among the Yanomamo this monkey is the prototype of stubborn children.
31. House cricket.
32. The sun spirit.
33. Actually this is the name of the Mata-piri River or the upper Siapa, but the mythical hydrography does not always correspond to reality.
34. The Yanomamo spear or club. Our acculturated chief says that it was long and hard like one of the foreigners' "tubes." But in more indigenous versions by the Namowei-teri and other groups of the upper Orinoco, Omawë first planted a sharpened *payoarima* stick in the ground, and then deepened and widened the hole using his bow.
35. *Maroha* is the *morocoto* fish.
36. *Hauya* is a bamboo which grows wild. Its stem makes a good arrow shaft.
37. *Horeto* is a pigeon (*Columbigallina m. minuta*, according to J. Lizot).
38. The onomatopoeic sound of flaying. The bird is called *siekekemi*. It has black feathers and flies in flocks. The Yanomamo believe that its song announces the presence of the jaguar. The children hunt it to eat it.
39. According to the Namowei-teri, on the other hand, Omawë, obviously a Noé Yanomamo, got into a large canoe that he had made, along with all his family and relatives, and traveled downstream to the mouth of the river in order to throw himself underground. When they reached the place the canoe got stuck in the hole, and there it remained for centuries without rotting, transformed into an enormous rock. When the shamans are affected by snuff they see that rock from far away and point to it. There, they say,

Omawë's family got out and made their house and their plantation in that new land, thereby giving rise to all the foreigners.

40. He saw it in a trance, of course.

41. The informant, the chief of the Iyëwei-teri, states that in the Ocamo region there are no *cunurí* precisely because Omawë descended along the Xukumĩna-këu and not the Ocamo.

42. This is a coprophagous beetle, in Ñeengatú *chipuchi-cuiera* and in Portuguese *virabosta*. Possibly by coincidence the present-day Abrewë-teri used to live precisely in the valley of the upper Siapa or Matapiri (Xukumĩna-këu), and today they live on the contiguous Brazilian slope.

43. Affectionate word for brother.

44. *Pygocentrus* sp. and *Serrasalmus* sp.

45. Afterward Kurikayawö told me that when the girl dove into the water she had placed a piranha in her vagina. She wanted to punish Kanikawö for killing piranhas senselessly and for wanting to rape her. In Kurikayawö's opinion Perimbó, the moon-woman, had transformed herself into the girl.

46. This text was edited from two narratives told by Ikahi in 1979.

47. The *tëbërësikëribë* are described as malevolent supernatural beings with bodies in the form of enormous openwork basketry. They are supposed to live on the bottom of deep waters and to swallow the Yanomam, making them drown. *Tëbërësikë*, the mythical personage, is considered their "father."

48. The Yanomam say that their ancestors used to fish with lines made of the fiber of a *Cecropia* tree (see narrative 167, note 809) and hooks made of armadillo bone (*Dasypus novemcinctus*).

49. Lit., "honey leaves" (*Ruellia japurensis*).

50. The Yanomam insist on the fact that Yoasi was covered with whitish spots that made him very ugly. *Yoasibë* is the term which designates the white blotches of the skin caused by a mycosis.

51. See narrative 111, note 530.

52. *Bixa orellana* (see narrative 113, note 543).

53. Red macaw (*Ara macao*, *Ara chloroptera*) tail feathers.

54. Green tail feathers of the *Amazona farinosa* parrot.

55. See narrative 42, note 236.

56. See narrative 42, note 232.

57. An allusion to narrative 11.

58. An allusion to narrative 210.

59. Yanomam men's erotic ideal is for women to have a "dry vulva."

60. *Ormosia* sp., a large tree with red flowers that are prized by Yanomam women for adorning their earlobes.

61. *Didymopanax morototoni*, a large tree with soft wood named, literally, "tree that smells of the penis."

62. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Warasi.

63. An allusion to narrative 197.

64. An implement made of *Bactris gasipaës* palm wood and shaped more or less like an oar.

65. A woven bag made of palm leaves (*Maximiliana regia*). Men use it with a tumpline to carry heavy loads of game or cultigens.

66. Respectively, *Carica papaya*, *Lagenaria siceraria*, *Saccharum officinarum*,

Ipomoea batatas, *Xanthosoma sagittaeifolium*, *Bactris gasipaes*, *Nicotinia tabacum*, and *Gynierium saggitatum*. Tëbërësikë is said to have brought all cultivated plants.

67. Varieties of *Musa paradisiaca normalis* and *Musa sapientium*.

68. *Dioscorea trifida*.

69. *Crescentia cujete*.

70. *Cucurbita* sp.

71. See Lizot 1975b, p. 36; Chagnon 1968, p. 46; Reid 1979, pp. 350 ff.; contrast Chagnon 1968, p. 45.

72. *Lalagigipada*, the cosmic anaconda.

73. *Ōshi*, soul, core, middle, hollow, spirit, etc.

74. This sentence has the sense of almost removing a part of the father's body, lit., "So Omao from this Lalagigi his part-of-the-body-daughter took."

75. Between father-in-law and son-in-law the Sanema practice an avoidance relationship. Although bride service is generally carried out, during which the husband must live in his father-in-law's hut and provide him with game, the son-in-law almost never speaks to his father-in-law—all communications are mediated through his wife. As the Sanema explain: "We are frightened of our fathers-in-law."

76. *Kusma*, cricket (not identified).

77. *Nimo amo* (unidentified small palm).

78. *Nasi isi*, yuca (*Manihot esculenta*).

79. *Kabalumo*, yams (*Dioscorea trifida*).

80. *Oinamo*, cocoyams (*Xanthosoma cajuacu*).

81. *Shinimo*, maize (*Zea mays*).

82. *Kolata*, *tilgima*, *hishomani*, *pinigigi*, *palshima*, *tabutabulemigigi*, *labaigigi* are the most common plantains and bananas cultivated by the Sanema (varieties of *Musa paradisiaca*). Peepers (or "suckers") are vegetatively propagated pseudostems that are cut from the parent plant and transplanted into new garden plots: *okoma isi moko* (lit., "banana girl").

83. *Dios*. The informant who told this myth considers Omao and God to be identical.

84. See Chagnon 1968, p. 46; Lizot 1975b, p. 36; De Cora 1972, p. 181; Reid 1979, pp. 350 ff.; Wilbert 1963, p. 232; Civrieux 1970, pp. 59 ff. Especially in view of the fact that very few Sanema know the second part of this tale (i.e., from where Omao goes hunting downstream), it is plausible to suggest that this second part is a cultural borrowing from the Yekuana.

85. *Shuli* is a species of fish (not identified); *shulishuma* means *shuli* woman.

86. Another brief version notes that there is a little bird that has copied this noise; it is probably the pygmy tyrant (*Colaptes auratus*).

87. *Hulali*, another species of fish (not identified). *Hulalishuma* means *hulali* woman.

88. This is a common occupation for small boys. The palm used is *managa amo* (*Euterpe* sp.?). The bow may be made of any flexible wood that comes to hand, and for a bowstring the boy's waist string may often be used. The lengthy arrows are maneuvered up to near the fish and released over a short range, e.g., six inches. Young Sanema boys often take such extempore bows with them when accompanying adults on fish-poisoning expeditions using the poisonous vine called *shilashiladodo* (*Lonchocarpus* sp.).

89. That is, he "knew" owing to his shamanic powers.
90. *Hadami*, giant otter (*Pteroneura brasiliensis*).
91. This text was edited from two narratives told by Ikahi in 1979.
92. The upper Orinoco.
93. See narrative 84, note 411.
94. See narrative 22.
95. Starchy tubers of *Xanthosoma sagittaeifolium*.
96. Another informant added about this episode: "Omamë's son was *totishi*, and so his thirst made him very irritable." *Totishi* is a term designating prematurely weaned children.
97. See narrative 198, note 64.
98. A small affluent of the Orinoco River's headwaters.
99. Toward the northwest.
100. In the narrator's youth, in the 1940s, his group had already left the Parima highlands and was settled on the Mapulaú River (an affluent of the upper Demini River).
101. A small affluent of the Mucajai River's headwaters.
102. The Parima River (Rio Branco basin).
103. The Demini River (Rio Negro basin).
104. The Mucajai River (Rio Branco basin).
105. Respectively: the Catrimani River (Rio Branco basin), the Toototobi River (Demini River basin), and the Couto de Magalhães River (Mucajai River basin).
106. The underworld lake (see narrative 80, note 392).
107. An allusion to narrative 33.
108. Regarding the origin of these underworld beings, see narrative 7.
109. See Lizot 1976; Chagnon 1968, p. 47.
110. *Swii kudamiawai*, a flycatcher (*Myiarchus swainsoni*?). Its call is a signal that a child will get ill and die. One informant said: "It is Omao's *he'an*, an evil spirit; so my father used to say." Another told me: "Long ago there was no water. Omao's son made a hole in the ground. That is where all the water comes from."
111. Ritual conversation.
112. *Astyanax* sp., fam. Characidae.
113. *Serrosalmus nattereri*, fam. Characidae.
114. *Brycon* sp., fam. Characidae.
115. *Hopliu malabaricus*, fam. Erithrinidae.
116. Affectionate word for brother.
117. *Cichla ocellatus*, fam. Cichlidae.
118. *Panaque* sp., fam. Loricariidae.
119. *Prochilodus lacicips*, fam. Prochilodontidae.
120. *Pimelodus blochii*, fam. Pimelodidae.
121. *Pseudoplatystoma fasciatum*, fam. Pimelodidae.
122. *Hopliu malabaricus*, fam. Erithrinidae.
123. This text was edited from two narratives told by Ikahi, one in 1979, the other in 1989.
124. *Hypocnemis cantator*, a small bird of the secondary forest whose remarkable call is heard in the morning.
125. See the beginning of narrative 202.
126. The Parima River (Rio Branco basin).

127. Yanomam boys spend a lot of time hunting little birds and lizards with their miniature bows and arrows in the gardens.

128. The call of this bird resembles the expression *si êkêkêbrai*: "to tear the skin." The narrator pointed out that Omamë and his son mistook this call for that of Shinarumari, a supernatural being who skinned a Yanomam alive (see narrative 260).

129. See narrative 153, note 744.

130. See narrative 197.

131. An allusion to narrative 211.

132. Lit., "made you exist very much." This introduces the idea that Omamë completed the initial creation of the white men attributed to Remori (see narrative 33, note 143).

133. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979.

134. See narrative 210, note 124.

135. *Oenocarpus bacaba*.

136. Mountains that are part of the rocky formations on the left bank of the upper Demini River (Serra Xeriana and Serra do Demini).

137. A distortion of the word *serra*, "mountain" in Portuguese.

138. A mountain of the Mucajai River headwaters (Rio Branco basin).

139. See narrative 140, note 692.

140. See narrative 140, note 691.

141. Unidentified mountain.

142. A mountain of the Mucajai River headwaters.

143. Probably the Serra do Melo Nunes (upper Mucajai River).

144. Unidentified mountain.

145. A mountain in the Serra Urucuzeiro, located between the upper Orinoco and Catrimani rivers.

146. A mountain of the Parima River headwaters (Rio Branco basin).

147. A mountain in the Serra Couto de Magalhães (upper Mucajai River).

148. Unidentified mountain.

149. Toward the northwest.

150. Respectively, the Parima River and an unidentified affluent of its headwaters.

151. Some informants claim that Omamë died where he fled, others that he was transformed into an evil forest spirit called Omamari. Still others speculate that he may be living among the white men.

152. *Cenoura*.

153. A monotonous song which lasts all night. [Eds.]

154. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Hewënakë in 1981.

155. See narrative 84, note 411.

156. Cultivated palms, *Bactris gasipaes*.

157. It is said that long ago some Yanomam met the son of Omamë (they call him Baunakure) when visiting the Ye'kuana, a Carib group living north of their territory, in the lower Parima River basin.

158. An old garden on the upper Toototobi River (Demini River basin), occupied during the second half of the 1950s by the narrator's group.

159. A kind of ladle formed by half a gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*).

Extraordinary Creatures and Events

225. Snake Lover¹

A husband and his wife went *wāshimo*. Once they were installed, the husband went out hunting. While he was out an *iskolem* snake² approached the house where the girl was alone. He carried a kinkajou³ and an *olingo*⁴ on his back. He was very handsome. "My husband, it seems," thought the woman. "Let's copulate," said the snake. "Yes!" she replied. "My husband won't come back. He's gone into the forest." The snake had sex with⁵ the woman: *glos! glos! glos! glos!* In copulating he had messed up her vagina; her labia were all extended. He left the kinkajou on the ground. "Sit easy!" said the snake. "Where do you live?" asked the Sanema girl. "There, upstream, away upstream beyond the stand of *pishia*⁶ leaves," the snake said. "Right!" said the Sanema girl. She sat on the ground.⁷

The husband returned carrying a guan.⁸ "Pluck the guan!" he said. But the girl was very scared and reluctant. "Whatever for?" asked the husband. "Pluck that game and quick!" he said. The wife stayed where she was sitting on the ground. The husband turned his wife over and looked at her vagina. Ugh! It was all soiled! It was all messed up by the copulation of the snake. "K!!! So this is it! Where did he go?" said the husband. "Over there 'just beyond the stand of *pishia* leaves is where I live,' that's what he said." "Right!" said the husband.

The husband went raiding. He came on a tiny little house. Looking inside he saw a single snake lying in his hammock. The snake was asleep. The husband struck the snake, he hit it in fury and so killed it.

That's the story that has been passed on.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 63-64.

Summary

Man kills his wife's snake lover.

Motif content

B613.1.	Snake paramour.
F575.2.	Handsome man.
K1550.1.	Husband discovers wife's adultery.
K1822.	Animal disguises as human being.
Q411.0.1.2.	Man (fairy) kills wife's lover.

226. Yutuyuturi

A man said to his wife: "Tomorrow I'll go hunting; I'm tired of staying home." He probably wanted her to have intercourse with the repulsive creature. He waited until it was completely light, and then he said: "Prepare a wad of tobacco for me and then I'll go hunting." She daubed the wet tobacco with the hot ashes and soon handed him the wad. He got out of his hammock and set off. They could hear the sound of his footsteps. Someone advised the woman: "Come on, go with your husband! You can carry the meat that he always comes back with." She pretended not to hear and remained in her hammock. "Go with him!" (Already the terrible Hōremariwē was busy eating *toatoa* fruit.) Finally she got up and left: *tok, tok, tok*. "Hurry up, you'll catch up with him."

The woman followed a path downstream along a ridge and then she began to run, moving to the hillside. Hōremariwē was up in a tree, and as she passed by he dropped a twig. He looked exactly like the woman's husband. A saki monkey tail encircled his forehead, some parrot tail feathers were stuck into his earlobes, and his facial features were identical with her husband's. She asked: "Is it you? What fruits are you eating?" "What?" He listened, bending down toward her. "Is it you?" "No, I'm someone else." "No, it's you; it's really you." "I'm really someone else. Your husband went past here a moment ago. I'm someone else. Hurry, and you'll catch up with him." "What are you eating?" "I'm eating *toatoa* fruits." "Break off a branch and drop it." "Don't waste your time asking for branches; I tell you I'm someone else." "Break off a branch. It's you, I recognize you." The woman was laughing at the foot of the tree. "Don't be so stubborn; I'm someone else. Your husband passed by here quite a while ago. I'm Yutuyuturi." But the woman insisted. "You're stubborn. Well, sit down at the bottom of the tree. Pick a handful of leaves, making sure you include some that are new and soft, and sit

on them while you wait." She sat down. "Look, here are your fruits." She chewed them. "But they're like jelly!" "That's my food," he said. Scraping the fruits he went on: "These are *toatoa* fruits. I eat them; it's a kind of food." "Hurry up and climb down." He looked as if his stomach was full. He climbed down; she could hear him. Indeed, he resembled her husband the way one drop of water resembles another. He did not actually have intercourse with her, he did not lie down on her; instead his penis moved underground and became erect under the new leaves, which it penetrated. That was how he had sex with her. There were some movements in and out, and then he pulled back. It never occurred to the woman that he could have had intercourse with her. "Go away. I'm going in this direction. Your husband passed by here. I am Yutuyuturi. When you start feeling labor pains, take a palm spathe, tie the ends together, and place it on the ground," he advised.

The woman returned home immediately. In a while she began to feel an unbearable crawling movement inside. "*Ha, ha, ha!*" It tickled so much that she could not stop laughing. "What's wrong with my poor daughter?" wondered her mother. Soon the earthworms began to grow big inside her. The tickling tormented her; she could not keep still, and she would laugh wherever she went. Finally she went into the forest and found a palm spathe whose ends she tied together, as Yutuyuturi had told her. Into it she expelled in a single mass a repulsive, frothy progeny. It foamed; it groped along the wall of the spathe which she had placed at the low end of the house. She was not interested in it, and began to laugh again. "*Ha, ha, ha!* Mother, my seeds are covered; don't let the children touch them. They're covered. *Ha, ha, ha!*" Laughing loudly she began to run along another path, over there. "What a misfortune, this unbearable restlessness that has come over her! What an indignity!" lamented her mother. She went over to the spathe. "What can it be that she covers like that?" Uncovering the container she stared with horror at the wrinkled fronts of the enormous worms, sparkling in the light, which had been gently bumping against the wall. "How terrible! So that's what is tickling her; that's what is making her laugh all the time!"

The young woman returned, still laughing. The sperm continued to impregnate her. Her insides were crawling intolerably, and she could feel the heads touching her. That was why she could not sit still and why she kept running from one place to another. In the forest she again expelled the large agglutinated earthworms in a sin-

gle mass. In vain she threw them away; others began to grow right away. Then she realized that someone had touched the spathe. "Who rearranged my seeds?" she asked casually.

The large earthworms devoured her liver and soon she died, after losing her internal organs. She really died. "What a misfortune, what sadness! How pretty my daughter is; what a beautiful face my daughter has!" Everywhere the people could be heard lamenting. The dead woman soon began to swell up. "Let's hurry up and burn her quickly." After preparing the funerary pyre they carried her there and placed logs on top of her. The dead woman's distended stomach exploded, and small oblong fragments were thrown far into the distance. They became caterpillars.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Woman follows her husband into forest. There she meets spirit whom she mistakes for husband. He impregnates her without her knowledge, and after she returns to village she repeatedly gives birth to masses of earthworms. Worms end up killing her by devouring her internal organs.

Motif content

D40.	Transformation to likeness of another person.
D42.2.	Spirit takes shape of man.
F401.6.	Spirit in human form.
F471.2.0.1.	Demon lover.
F547.3.1.	Long penis.
F1041.1.	Extraordinary death.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.
K1391.	Long distance sexual intercourse.
T517.	Conception from extraordinary intercourse.
T539.3.	Conception from intercourse with demon.
T554.+.	Woman gives birth to worms. (T554. Woman gives birth to animal.)

227. Earthworm and Paca: An Undesirable Marriage⁹

Paca¹⁰ had secretly married Earthworm.¹¹ She had met him and had asked him to do marital service¹² for her. She hid him in the back of her hearth, near the firewood which she kept stored against

her house wall.¹³ They used to go out in the forest together, Paca leaving by a door of the communal house and Earthworm slipping out through the leaf wall behind her living area. Paca seemed to be going out alone. She would return with her basket¹⁴ full of game, for Earthworm, who used to transform himself into a Yanomam in the forest, was a very good hunter. He hunted for his marital service. Paca had met him in the forest. She had used a magic love charm¹⁵ on him, and he had fallen in love. She had brought him to her living area and kept him under her hammock, hidden under leaves in the form of an earthworm. Only at night did he emerge from his hiding place in human form to slip into her hammock.

They went hunting together. Paca would return alone later with game, many black curassows, great tinamous, and blue-throated piping guans,¹⁶ all already plucked. Finally her brother became intrigued and asked her: "Who is killing all this game? Sister, who is giving you this game?" She lied: "It was a black-faced hawk¹⁷ that killed those birds. Don't you see that their heads have been cut off?" In fact it was Earthworm who had decapitated them with his *atarihi* arrowheads.¹⁸ She insisted: "It's only game that I collected after it had been killed by a black-faced hawk! These birds have been decapitated; look at this black curassow and this great tinamou!" But it was actually Earthworm who had killed the birds, among which there were also variegated tinamous and toucans.¹⁹ After plucking the birds in the forest she would return home. She would pretend to go to look for crabs and crawfish²⁰ in the forest, and Earthworm would secretly accompany her. He was hiding, coiled up on the floor in the back of her living area, and would join her in the forest in his earthworm form. Far from the house he would again appear in his human form, accompanying her in the forest. When they returned Earthworm would disappear from view to return in the form of an earthworm and resume his place under Paca's hammock. That was where he ate and, when night fell, where he copulated with her. During the night when they had sex Paca did not stop laughing: "Ha ha ha! Ha ha ha!" After a long time her exasperated brother asked: "Sister! What is it you keep laughing at?" She lied to him: "I laugh for no reason; I laugh at you while you sleep! I just laugh, that's all!"

The following day Paca and Earthworm went into the forest together without the other people knowing, this time to gather *hayi* fruits:²¹ *krai! thou! krai! thou!* In the forest they copulated again. Earthworm had asked Paca to squat in a place where the ground rose into a small mound. He himself had climbed up into a tree, and

using a wooden hook, *yobena*,²² he was breaking off branches laden with fruits and throwing them to the ground: *krai! thou! krai! thou! krai! thou!* After finishing he wanted to descend, and called to Paca that he was about to throw down his wooden hook and that she should crouch near the place where it would fall: "Watch out for the hook! Watch out for the hook!" But in fact it was he himself, in the form of the wooden hook, that threw himself down through the leaves: *hōōō! shiri!* He fell, and entered the ground—*wa thē!* Emerging from the ground in the form of an earthworm at the place where Paca was crouching he then copulated with her from below, which tickled her vulva pleasantly and made her laugh: "*Ha ha ha ha!*" He moved in and out like that and she kept laughing: "*Ha ha ha ha!*" Finally they stopped copulating, gathered the *hayi* fruits, and prepared the game that he had hunted. "Let's hurry up and go home!" said Paca. When they were near the house Earthworm stopped, and unbeknownst to all he once more coiled up on the floor in Paca's living area.

Her brother had never seen him and did not know of his existence. He had no idea that his sister was copulating with Earthworm. But one day he finally saw him. Once when Paca was going into the forest alone she said in a loud voice to deter the curious: "Some people spend their time visiting my hearth when I am away, and they have already spilled my vegetable salt!"²³ It makes me angry!" Before leaving the house she had covered Earthworm with leaves. She had gone off by herself to collect crabs and crayfish after hiding him under banana leaves and pieces of firewood. He had said to her: "I'm not going!" He was tired of going into the forest. So she covered him and left.

Her brother had also stayed home to work on his arrows. For a long moment he tied some feathers together and then attached an *atarihi* point to a shaft. Then he asked his mother to roast him some green plantains: "Mother! Prepare some plantains for me! I'm making arrows, and I'm beginning to feel hungry." His mother placed the plantains in the embers, and when they were done she put them before her son. He finished tying the end of the shaft into which he had inserted a barbed arrowpoint, leaned the arrow against a post, took the cooked plantains, and lay down in his hammock to eat them. Finding them bland he thought: "The vegetable salt that my sister covered before she left! I'll use it to season these plantains!" He went over to his sister's hearth with one of his plantains and removed the leaves that covered Earthworm: *brou wa! brou wa!* Seeing the large earthworm coiled up in its foamy secretion he was sur-

prised, and spat disgustedly: *houuu! kusha! kusha!* He exclaimed: "What strange vegetable salt! Isn't it a large earthworm?" His mother, horrified, cried in turn: "*Waaaaa!*"²⁴ What a monstrosity!"²⁵ Quickly she gathered some glowing embers on her fire fan and, disgusted and angry, poured them over the coiled-up earthworm: *shau! shau! shau!* The worm began to moan in pain: "*Akaaa! Akaaa!* You mistreat me although I'm doing marital service! *Akaaa! Akaaa!*" Paca's brother also gathered ashes and live coals and poured them over Earthworm who complained more loudly than before: "*Houuu! Shau! Akaaa! Akaaa!*" Then the brother struck him with some burning pieces—*wa! bikē! bikē! bikē!*—and the worm in his misery kept repeating: "*Akaaa! Akaaa!* You treat me this way although I'm here with you doing marital service! *Akaaa! Akaaa!*" "A strange marital service! Did you perhaps move in here in full view of everyone?" retorted Paca's brother, disgusted and furious. His mother in turn repeated: "What marital service? Did you move in here openly? Do sons-in-law in marital service hide?" And that was how they killed Earthworm.

But Paca was pregnant. When she returned from the forest she realized what had happened. "*Ha!*"²⁶ They have killed my husband!" she said to herself. She really was pregnant. Only one night had passed, and she began to give birth; it was in fact the offspring of a supernatural being, that was why. It was Earthworm who had impregnated her, and it was his children who were about to be born. She had thought that there was only one child but then she began to feel itching, and—*houuuuu!*—worms emerged from everywhere, her cheekbones, her mouth, her nose, her anus: *waaaaa!* It was frightening. Emerging from all over her body they fell on the ground and fled in every direction. Paca threw herself into the river with the earthworms coming out of her body, from her armpits, her anus, her vagina, the bend of her legs. It was frightening. Terrified, she threw herself into the river: *kobikē!* The earthworms that were born in the water were transformed into electric eels.²⁷ Since then, that is why those eels live in the rivers. The earthworms in the forest are those of Earthworm's children who emerged from Paca's body first and fell on the ground. The rest scattered in the water and became electric eels. As for Paca, once she was empty she turned into an animal, and that is why we see pacas swimming in the rivers since that time.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Woman (Paca) secretly keeps earthworm lover in her home. He accompanies her daily to forest where he assumes human form and hunts for her. One day her brother discovers earthworm hiding under her hammock, and kills him. Woman gives birth to innumerable earthworms. She jumps into river where she turns into paca, and baby worms become electric eels.

Motif content

A1710.	Creation of animals through transformation.
A1840.+.	Creation of paca. (A1840. Creation of rodentia.)
A2131.	Creation of eel.
A2182.3.	Origin of earth-worm.
B600.+.	Marriage of woman to worm. (B600. Marriage of person to animal.)
B610.1.	Girl's animal lover slain by spying relatives.
B632.	Animal offspring from marriage to animal.
D110.+.	Transformation: woman to paca. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D392.	Transformation: worm to person.
D418.2.+.	Transformation: worm to eel. (D418.2. Transformation: worm to other animal.)
D420.+.	Transformation: worm to hook. (D420. Transformation: animal to object.)
D630.	Transformation and disenchantment at will.
D1355.3.	Love charm.
F679.5.	Skillful hunter.
N440.+.	Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)
T475.	Unknown (clandestine) paramour.
T517.	Conception from extraordinary intercourse.
T541.	Birth from unusual part of person's body.
T554.+.	Woman gives birth to worms. (T554. Woman gives birth to animal.)

228. Worm Love²⁸

The *holema* snake²⁹ once had sex with a Sanema woman. It was over there; the Sanema woman had gone into the forest. The *holema* snake was up in a tree eating, he was eating *asmada* fruits.³⁰ The Sanema woman approached. "Sit down³¹ on some fresh leaves," said the snake. "Right!" she replied. The snake threw down two branches of fruit and then he climbed down. He was very beautiful and wore many beads. She ate the fruits: *glun! glun! glun! glun!* The

snake burrowed down under the ground, under . . . under . . . under . . . under. He came up in her vagina: *gloso*!

The Sanema girl then returned home with the snake still inside her. In the night the Sanema girl laughed: "Hi! Hi! Hi! Hi! Hi! Hi!" She laughed a lot.

Come daybreak the girl pretended to be "sitting." She put the *holema* snake into a pot. Then she covered her new "husband" with the lid. "That's mine, don't you touch it or I'll be angry," she said to her real husband. The girl was about to go out into the forest; the husband was shaping a new bow. "That's mine, don't you look or I'll be angry," she said again. "Alright! Alright! I'm just making my bow," he said. He went on shaving his bow to the right shape. "I wonder why my wife said that?" the husband said. He looked; there was a *holema* snake in the pot! "Ugh! How horrible!" he exclaimed. He cooked up some *maĩgoshi*³² in a pot and then poured the boiling resin over the *holema*: *salulo*! So the husband burned the snake. "Oooo! But my wife was so nice!" said the snake. So he died.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 64–65.

Summary

Woman returns home with her worm lover inside her vagina. Later, husband discovers worm and kills it.

Motif content

B610.+ Worm paramour. (B610. Animal paramour.)
Q411.0.1.2. Man (fairy) kills wife's lover.

229. Anteater Loses His Wife

A woman who had recently had her first menstruation had just emerged from her period of seclusion. She was following the others from a distance when Anteater suddenly appeared on the path. He picked her up and put her on his back. She cried while he carried her. "Be quiet or I'll tear you to pieces. I've taken you for my wife," he said to her. He carried her on his back. When dusk fell they were on Grasshopper Mountain where he rested. In spite of his threat the woman continued to sob: "Mother, *ě*, *ě*. . . ." She missed her mother, and cried noisily. "Be quiet or I'll tear you to pieces! What

are you crying for? I've taken you." He sat for a while to rest and then set off again.

When it was completely dark Anteater ordered her: "Sit here!" He slept on an old fallen tree trunk with hard smooth wood. His head was down and he was talking in his sleep: "Downstream there's a bent shrub."

The woman had already fled when Anteater woke up. "Are you sitting there? Are you sitting there? She has escaped! Retrace your steps!" The woman was perched up in a tree. It was nearly day. Anteater was searching for her, his nostrils sniffing the air. Finally he found her. "What are you doing there? Come down!" But she remained in the tree. Anteater waited until evening, but finally he decided to climb up and fetch her. Pulling her down he forced her to descend.

When dusk fell they returned to sleep in the place where he had his lair. Although he tried hard to stay awake he finally fell asleep. Dawn was already near. Anteater was stuffed inside the tree trunk, snoring. Again he began to say:

Downstream there is a bent shrub.
Downstream there is a bent shrub.
Downstream there is a bent shrub.

He kept repeating this until dawn.

In the meantime the woman had escaped again. She followed exactly the path they had taken and recognized the place where Anteater had rested. While he was searching for her in an unnecessarily roundabout way she went straight home. She reappeared just when her parents were worrying over her. No one noticed her arrival. "Is it you, my daughter?" asked her mother. The young woman had silently appeared next to her mother without anyone noticing. Anteater had entertained false hopes. There is his house!

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Anteater abducts woman in order to marry her. She escapes twice, second time successfully.

Motif content

- | | |
|--------|---|
| R13.+. | Abduction of woman by anteater. (R13. Abduction by animal.) |
| R210. | Escapes. |

- R227.1. Wife flees from animal husband.
R311. Tree refuge.

230. Giant Anteater Tries to Abduct Yaoriyomë's Wife³³

Giant Anteater³⁴ stole Yaoriyomë's³⁵ wife, but her husband rescued her.

During a *reahu* festival³⁶ Giant Anteater caused Yaoriyomë's wife to inhale a love charm³⁷ and thus he was able to run away with her. The husband followed their tracks and managed to catch up with them in the forest. They had made numerous detours so that in following their trail Yaoriyomë had to run along a very winding path to catch them. When he finally reached them Giant Anteater tried to scare him off by pretending to point a gun³⁸ at him. That is why the Giant Anteater has a long nose today; it is the supernatural image³⁹ of that gun which he pretended to aim at Yaoriyomë. That was Giant Anteater's only gesture, and the husband was in no way frightened by it and took back his wife.

Without her knowledge Anteater had made her inhale a charm which had caused her to fall in love with him against her will. Carried off under the influence of Giant Anteater's magic love charm she did not begin to realize how ugly he was until they had traveled quite a distance. She noticed that he had an enormous tick⁴⁰ under his arms, and began to be afraid of him. It was at that point that her husband arrived and took her back with him. Yaoriyomë and Giant Anteater threatened each other. But although the latter tried to frighten Yaoriyomë by threatening him with his phony gun, it was in the end Yaoriyomë who really scared Giant Anteater with his arrows. Yaoriyomë took his wife home, and that was how the Yanomam learned to rescue their wives when they are stolen. That is what our ancestors used to do and for that reason it is what we continue to do. After all, do the Yanomam not rescue their wives?

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Man (Yaoriyomë) rescues his wife who has been abducted by Giant Anteater.

Motif content

A2335.3.1.	Origin of anteater's proboscis.
D1355.3.	Love charm.
D1900.	Love induced by magic.
R13.+.	Abduction of woman by anteater. (R13. Abduction by animal.)
R151.1.	Husband rescues stolen wife.

231. The Human Wife of the Toucan Spirit

The son of Channel-Billed Toucan was a spirit. He had noticed a woman whom he had taken a liking to. He desired her, and in order to make her love him he threw an aphrodisiac at her from far away. The substance completely transformed the woman's mind. They became lovers. Without the knowledge of the others they would lie together in the same hammock. Time passed. Finally Kasimi, the woman's mother, noticed her daughter's strange behavior. One day she asked: "My daughter, whom are you in love with?" "Mother, someone has fallen in love with me," she answered. "He's a creature different from us; he wears a feather headdress."

Toucan, who loved her, wanted to take her to his home. They left without being seen by anyone. He lived on top of a rock. When Kasimi found herself alone she cried. She cried day and night. Toucan's father heard her weeping and felt sorry for her. He said to his son: "Son, go and fetch her. She's unhappy, crying day and night." Toucan and his wife left. When they reached the house of the people the daughter appeared without warning at her mother's side. Toucan had remained standing near the entrance, and no one could see him. How beautiful Kasimi's daughter was with her feather headdress! How beautiful she was, with little sticks, reddening like glowing embers, stuck into her lips! "What's going on, daughter?" her mother asked. "I'm living on a rock surrounded by strangers. They're spirits, beings different from us. Mother, I came to fetch you. Get your hammock quickly," she said. Kasimi got her hammock ready to leave. When she untied the little baskets hanging under the roof in order to attach them to the travel basket on her back she noticed a change: they had become very beautiful. This was how Toucan's power manifested itself. She hung them as they were from her basket.

They started their journey. Reaching the steep rock they climbed up. When Kasimi stood on the top she became dizzy. Her daughter noticed and said to her: "Mother, don't be afraid, we're on a road. You see, it leads in that direction," and she pointed. In one place the path went along the edge of a precipice. Kasimi was so frightened that she abandoned her basket. Standing near the precipice the basket turned into a beehive.

From then on Kasimi lived with the toucans. Her daughter's father-in-law married her. Kasimi married the father and her daughter the son. One day they went to the garden to gather sweet potatoes. While they were digging them out the sweet potatoes sang like toucans: "*Yaukwē, kwē, kwē, kwē! Yaukwē, kwē, kwē, kwē!*" Frightened, Kasimi left without waiting for the others.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Girl marries toucan spirit and goes to live with him. Later she returns to fetch her mother, who ends up marrying her daughter's father-in-law.

Motif content

D454.+.	Transformation: basket to beehive. (D454. Transformation of manufactured object.)
D1355.3.	Love charm.
D1615.+.	Singing sweet potato. (D1615. Magic singing object.)
D1860.	Magic beautification.
D1900.	Love induced by magic.
F471.2.0.1.	Demon lover.
F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.
K1395.	Seduction by giving aphrodisiac.
T475.	Unknown (clandestine) paramour.

232. Lalagigi and His Sanema Wife

Once, long ago, Lalagigi took a Sanema girl as his wife. She was one of the ancestors. "You come back, girl," the mother had said. She became lost by the river. Lalagigi took her for his wife. "Let my mother come too!" said the girl. "Alright," Lalagigi had replied. So the mother followed them. Nearby the water was very deep. It was there that Lalagigi had his house. "*Aaaaa!* But I may drown!" cried

the mother. She returned home. The girl went on alone to Lalagigi's house.

Later the girl returned to her mother's house; she was carrying her baby. "Go and weed my garden," the mother said to the girl. She went to the garden, carrying her baby, and began to do the weeding. It was very hot in the garden. The little baby panted: "Haaaa!" The mother suckled her baby which was Lalagigi's child. As the child suckled the mother noticed the baby had many tongues. One, two, another, another, another . . . many little tongues!

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 65.

Motif content

F420.1.3.9.	Water-spirit as snake.
F420.2.	Home of water-spirits.
F420.6.1.1.	Water-man woos mortal girl.
F420.6.1.3.	Mortal goes to home of water-spirits and marries.
F420.6.1.6.	Offspring of marriage between mortal and water-spirit.
F544.2. +.	Person with many tongues. (F544.2. Remarkable tongue.)

233. Lalagigi Eats a Child

Children were bathing. Lalagigi ate one of the boys. He did not chew him but swallowed him alive; the boy was holding a knife. The mother cried and cried. She sat by the river catching fish and crying. The Sanema boy cut his way out of Lalagigi. He came back and sat by his mother. He was all slimy. That is what the elders said of those children.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 65.

Motif content

F420.1.3.9.	Water-spirit as snake.
F910. +.	Swallowed person emerges from swallower's belly. (F910. Extraordinary swallowings.)
F911.	Person (animal) swallowed without killing.
F911.4.	Jonah. Fish (or water monster) swallows a man.
G308.2.	Water-monster.

234. Lalagigi Eats a Man

"Daddy, daddy! There's honey over there, daddy!" said this man's son. The father went to collect the honey which was on the other side of the river. The tree was by the river. The father looped a liana about his ankles and prepared to climb.⁴¹ He had his axe slung on his back and was sucking his tobacco. He had only climbed a little way up when the huge snake, Lalagigi, ate him all up, ate him completely. So, that morning he died. The snake had swallowed him whole, axe, tobacco, and all. So downstream that Lalagigi also died. So the elders have said.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 66.

Motif content

F420.1.3.9.	Water-spirit as snake.
F911.4.	Jonah. Fish (or water monster) swallows a man.
G308.2.	Water-monster.

235. Frogs from the Anaconda

The old people killed an anaconda down there. They made it thrash around in the river. After the old people killed the anaconda, they brought it up on shore and cut out the entrails. Then they cut out the pelvis and put it down. A rock then protruded up high, and on that rock the old people ate the snake. They cooked and ate it there, and when they had finished eating it they piled up the bare bones and said: "Hey, the anaconda didn't have any taste! The anaconda didn't have any taste." They grabbed up all the bones and threw them into the river. Immediately the bones began saying: "*Ploa, ploa, ploa*" (like the *ploaploamy* frog). They multiplied right away above the water. Right away all those bones scattered throughout the whole region. They made the sound of the *ploaploamy* frog.

Now the old people left the pelvis. After the old people had gone away, the pelvis made the sound of another frog: "*Koalilili, koalilili.*" From the pelvis the *hekula* spirits got some songs. After they had cut out the pelvis, the old people laid it down. Right away the rock protruded and said: "*Koalilili, koalilili.*" The old people's *hekula* spirits brought them the songs of that rock.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

A970.	Origin of rocks and stones.
A1464.2.1.	Origin of particular song.
D447.+.	Transformation: snake's bone to frog. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.)
D931.	Magic rock (stone).
D1013.	Magic bone of animal.
D1610.+.	Speaking bone. (D1610. Magic speaking objects.)
D1610.18.	Speaking rock (stone).

236. A Stubborn Fisherman

"Older brother, whatever you do, don't go over there! An anaconda appears there regularly!" In vain he warned his brother; the latter insisted on going. "Be quiet, younger brother, I'm very hungry." He was set on going fishing. His younger brother, who was a young man, repeated: "Don't go; you'll be killed at the water's edge." "Be quiet, younger brother, I'll keep it away with my spirits. I'm really hungry. You over there, ugly woman, boil some plantains. Soon I'll bring back a package." "If you insist on going you'll get yourself killed on the riverbank. I'll cry when I don't see you any more," said the younger brother. The man left in spite of his brother's warnings.

When he reached the riverbank he crouched there a long time. He fished and caught several fish as wide as a hand. The fish ate an enormous worm. He dug around in the earth again and found another worm as big as the first one, which he carried back in his palm. When the fish had eaten that one as well he went to get a third one, and began to fish again. He was happy, for the fish were biting well. Without changing place he caught many large fish. It never occurred to him that the anaconda might come and attack him. (Meanwhile an enormous anaconda stood erect in the river, supporting itself on its backbone.) Many fish lay scattered on the shore; everything was going very well. He was not fishing with steel hooks but with hooks made from the clavicle of a small armadillo. (In the place where you

were fishing in order to satisfy your desire to eat fish, Kuyērē, you were killed in the water.)

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Ignoring warnings, man goes to fish in river and is killed by anaconda.

Motif content

B16.5.1.	Giant devastating serpent.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.

237. For the Pleasure of a Bath

A *rahara* water monster swallowed a Waika, the messenger to a feast.

Someone asked the messenger to accompany him and let him walk in front. "Don't bathe in that place over there for there's a *rahara* there. Bathe farther ahead," his companion warned him. There was a small stream flowing across the path. "Don't insist on going there!" "There doesn't appear to be a *rahara* there at all," replied the messenger. "You're stubborn!" "I'll bathe here quickly." "You'll be swallowed! There's a *rahara* here." The path curved away from the river and plunged into the forest. "This is the pond of the monster; that's where he has his lair." "No, there's no *rahara* there." "Well, go ahead then." The man had been warned several times. He approached the water, and the monster devoured him immediately. He called from inside the monster's belly: "Over here! I've been caught and I can't move! Here is the bottom of the hole!" "I told him so; I warned him," commented his companion. He went running back to get help. When he reached the house he said: "The animal has attacked!" "Did you warn him?" "He insisted on bathing even when I warned him. Hurry!" The other was inside the stomach of the monster. "Hurry up!"

The men made lances of bamboo. After separating, they split several palm trunks and made lances from the wooden splints. Then they began to dig in the place where the wall of the lair seemed to be least thick. When the monster appeared they stabbed him all over. The man trapped inside the animal cried: "You out there, you're hurting me; you're stabbing me! Aim at his front feet in-

stead!" Still they continued to stab with their lances. "You're piercing me!" But they wanted to take his wife, and so they agreed to kill him. The monster died in the water, and they dragged him out of his hole. They pulled out the Yanomami inside him; he was riddled with stab wounds. The man had been killed by the palm-wood lances.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Man bathes in river despite warnings and is swallowed by water monster. While stabbing monster with lances, his would-be rescuers deliberately kill him as well.

Motif content

B16.0.3.	Man-eating monster (in cave).
F911.	Person (animal) swallowed without killing.
F911.4.	Jonah. Fish (or water monster) swallows a man.
F915.	Victim speaks from swallower's body.
G308.2.	Water-monster.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.
K950.	Various kinds of treacherous murder.
K2010.	Hypocrite pretends friendship but attacks.
K2220.	Treacherous rivals.
S115.	Murder by stabbing.

238. A Friendly Animal

Lying on a rock a boa constrictor was lamenting:

Over there is the Wouhuma Rock.
 Over there is the Kōmahewë Rock.
 Over there is the Rock of the Headwaters.
 Over there is the Rock of the Menstruating Woman.
 Over there is the Parakeet Rock.
 Over there is the Pointed Rock.
 Over there is the River of the *Yaraka* Fish.
 Over there is the Heron River.
 Over there is the Fern River.
 Over there is the Palm Rock.
 Over there is the Wasp Rock.

The boa would pronounce each name in its plaintive voice, giving the Yanomami names for the places in the forest. Thus it named all the rocks. While it was doing this Mirewakariwë shot a dart from a blowgun into its eye. The boa slid down from the rock and fell into the water, dead. No sooner had it touched the water than it turned into a small *rahara* water monster which Mirewakariwë immediately captured. He brought it to the Yanomami and offered it to them. They took a palm spathe, filled it with water, and placed the little monster inside. It grew, and they kept it as a domestic animal. Later the *rahara* devoured their children; it swallowed them all down to the last one.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A1617.	Origin of place-name.
B16.0.3.	Man-eating monster (in cave).
B176.1.	Magic serpent.
D418.1.+.	Transformation: snake to water-monster. (D418.1. Transformation: serpent (snake) to other animal.)
F911.4.	Jonah. Fish (or water monster) swallows a man.
G308.2.	Water-monster.
G650.+.	Water-monster as pet. (G650. Unclassified ogre motifs.)

239. Auñ Pana and Pehiwetinome

Auñ Pana are fish that eat people. They are very bad, covered with hair, and have arms. Pehiwetinome is also a very big fish, and a man-eater as well. These fish live in deep water.

All the Yanoname were crossing the bridge. The chief said: "We want to sleep on the other side of the water." The men went first, then the women and the boys and girls. The chief was the last one in the line of people. Auñ Pana and Pehiwetinome were biting the bridge. The bridge collapsed, falling into the water. It became a raft, and the Yanoname turned into monkeys and pigs. The only one left was a boy, who cried a lot. Then he too became a monkey.

Informant: Cölestino

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 156.

Motif content

B15.7.+.	Fish with arms. (B15.7. Other animals with unusual limbs or members.)
B15.7.10.+.	Fish covered with hair. (B15.7.10. Animal unusual as to skin.)
B16.+.	Man-eating fish. (B16. Devastating animals.)
B60.	Mythical fish.
D114.3.	Transformation: man to swine (wild).
D118.2.	Transformation: man (woman) to monkey.

240. The Evil Being

Far over there an evil being went out and came near a Sanema settlement. A Sanema went out hunting and the evil being killed him: *gloso!* After binding the corpse up into a bundle the evil being laid the Sanema on a grill and roasted it. Then once the corpse was properly smoked the evil being went off homeward again, carrying the dead Sanema on his back. The corpse had been gutted and bound up. The mouth had tightened up to reveal all the teeth.⁴²

The evil being approached the Sanema settlement. All the men were out hunting. There was only an old woman there. It was light and the old woman could still see quite clearly. Far down the trail she heard a call: "*Kwā kwā kwā kwā kwā kwā kwā kwātoto!*" and then again much later: "*Kwā kwā kwā kwā kwā kwā kwātoto!*"

The evil being approached. He came down the trail and then came up to the house. He was still carrying the dead Sanema. "Go away! *Aaaaa!* I'm really frightened!" said the old woman. "Are you frightened?" asked the evil being in a sinister, sympathetic tone. "Yes! Oh! I'm frightened!" she replied.

The evil being went off with the smoke-blackened corpse still slung on his back. The evil being carried the corpse far away. Then again from over there came the call: "*Kwā kwā kwā kwā kwātoto!*"⁴³

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 62.

Motif content

E293.	Ghosts frighten people deliberately.
F402.	Evil spirits.
F402.1.11.	Spirit causes death.

S139.2.2. +.

Corpse of murdered man roasted. (S139.2.2. Other indignities to corpse.)

241. A Ghost Arrives to Perform Premarital Service⁴⁴

The members of a community had all gone out into the forest on a fishing expedition.⁴⁵ They had left the house nearly empty; only two boys and their mother remained behind. The children were playing outside, near the main entrance,⁴⁶ and their mother was lying in her hammock at the opposite end of the house.

Then a ghost arrived as a visitor.⁴⁷ The children were playing outside the house. The revenant had halted some distance away in order to adorn his hair with white down.⁴⁸ He spent a long time decorating himself before going up to the house. He had even glued white down around the extremity of his arrow shafts where the arrowpoints are inserted. On his back he carried a rolled-up liana hammock.⁴⁹ He was pretending to have come to perform marital service for a girl from the community, but he was actually lying. Are there not people who lie? Shamans who pretend to get spirit helpers to descend but who are lying?⁵⁰ So the ghost entered the house—*thikē! thikē! thikē!*—and began to walk around the central plaza, shouting and snapping his bowstring:⁵¹ *thai! aō! thai! aō! thai! aō!* The children who had seen and followed him when he approached the house shouted: "*Aitakē aē! Aitakē aē!*"⁵² Father-in-law has arrived!" They had accompanied him, believing that he was really a Yanomam whom they could call father-in-law.⁵³ He had tricked them. Do people not deceive one another? "*A aē! A aē!* Father-in-law has arrived! Hasn't father-in-law just arrived?"

The ghost continued his presentation around the central plaza of the house: *thai! aō! thai! aō! thai! aō!* Finally he stopped, and remained standing motionless.⁵⁴ Then he spoke of his supposed father-in-law. Do the Yanomam not lie? Do the shamans not lie? The ghost exclaimed: "*Shēēē!*"⁵⁵ A Yanomam called me here for premarital service, and I have just come! I'm going to work for him and feed him! I hope he will arrive soon, for I'm impatient! Hasn't he promised me a wife? I alone was called here to perform marital service!⁵⁶ I have arrived! Why don't I see the woman I was promised?" That was what he said.

Then the mother of the children, who had remained behind alone, answered him: "Perhaps the people in this house have a girl to be married off; perhaps you have been called to do marital service. But I don't know anything about it!" He insisted: "What about my father-in-law's request that I should settle here and do marital service?" Fed up, the woman finally threw him an answer: "All right! There is a marriageable girl! There is one!" The boys invited him to settle in: "Father-in-law! Where are you going to sling your hammock? Put it over there near that empty hearth! There! That's close to where they've got a marriageable girl!" The ghost went over to the place indicated, unrolled his hammock, and hung it from the house posts, taking care to place it high enough, as if the hammock of his future wife would be slung underneath it.⁵⁷ Then he lay down. But he quickly disappeared, for he was a supernatural being.

One of the children ran to the garden to fetch him some ripe plantains: "I'll get father-in-law some plantains!" But while he was occupied outside the ghost went out of the house again: *shiri*! When the boy returned, running despite his load, he found the place empty: "Where did father-in-law go?" His mother, who had remained and who had seen everything in spite of her ailing eyes, said: "He climbed out of his hammock; he just left, going that way!" The boy exclaimed: "*Houuuu*!"⁵⁸ Could he be a supernatural being? Yes, he must be! He must be a ghost! He tricked us!" He began to search, and noticed on the ground outside the house white down trembling in the wind. It was down from the ghost's ornaments. The boy cried: "He went that way, in the direction shown by this white down!"⁵⁹ That was how the old people told this story.

Informant: Kobi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Ghost visits house abandoned by all except woman and two boys, and claims to want to marry local woman.

Motif content

E420.	Appearance of revenant.
E425.2.	Revenant as man.
E493.	Dead men dance.
E544.	Ghost leaves evidence of his appearance.

242. Hasakoli-Woman and the Honey

A man went out hunting, leaving his wife and single son at home. In the forest he began to chop for honey: *glo! glo! glo!* He gave some to his wife which she ate: *walikili! walikili! walikili!*⁶⁰ The husband then let fall the honeycomb.⁶¹ *Salaaa! tu!*—it went as it fell. The wife sniffed at the comb: *nff! nff! nfnff!* She was not his real wife but a *hasakoli*-woman. The husband climbed down and wrapped the comb in leaves. He then killed a porcupine.⁶² "Off you go home," said the husband to the *hasakoli*-woman whom he thought was his wife. "What have you done with the baby?" he asked. "My father-in-law is looking after it," she lied. "Right," he said. "Off you go home then and take the porcupine and the comb," said the husband. "Right," she lied; she went off. The husband followed and went on home. The *hasakoli*-woman went off to her home, leaving the comb lying on the ground.

The husband made his own way home and approached the house. When he arrived his wife said: "But you've not collected any honey!" "But I gave you the honey," he replied. "No, you didn't," she said. "I wrapped the honey up," he insisted, "and told you to take it and the porcupine home with you." "Nothing of the sort!" "What? Most strange!" he said.

Next day the husband returned on his tracks. He found the honeycomb still properly wrapped lying on the ground. He picked it up. "*Ki!*" he exclaimed angrily. So he carried it back home. The people had been very hungry.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 63.

Summary

Hunter meets evil spirit disguised as his wife and gives her honey he has collected.

Motif content

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| D40.2. | Transformation to likeness of another woman. |
| D42.2. +. | Spirit takes shape of woman. (D42.2. Spirit takes shape of man.) |
| F402. | Evil spirits. |
| K1810. | Deception by disguise. |

243. Hasakoli-Woman and the Caterpillars

It was long ago. There were many caterpillars in that part of the forest. Early one morning a Sanema went out and collected a cocoon of caterpillars.⁶³ He bound a vine round it, carried it slung on his back, and returned home. The women went out to collect firewood, and after cooking the caterpillars they all ate them.

A *hasakoli*-woman, an evil being, appeared. "Come and collect more caterpillars," she said to the man. "Really," he said. "Right, off you go." The Sanema accompanied her. It was not nearby. They went a very long way. A startled tinamou⁶⁴ flew off: *hududududududu!* The *hasakoli*-woman had disappeared. The man found he was in a part of the forest he did not know at all. He collected some caterpillars. As he returned home he called out: "Aaaaaa!" "Eeeee," the others replied. So he followed the call home. Finally just at dusk he arrived. "Hi!! I went off with an evil being," he explained. "An evil being lured me away."

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 62-63.

Motif content

F402. ~ Evil spirits.

F402.1.1. Spirit leads person astray.

244. Carried Off by the Night Spirits

Evening was falling, as it is here right now. An old woman was lying in her hammock, thin, bent. She got up. The spirits were already hovering around the outskirts of the house. "Daughter, where's my basket? I'm going to break some wood by hitting it against the ground. Daughter!" She did not have any wood to warm herself during the night. Dusk came, and the spirits were hovering nearby. "My daughter, I'm going to break some dead branches. No one gave me any wood." She went off all by herself.

Then somebody came toward her, somebody who so resembled her daughter that it was hard to tell the difference. The old woman was seized by the arm, and in an instant she found herself far away. "Will I be back in time? Let's go back!" Her companion looked exactly like her daughter. They continued their journey. This part of the forest looked sinister; the tree trunks were blood red. She was

released. "Abandon her," said the spirits. They made her stop and let go of her, then disappeared. "My daughter, would you abandon me? Daughter, come and look for me!" She was in a panic. Dusk fell. She turned into a supernatural creature. The undergrowth had been cleared. Birds were singing: "*Yōyōyōreshi, yōyōyōreshi!*" The old woman wandered around below them. I do not doubt for a moment that this really happened; at night, in my sleep, I hear them singing.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

D40.2.	Transformation to likeness of another woman.
D42.2.+.	Spirit takes shape of woman. (D42.2. Spirit takes shape of man.)
D90.+.	Transformation: woman to supernatural creature. (D90. Transformation: man to different man—miscellaneous.)
F402.	Evil spirits.
F811.3.3.	Crimson tree.
K1810.	Deception by disguise.
R11.2.2.	Abduction by demon.

245. Koshiloli⁶⁵

Koshiloli,⁶⁶ his wife, and her brother lived at some distance from the rest of his wife's relations. One day Koshiloli went hunting a great distance away. On returning with his wife's dog and his brother-in-law, his brother-in-law killed a parrot.⁶⁷ But the arrow lodged in the branches. "Climb up and shake the arrow down," said Koshiloli. The brother-in-law climbed up and managed to shake the arrow back down. Koshiloli lurked by the foot of the tree. The brother-in-law climbed back down; Koshiloli killed him, striking him angrily with a stick: *to! to! to! to!*

Koshiloli returned to the house carrying the dead Sanema. He reached the house and laid the Sanema on the ground. He approached his wife. "Butcher the game!" he said to his wife. She, seeing her dead brother lying on the ground, mourned for him. "It's heavy," she said. She cut open the belly and pulled out the guts: *wi! wi! wi! wi!* "No spoor?" she asked Koshiloli. "No, nothing," he replied.

Once she had prepared the game, she went over to her people. "My husband has killed my brother," she reported. "Really!" her people replied. "Right. Make him sit outside and pretend to pick out his lice, bend his face back, like this, so he faces into the sun." "Yes!" she said.

Returning home she cooked up the liver.⁶⁸ The child ate it. "Come and sit here! I'll do your lice," she said to her husband. "Yes," he replied. He came and sat down in front of her. She bent his head back to face into the sun, while her people, come raiding, approached. She held Koshiloli's face up toward the sun. The others killed him with a blow of the machete: *ka!* So Koshiloli died.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 59–60.

Summary

Man kills his wife's brother and then orders her to cut up corpse. Later, while she pretends to delouse him, her relatives kill him.

Motif content

G61.	Relative's flesh eaten unwittingly.
K800.	Killing or maiming by deception.
K810.	Fatal deception into trickster's power.
K874.	Deception by pretended lousing.
K917.	Treacherous murder during hunt.
K2211.1.	Treacherous brother-in-law.
Q411.6.	Death as punishment for murder.
S62.	Cruel husband.
S139.2.	Slain person dismembered.

246. The Cannibal Husband⁶⁹

A man had joined a *henimu* collective hunt⁷⁰ while his young wife, who was having her first menstruation, remained secluded at her hearth in the communal house. When her menstruation came her husband also entered into a ritual state of menstruation,⁷¹ and thus turned into a supernatural being while he was still in the forest. He returned to the house carrying a *bashoahi* palm leaf bag⁷² full of smoked monkeys, while singing relentlessly: "*Yibi wari! Yibi wari!* I'll eat the menstruating woman! I'll eat the menstruating woman!" He really wanted to devour his young wife. He had transformed into a

cannibal supernatural creature with long teeth, like those of a peccary.⁷³

The other people were gathering *mōraemakë* fruits.⁷⁴ When they heard him they became frightened and cried: "Watch out! Aaaaa! He is coming this way to devour his menstruating wife!" They quickly returned to the communal house. But the cannibal husband arrived first at the house, where only the secluded girl and her mother had remained. Setting down his package with the game he stretched out in his hammock and said to his mother-in-law: "Go to the river and fetch water! Boil that game!" It was raining. Thinking to fill her pot with rainwater which was running from the roof of the house the woman placed the pot on the ground and went off to gather firewood. But she was suspicious, and quickly returned to the house. There she surprised her son-in-law, who had taken advantage of her absence to enter his young wife's menstrual hut: *woshshi!* She challenged him: "What are you doing to my daughter?" He replied with a lie: "I miss her! I only want to sit by her and talk, but now you're back already! I miss her very much! Open her seclusion hut!" He tried to get her to go away again: "The water from the roof has a bad taste. Go to the river and fetch some running water!" Hesitantly, she finally went. Once again the transformed husband entered the seclusion hut: *woshshi!* This time he seized his wife, broke her spine—*krōhō! wēēēē!*—and put her in the palm leaf bag in which he had brought the smoked monkeys: *thoro!* Then he fled into the forest, carrying her on his back. There he met his two brothers-in-law who were still children. They were playing, standing on a big root and jumping to swing from a liana. He grabbed them and placed them on top of his leaf bag and then continued on his way.

His mother-in-law, who heard the moans of her daughter, hurried back to the house, which she found completely empty. She began to cry: "Waaaaa!"⁷⁵ My daughter!" They began to search for the girl everywhere in the neighboring forest, thinking that maybe she was still nearby, but in vain.

The husband had continued his way to a cave in the mountains, which he entered. The entrance was surrounded by lianas. One of the two captive children managed to grab hold of one liana and flee, without his knowledge. Soon his abductor noticed his absence, however, and said to a ghost woman in the cave: "My mealy parrot⁷⁶ settled on a liana on the way. Go and see where he is!" She did not find him, and only saw a bit of white down stuck to a liana at the entrance to the cave.⁷⁷

The boy had managed to get away and was running in the direction of his village. Near it he finally came across a group of men who had gone in pursuit of the transformed husband. "Where is he headed?" asked his father. He pointed to the path he had first taken, saying: "He fled that way! He went into a cave with the body of my sister! In the mountains!" He was the older of the two children, and was already clever. Now he accompanied the pursuers. At nightfall they reached the entrance to the cave, where the transformed husband was dividing the body of his wife with a group of ghosts⁷⁸ and with the evil spirit Teremē.⁷⁹ They heard his words as he addressed a young ghost woman: "Ha!"⁸⁰ That was only the liver and the intestines! There wasn't enough!" She replied: "Yes, it's only the liver and the intestines! It's too little, but the rest has been hung up; we'll really eat it tomorrow!"⁸¹

The men who were hiding could just make out the cannibal husband. His forehead was greasy; he was in the ritual condition of *unokai*,⁸² and he had just eaten the body of his wife, along with Teremē and the ghosts. The men returned to their village where they gathered all the inhabitants. They decided to make a large fire in front of the cave to smoke out all the cannibals. To this end they started to remove the bark from a large *amahi* tree⁸³ and to cut a lot of *hokosikē* palm leaves.⁸⁴ They also gathered much firewood, and filled baskets with dried peppers.⁸⁵ Finally they set out for the cave, heavily laden. They traveled slowly. As they approached, the ghosts tried to repel them with a hail of darts from blowguns.⁸⁶ *brohu wa! brohu wa! brohu wa!* But the attackers eventually reached the entrance to the cave, hidden behind the thick bark of the *amahi* tree. Little by little they threw in the firewood, the palm leaves, and the peppers. Then they lit the fire, which quickly grew into a blazing mass of flames in front of the mountain: *thouuu! houuu! woiii! woiii!*

Choking from the acrid smoke from the peppers⁸⁷ the ghosts spat and cried out in great confusion: "*Kushē wa! Kushē wa! Kushē wa! Yāri! Yāri! Yāri!*"⁸⁸ The spirit Teremē also struggled, trying to push back the fire with her huge claw: *tere! tere! tere! tere!* The young boy who was still held captive by the ghosts was crying: "Father! I'm still alive, *aē!* Stop the fire, *aē!*" Distressed, his father answered: "Flee! Leave the cave!" But it was too late. Weeping, the boy called: "I can't; I'm a prisoner of the ghosts! They are holding me!" Then the flames enveloped the whole mountain. All the ghosts and Teremē perished in the cave, completely burned by the fire or asphyxiated by the smoke. There was no other exit from the cave. Gradually the laments and the cries died down.

Finally all the people returned to the village, also in the *unokai* ritual state of homicide.⁸⁹ The fire had surrounded the mountain, turning it into a frightening blazing mass: *houuuuuu! wo!!!! wo!!!! wo!!!!* The cannibal husband had tried to hide in that mountain, thinking that the people would not find him, but they burned him to death. Then his pursuers went back to their communal house and began to weep, mourning the boy who had not been able to escape the fire. His father intoned the funerary lamentations: "My son! My son! He really died in the flames! *Yaiyo! Yaiyo! Yaiyo!*"⁹⁰ That is the story. There is no more.

Informant: Arianamë

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

During his young wife's menstruation man turns into cannibal being, kills her, and carries her corpse, along with her two small brothers, to cave inhabited by ghosts and man-eating spirit. One boy escapes, then leads party of men to cave. Men start large fire in front of cave, and all inside perish, including captive boy.

Motif content

D91.	Transformation: normal man to cannibal.
E400.	Ghosts and revenants—miscellaneous.
F402.	Evil spirits.
F402.1.11.	Spirit causes death.
F402.1.11.2.	Evil spirit kills and eats person.
F402.1.12.	Spirit fights against person.
F402.6.4.1.	Spirits live in caves.
F414.	Spirit carries people.
F544.3.5.	Remarkably long teeth.
G30.	Person becomes cannibal.
G312.	Cannibal ogre.
G400.	Person falls into ogre's power.
G441.	Ogre carries victim in bag (basket).
G442.	Child-stealing demon.
G512.3.	Ogre burned to death.
H1385.	Quest for lost persons.
J1113.	Clever boy.
K812.	Victim burned in his own house (or hiding place).
Q469.5.	Punishment: choking with smoke.
R10.3.	Children abducted.
R11.2.2.	Abduction by demon.

R210.	Escapes.
S62.	Cruel husband.
S116.3.	Murder by breaking back.

247. Spine-Breaker

It was the Waika who killed Yotenama by filling his lair with smoke.

Some Waika children were hunting little birds. "Over here, over here! The birds are flying this way!" "I'm chasing some here, too! Big brother, over here!" "Yes!" "Over here!" The youngest children were carrying dead birds on their backs. Farther away, a bit to the side, the older children had spread out. "You will carry yours, and I'll ask someone else to carry mine." "Big brother!" "What is it?" "Did you hit this turtle?" "Yes, I killed it." "My brother killed the turtle! We'll smoke my birds!" "We'll smoke them, little brother." They gathered again. "There are also birds where we hunted the other day." "Let's stop for a moment and replace the forked points of our arrows." "Let's sling our hammocks first. We'll build huts in the place where we were planning to camp." "Yes." Unsuspecting, they had no idea that they were about to offer themselves to Yotenama's basket, which was waiting for game. They were approaching the suspended basket. "Come here, little brother, don't leave the path! Watch out for snakes!" Again they began to chase birds. After all, children are carefree. "Here, there are some birds here!" "You, go that way!" They advanced, each boy chasing the birds near him. The older brother launched an arrow which stuck in the branch of a tree. "What bad luck, my arrow is stuck up there! Little brother, climb up and get it while I shoot at the birds!" The boy climbed up into the tree, shook the branch, and recovered the arrow. "Big brother!" "Yes!" "Here it is!"

Some children who were hunting in another place noticed the basket. "Oh! To whom can that big hanging basket belong?" The plaiting was not very close so they could see through it, which gave it a frightening look. "Oh!" They kept their distance, fearful of the thing. "Hey, you, come here! Little brother, be sure you don't go near it!" "Let's flee, big brother! This basket seems to be waiting for a victim." The basket hung there, gaping wide. "Oh! Oh! Come quickly!" The other children arrived. "To whom does this big basket belong?" "Oh! Oh! This basket isn't at all like the others; it's the bas-

ket of a supernatural being. Were there any shrubs there that had been broken by hand?" "I didn't see anything. The basket was hanging here and I became frightened." Yotenama was approaching. Then two children who were a bit older said: "How is it possible! It looks dreadful." "Big brother, it was hung there a long time ago." "I don't believe it was long ago at all. This is not the basket of a Yanomami." Yotenama was near, advancing with a heavy, waddling gait without anyone noticing him. They stood there in a group, close together. When they finally noticed him they screamed in terror. But it was too late. They disappeared. After breaking the spines of the oldest children he took down the basket and threw them inside, and on top he placed one of the boys he had left alive. The basket was not even full. Inside lay the dead children and on top sat the one child, sobbing. Yotenama headed toward his lair with his heavy steps, swinging his shoulders and hips. Soon he entered his subterranean burrow.

The sun was low. It was the time of day when the children used to come home; they were never late while they were alive. Therefore people began to worry everywhere in the communal house. (Ancestors, did you expect them to return? They were never to return.) "Go and look for them while it's still light." "Where did they go?" "They were planning to go hunting over there, in that place." The people went to look for the children and found their tracks. "Here are their footprints." Following the trail they reached a spot where the shrubs had been broken as if by hand. There was blood there. "Where are they?" They searched all around but the tracks had ended, except in the place where the children had gathered, where the shrubs were broken. Elsewhere, nothing. They encouraged one another to find more evidence. All along the trail taken by Yotenama there were drops of blood. "Those are the footprints of Yotenama. Couldn't this be his work?" When it grew increasingly dark they turned back. Besides, the trail was disappearing. "It's impossible to see any more. Let's wait for daylight."

It grew light again. "Let's go to Yotenama's lair." A shaman expressed his conviction: "My son, that's where they are. Yotenama is the guilty one; this is his work." They set out for the subterranean dwelling of the evil creature. When they were near the entrance they heard the sobs of the child: "Mother, father, come and fetch me." His voice reached them faintly from the bottom of the lair. "Come and fetch me!" "That's the voice of one of them; that's the voice of a child from inside the gallery. Yotenama is the guilty one; now we know for sure." They returned home, and without wasting a mo-

ment they placed some peppers over their fires. After partly drying them they filled an entire basket with peppers. They knew what they had to do, and so they dried pepper over their fires and set off once more along the trail which led to Yotenama's dwelling.

It was not very far from where they lived. "Come on, let's cut some sticks! Cut them right here." They cut sticks and blocked the entrance, just as though they wanted to trap and kill a white-lipped peccary that was hiding in a hole. They had cut all the sticks they needed. "Bring them there, but take your time. Lean them against the opening, close together." It was a clever man who was talking. The men planted the sticks all around the entrance, in front and on the sides. "Now hurry up!" Near the blocked entrance they piled up dry wood. A strange smell, strong and pungent, emanated from the opening of the lair. "Take some leaves and light the fire, and direct the smoke into the tunnel." When the flames were high they inserted the basket with peppers into it and sent the smoke into the tunnel by using folded leaves. Soon the child fell silent; he had been asphyxiated. His limbs were stiff. Yotenama was enveloped by the suffocating smoke and they could hear his voice: "*Yote, yote, yote, krea, krea, krea.*" He suffocated.

No more sounds emerged from Yotenama's dwelling; all was silence. "Free the entrance so the smoke will clear." They threw away the embers, but the stinging smell persisted. The boy had wanted to escape; he had died right by the entrance. They found him lying on his back, having tried to remove the sticks. The men entered the cave, reached the basket, and carried off the dead children. When the air had cleared they were able to penetrate all the way into the cave. They pulled Yotenama outside and cut him in half.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

While bird-hunting, children come across basket belonging to ogre. He breaks their backs and carries their bodies back to his cave in basket. Children's parents eventually discover identity of murderer. They light large fire near entrance to ogre's lair, and smoke suffocates him.

Motif content

F402.1.11.	Spirit causes death.
F402.6.	Dwelling of demons.
F414.	Spirit carries people.
F881.+.	Extraordinary basket. (F881. Extraordinary vessel.)

G310.	Ogres with characteristic methods.
G400.	Person falls into ogre's power.
G441.	Ogre carries victim in bag (basket).
G442.	Child-stealing demon.
G512.	Ogre killed.
G514.2.	Ogre imprisoned in his own house.
H1385.	Quest for lost persons.
Q469.5.	Punishment: choking with smoke.
R10.3.	Children abducted.
R11.2.2.	Abduction by demon.
S116.3.	Murder by breaking back.
S139.2.	Slain person dismembered.

248. Spine-Breaker

After Sirōrōmī had pretended that the Yanomami were game animals, his son-in-law Kreakrea went at once to look for them. He was carrying an enormous basket with a wide rim, like this. The bottom of the basket gave out a continuous signal. First he passed the place where the people used to go to eat *naï* flowers. His song could be heard losing itself in the depths of the valleys: "*Krea, krea, krea. . .*" The people cried: "Quickly, run home; we hear the song of an evil creature!"

He broke the spines of the people of Wayorewë. One morning he arrived at the house and left his basket outside. His appearance frightened the children, who scattered and fled. The adults were usually away at that time of the day. Kreakrea asked an old woman what they were doing: "Mother-in-law, why have they gone off?" "They are eating *naï* flowers." "Eyes with glued eyelashes! So they are familiar with *naï*! Mother-in-law, what about the man who lives by this hearth, what is he doing?" "He is hunting spider monkeys." "Endless arms! Mother-in-law, what is the woman from this living area doing?" "She's killing crabs." "Mother-in-law, I'm thirsty." "Here's some water." "I always feel like vomiting when I drink water that hasn't been freshly drawn," pretended Kreakrea. He sent her to the river to fetch water. She took several gourds and set off, leaning on a stick.

At the base of the roof there was a hut made of branches and foliage, and inside a girl was isolated on the occasion of her first menstruation. No sooner had the old woman gone off than Kreakrea moved aside the foliage, seized the girl, and killed her. She

screamed in pain. Alerted by the scream her mother came running back and entered the house. "I just heard a cry of pain. Why did she cry?" The moment the mother parted the foliage to see what was going on Kreakrea grabbed her and killed her. The terrified children fled head over heels. He broke the backs of all of them and piled them up inside the basket, except for two bald-headed children whom he spared to keep as domestic animals. He returned home with the two sitting on the basket. When Kreakrea passed below a tree the more quick-witted of them took the opportunity of grabbing hold of a branch and climbing up on it. Kreakrea shook the tree and cajoled: "My parrot with the beautiful forehead, my pet animal, come on down! Parrot, parrot, come down!" When the child did not move, Kreakrea continued on his way.

Meanwhile the adults had returned home after their morning chores. Some ran to the garden to gather peppers, others tied together pieces from termites' nests. They lit a fire at the entrance to Kreakrea's underground lair, and also lit fires by the secondary entrances which they had carefully searched for. Caught in the acrid smoke from the burning termites' nests and the peppers, Kreakrea soon choked. The smoke permeated the entire lair. He tried to flee through a secondary gallery, but it, too, was full of smoke. He died. His abandoned lair can still be seen in the same place.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Evil creature visits village while most adults are away, and carries off everyone there after first breaking their backs. Later, people smoke him out of his lair, and he dies.

Motif content

D1171.11.	Magic basket.
F402.	Evil spirits.
F402.1.11.	Spirit causes death.
F402.6.	Dwelling of demons.
F414.	Spirit carries people.
F419.+.	Spirit sings. (F419. Spirits and demons—miscellaneous.)
G310.	Ogres with characteristic methods.
G441.	Ogre carries victim in bag (basket).
G442.	Child-stealing demon.
G512.	Ogre killed.
J640.	Avoidance of others' power.

J1113.	Clever boy.
Q469.5.	Punishment: choking with smoke.
R10.3.	Children abducted.
R11.2.2.	Abduction by demon.
R311.	Tree refuge.
S116.3.	Murder by breaking back.

249. A Child-Eating Ogre⁹¹

Those people lived far over there. In that season there were many inga fruits.⁹² People had gone out to collect inga. In the house a young girl was in confinement during her first menses. She, an old woman, and the children were the only ones in the house. All the others had gone out.

An evil being, a *hasakoli* woman, approached the house. "Where have the people gone?" she asked the old woman. "Gone to collect inga fruits," she replied. "I haven't seen those people," said the evil being. "And where have the other people gone?" she asked. "Gone off in canoes," replied the old woman. "I've not collected *those* people's blood, I don't know them," said the evil being menacingly. The menstruating girl overheard; she fled terrified. "Go and draw some water," said the evil being. "Right," replied the old woman. She put the calabashes⁹³ in her back-basket; all the children accompanied her. Then they ran off to where the menstruating girl had fled. The evil being lunged at the leaves⁹⁴ to catch the confined girl. But the leaves were empty. "Oh!" said the evil being.

Meanwhile the others had fled. The evil being went after them. She laughed mockingly. *G'lai!*—she killed the old woman. She put the old woman into her huge back-basket. She killed a child, another, another, another. She put them all into the basket. She then put three live children on top.

She went off: *wa!* As the evil being stooped under a low branch one of the live children grabbed it and pulled himself up into the tree. The child sat on a branch up in the tree. "*Ksch! Kschuwi! Ksch! Kschuwi!*" went the evil being to attract the child. But the child did not climb down at all. He fled. The evil being went on home to her large rock:⁹⁵ *tolo!* She went inside. She then ate the old woman and ate all the dead children. The live ones remained.

Meanwhile the fathers returned. The little boy was sitting there all by himself. "Where are they?" they asked. The little boy explained.

"Gone over there," he said. The fathers went over there to the big rock. "This is the house of an evil being," they said. They collected together chilis,⁹⁶ toasted tobacco,⁹⁷ and termites' nests.⁹⁸ Then they fanned at the fire and blew the smoke into the cave. The smoke was intensely acrid. "Aaaaaa!" called out the children. "It's very hot, the smoke is really stinging hot! Aaaaaa!" they cried. The children died⁹⁹ but the evil being did not.

So people have said.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 50–51.

Summary

During hunters' absence evil spirit visits village. She kills old woman and many children, and carries them back to her cave where she devours them. When men return they try to smoke her out, but fail.

Motif content

F402.	Evil spirits.
F402.1.10.	Spirit pursues person.
F402.1.11.2.	Evil spirit kills and eats person.
F402.6.4.1.	Spirits live in caves.
F414.	Spirit carries people.
G312.	Cannibal ogre.
G441.	Ogre carries victim in bag (basket).
G442.	Child-stealing demon.
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
J1113.	Clever boy.
R10.3.	Children abducted.
R11.2.2.	Abduction by demon.
R311.	Tree refuge.
Z356.	Unique survivor.

250. Evil Spirits Take a Waika Girl

During those days, a Waika girl was fooling around inside a cave. "Ha ha ha hai," she laughed and said: "The evil spirit will get you and make you suffer." Hearing this, the *sinito* evil spirit said: "Don't say that. Because you said that, I'll get you."

After it had become daylight, her grandmother went out to get termite larvae. The girl went along with her. They went as a pair to get termite larvae. "Mother, there is a *hune una* fruit tree. Mother,

I'm going to break off some *hune una* fruits," and she went over. There where she went, the *sotenama* evil spirit snatched her away. She yelled, and the grandmother ran to where she was, so the evil spirit hit the girl's back hard and broke it. He took her away alive, and the grandmother kept running after them. As she ran after them, the *sinito* evil spirit took the girl into the cave and narrowed the opening of the cave.

The grandmother circled around at the base of the mountain and cried, saying: "Alas, she was my only granddaughter, *uu, uu*." Then she said: "Daughter, are you still there?" The granddaughter replied: "I'm still here, but I'm being held tightly and can't get loose. I'm being held by this evil spirit." She said this right close to her grandmother, and her grandmother was terrified. While the *sinito* evil spirit was holding her fast, her grandmother was questioning her. The grandmother chased after her granddaughter, but she could not get at her because of the narrow mouth of the cave. At the opening she asked: "Daughter, are you still there?" "I'm still here alive, but I'm being held tightly," replied her granddaughter. The grandmother moved here and there around the base of the mountain, crying. She made a clearing down there. The *hekula* spirits tell about that.

They prepared tobacco, blew the smoke, and killed a couple of *sinito* evil spirits. Some did not die and still exist. The poison tobacco killed only two of the *sinito* evil spirits. There were still lots of them left. The *sinito* evil spirits took the girl and kept her.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

Girl is abducted by spirits despite her grandmother's efforts to save her.

Motif content

- | | |
|----------|---|
| C40. +. | Tabu: offending spirit. (C40. Tabu: offending spirits of water, mountain, etc.) |
| D491. +. | Cave entrance magically made smaller. (D491. Compressible objects.) |
| D2165.3. | Magic used to prevent pursuit. |
| F402. | Evil spirits. |
| F419. +. | Spirit killed. (F419. Spirits and demons—miscellaneous.) |
| R11.2.2. | Abduction by demon. |

251. Teremë, the Girl with a Claw¹⁰⁰

Teremë was not a forest spirit but a girl who was transformed. She was a real Yanomam girl, but after her first menstruation one of her hands turned into a large claw. Her mother had instructed her: "During the puberty ritual you must keep your hands like this, clenched under your armpits!" In spite of this advice the girl had held her hands flat and open under her arms. Then her fingers became stuck together, and one hand was transformed into a claw as large as those of a giant armadillo.¹⁰¹

She kept sharpening this claw on a stone that rested on the ground: *wēko! wēko! wēko!* Then she would test the cutting edge by cutting bushes at random: *thē! thē! thē!* While catching crabs¹⁰² with her mother she would strike them with the claw, making a sound like *tere! tere! tere!* From this she got her name. But once she used her claw to kill a baby.

Teremë was single; only her older sister was married. She had just had her first menstruation. One morning her sister went out in the forest with her husband to gather *hayi* fruits.¹⁰³ Passing the hearth where Teremë lived with her parents they invited her to join them. "Take your carrying basket!¹⁰⁴ We're going to eat *hayi* fruits!" said her elder sister. Teremë followed them immediately, and they went into the forest. When they reached the chosen place the husband, whose name was Yellow-Green Grosbeak,¹⁰⁵ climbed a *hayihi* tree and began cutting branches laden with fruits.¹⁰⁶ The two women were sitting on the ground not far away. Teremë's sister got up to gather the fruits after handing Teremë her newborn baby whom she had taken along. Teremë put down the armadillo¹⁰⁷ which she was carrying close to her body in a bark sling¹⁰⁸ and took the baby. Her sister gathered the fruits and gave her some to eat.

When Teremë had eaten the fruits she suddenly injured the infant with her large claw, plunging it into his back below the shoulder blades: *kosho!* Then she began avidly sucking the blood which flowed from the wound. The baby was crying loudly: "*Ōe! Ōe! Ōe! Ōe!*" His mother did not notice anything, but wondering about the cause of his cries she came back to take him from her sister's arms in order to calm him. Lifting him up she saw the bloody wound. Anxiously she asked her sister: "What have you done to my baby?" Teremë lied: "It's only some *hayi* fruits that he crushed against his body!"¹⁰⁹ The sister did not say anything but quickly called to her husband: "Climb down! We're going home!" He answered: "Wait! I'm about

to climb down." She wanted him to hurry up, but he took his time, and finally she decided to flee.

When the man had nearly reached the ground Teremë approached to catch him. She grabbed him. He tried to escape from her grip, but she managed to plunge her claw into the base of his neck: *kosho*! The blood flowed—*kurararara*!—and she placed her mouth over the wound to suck it. When his body was empty of blood she cut him up little by little, sucking what blood still remained on each piece of flesh. She finally hid the pieces on the bottom of her basket, covering them with *hayi* fruits as she did not want the people of her community to notice anything.

When the dead man's fellow villagers did not see him return they became worried and were about to go and look for him: "Why isn't he coming? Where can he be?" Thus they were talking when they saw Teremë returning to the collective house. They asked her: "Where is your sister's husband?" She lied: "He stayed behind to dig out an armadillo!" Setting down her basket on the ground she showed them the pieces of the flesh of her victim. The people asked her: "What kind of meat is that in your basket?" Again she lied: "He knocked down a small collared peccary."¹¹⁰ He sent me to fetch water from the river to start cooking the meat." Then she went down to the river, saying loudly: "I'll cook my peccary! It's very fat!"

Taking advantage of her absence they gathered around her basket. They searched in it and saw that the meat had hairless skin and very long bones, broken in several places. They understood and said to themselves: "Is that not the flesh of her sister's husband whom she killed with her claw?" The mother of the dead man began to cry and lament: "My son! *Yaiyo*! *Yaiyo*! *Yaiyo*!"¹¹¹ But the others told her: "Don't cry; you'll only make Teremë angry!" They kept her from crying in order not to provoke the man-eating girl into attacking them. To this end they did not mention her deed, and only burned her victim's hammock and arrows.¹¹²

The following day an old man from the community addressed Teremë in a long *hwereamu* speech:¹¹³ "Daughter-in-law! Early in the morning you must gather wood to cook the stones of the *hayi* fruits that you brought!"¹¹⁴ And when you're ready to cook them we'll perform a *hwakëmu* dance¹¹⁵ the way we always do!" Thus Teremë spent the whole day in the gardens splintering firewood.¹¹⁶ Returning at dusk she placed the firewood in a star-shaped pile at the edge of the central plaza.

Night fell. Couples of people began to dance in *hwakëmu*. The old men began new speeches: "The song of the *hayi* fruits¹¹⁷ must be

sung before their stones are cooked the following day! Two men are to take Teremë by her arms to make her dance in *hwakëmu*! Daughter-in-law! Let us hear the song of the *hayi* fruits!" Teremë began to dance around the central plaza with two men, each of whom held her by her wrist. "Daughter-in-law! Let us hear the song of the *hayi* fruits!" repeated the old men. And she finally chanted: "The *hayi* berries hang! They hang! They hang!" All the villagers responded to her song with false shouts of joy: "*Yaitakë aaaaa! Yaitakë aaaaa!*" They were in fact thinking about their coming revenge on her.

The singing and dancing went on all night. When it began to dawn they made a fire, and its flames increased rapidly: *houuuuuu*! Then the old men exclaimed: "It's day! Run and dance around the central plaza!"¹¹⁸ They had deceived Teremë; they wanted to throw her into the fire, taking revenge by burning her while she was in the *unokai* ritual condition of homicide.¹¹⁹ The two men who were holding her wrists pulled her closer and closer to the fire as they danced but she suspected nothing.

Suddenly the two men swung around and hurled her into the fire: *waaa! brikë! brouuuuuu*! She screamed in pain: "*Akaaa! Akaaa! Akaaa!*" All the villagers ran to their own living areas to get big stones and logs that they had prepared to throw at Teremë in order to keep her from escaping the fire. She struggled and tried to defend herself by brandishing her large claw: *hōōō! thē! thē! thē!* But then it got stuck in a log,¹²⁰ and although she shook it frantically she did not succeed in freeing herself. She tried to take revenge even while they were pelting her with logs and stones. But gradually her flesh began to melt in the fire. When her lower body was completely charred she shouted angrily to the villagers: "You want to deny me human flesh which is so tasty! Thus, it will forever be terribly bitter to eat!" She angrily disparaged human flesh for its bitter taste.¹²¹ Then her voice died away.

The inhabitants of the communal house began to weep over their dead: "*Yaiyo! Yaiyo! Yaiyo! Yaiyo!*" They made a funerary pyre near the one where Teremë had just been consumed, and on it they burned the bodies of the baby and the man whom she had killed. When the bones had grown cold they ground them up and filled some gourds with their ashes as we still do.¹²² They did not prepare any funerary ashes of Teremë but only buried her burned remains. The only ones who cried over her were her mother and father, whose younger daughter she was.¹²³

Informant: Arianamë

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Young girl (Teremë) who disobeys instructions during her first menstruation sees her hand turn into large claw. While gathering fruits in forest with relatives she kills her brother-in-law and her newborn nephew, and sucks their blood. When villagers discover her deed they organize festival, at the end of which girl is thrown into fire and burned to death.

Motif content

C140.	Tabu connected with menses.
C946.	Limbs affected by breaking tabu.
D94.+.	Transformation: woman to ogre. (D94. Transformation: man to ogre.)
D457.+.	Transformation: hand to claw. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.)
F402.	Evil spirits.
G11.6.	Man-eating woman.
G30.	Person becomes cannibal.
G310.	Ogres with characteristic methods.
G332.+.	Blood-sucking monster. (G332. Sucking monster.)
G360.+.	Ogre with large claw. (G360. Ogres with monstrous features.)
G512.3.	Ogre burned to death.
J613.	Wise fear of the weak for the strong.
J640.	Avoidance of others' power.
K816.	Dupe lured to supposed dance and killed.
K925.	Victim pushed into fire.
K955.	Murder by burning.
S112.	Burning to death.
S115.	Murder by stabbing.
S302.	Children murdered.

252. Tinimisoma

Tinimisoma¹²⁴ was a woman though she had very long fingernails. A Sanema woman asked her to hold her baby. "Right," said Tinimisoma and took the baby. With her long fingernail she sliced the baby's side wide open. She ate the child's liver. Then she gave

the baby back to the mother. The mother cried. People came to look. The whole side had been laid wide open.

After that, her brother went off hunting. Tinimisoma accompanied him. In the jungle she killed him. Once he was dead she cut out his liver and put it into her small back-basket on some leaves. Being a young girl she only had a small basket.¹²⁵ The liver filled it to the brim. She returned home. She ate some of it after cooking it wrapped in leaves at night. But people looked in the basket and saw a human liver in it. "This girl is really bad," they said. They collected firewood, made up a big fire and fanned it up. They threw Tinimisoma onto the fire and heaped firewood on top of her. Tinimisoma was completely burned.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 47-48.

Motif content

F515.2.2.	Person with very long fingernails.
G310.	Ogres with characteristic methods.
G512.3.	Ogre burned to death.
K917.	Treacherous murder during hunt.
K925.	Victim pushed into fire.
K955.	Murder by burning.
S112.	Burning to death.
S302.	Children murdered.

253. Tinimisoma¹²⁶

The girl who became the *tinimi* armadillo was in confinement celebrating her first menses. She had fingernails like a *waka* armadillo¹²⁷ but she kept them hidden in her clenched fists. When her husband went hunting she accompanied him. They went some way into the forest. "Let's play around here," suggested the husband.¹²⁸ But she killed him with her fingernails: *gloso! wa tili!* Then she ate her husband: *glun! glun! glun! glun!* She got really full and then put some *pishia* leaves¹²⁹ in her small back-basket. She put the liver on top. Then she returned home and slipped back into her leafy confinement, and she sat down. "Where's your husband?" people asked her. "I don't know. I lost him and came back alone," she replied.

So when her brother went out to look for his brother-in-law, her husband, she accompanied him too. When they reached the place

where she had killed her husband Tinimisoma said: "This is where I lost my husband." Then she killed her brother and ate him too. She carried his liver home in her back-basket as before. When she got back people asked: "But where is your brother?" "I don't know; he told me to go on home so I did," she replied. So she lied about those others being lost. Later on she accompanied another Sanema into the forest and killed him too and ate him like the others.

She was pretending to be in confinement for her first menses and she kept her fingernails concealed in her clenched fists, but the blood on her fingernails dripped out and the Sanema found the livers in her back-basket so they knew it was she. "She's the one who's killed those Sanema," people said.

The Sanema tried to throw her into the fire but she got up out of it. They threw her into another fire but she got out of that. They all threw lengths of palm wood¹³⁰ onto her but she snapped them in her arms: *ta! ta! ta! ta!* With her strong fingernails she ripped the pieces of wood apart: *gledididi! gledididi! gledididi!* Eventually she was properly crushed by the weight.¹³¹

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 48–49.

Summary

Young woman kills and devours several men in forest, one by one. After trying unsuccessfully to burn her, people finally succeed in killing her.

Motif content

D1841.3.	Burning magically evaded.
F515.2.2.	Person with very long fingernails.
G81.	Unwitting marriage to cannibal.
G310.	Ogres with characteristic methods.
G512.	Ogre killed.
K917.	Treacherous murder during hunt.
K925.	Victim pushed into fire.
N440.+.	Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)
S116.	Murder by crushing.

254. The Disemboweler of Women

Teremi entered the house. In his arms he held a small nine-banded armadillo with wrinkled skin. He approached a woman: "Show me your breasts; I want to see if you have milk." The woman

thoughtlessly showed him her milk, and Teremî disemboweled her. (He used to disembowel all women who were nursing. In that region over there he disemboweled many.)

After killing that one he approached another woman: "Show me your milk. Are you nursing a baby?" "I don't have one." This woman was clever. She bent the nipple of the breast that she presented and said: "See for yourself! I'm alone and unhappy." "All right." "You can see that I don't have a child."

The large Teremî carried in his arms a small thirsty armadillo with wrinkled skin. He lives in that direction.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

G310. +.	Disemboweler. (G310. Ogres with characteristic methods.)
J1100.	Cleverness.

255. The Cannibal with a Good Appetite

A woman grated manioc and dried the pulp. Early in the morning she made manioc crackers which she placed in an openwork basket. Iewë took the crackers, but he wanted to eat them with something else, so he left. When he reached the communal house a Yanomami was lying there. The man was busy attaching tail feathers to an arrow, and was alone in the deserted house. "Brother-in-law, I didn't go with the rest; I remained here." "You remained here," answered Iewë. The man went to fetch tobacco among some leaves that were drying over the fire and prepared a wad which he offered to Iewë. After offering the tobacco he did not resume his work. He was about to sit down in his hammock when Iewë knocked him down with a blow from his club. Iewë carried his victim to where the crackers were.

The mother of the dead man had gone to fetch wood, and she returned at that moment. From far away she stretched her neck to see what was going on. Just when Iewë was about to kill her son she set off toward home. While the mother was walking, weeping over her son, Iewë sat down and ate. He ate the man raw, along with the manioc crackers, and finished him completely. When he was full he left.

The two brothers of the murdered man were coming back from the hunt when they encountered their mother in tears. They immediately went in pursuit of Iewë, and caught up with him. "Father-in-law, don't walk so fast." They went down the hill. Just when Iewë was stepping over a fallen tree trunk, one of the brothers seized him by the arm and struck him with his own club. They threw him into a deep hole among the rocks. They also threw down the club, which fell on the dead cannibal's liver.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Two men pursue cannibal who has devoured their brother, and kill him.

Motif content

G94.	Cannibal's gigantic meal.
G512.8.1.	Ogre killed by striking with club.
Q411.6.	Death as punishment for murder.

256. Brain-Sucker

During the night the people had been forewarned in their dreams of the arrival of Hõõ.

A man was walking through the forest when suddenly Hõõ fell right in front of him. Hõõ was lying on the ground, and it seemed he had hurt himself in the fall. He looked exactly like the man's father. "My son, prepare a sling to carry me; I'm hurt." The man went to prepare the sling he needed. "I'll get some bark." "Don't go far away. Look, right here is a suitable tree." The man removed the bark. He would have liked to flee, but he heard the repeated calls from Hõõ who seemed to be desperate. "My son, come and get me quickly!" The man felt sorry for him so he went back to him. He placed Hõõ on his back to carry him, sitting in the sling that went around his forehead. Hõõ said: "My son, place me in such a way that my mouth is resting behind your skull." The man carried him. He felt no pain, hardly even an itch. Hõõ kept sucking and sucking until he had sucked out the man's entire brain. "My son, set me down; I'll be able to walk by myself. Come, move on; I'll go that way." The Yanomami set down Hõõ from the carrying sling.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

D40.	Transformation to likeness of another person.
D42.2.	Spirit takes shape of man.
D1810.8.2.	Information received through dream.
D1810.8.3.	Warning in dreams.
D1810.8.3.1.	Warning in dream fulfilled.
G332.	Sucking monster.
K1800.+.	Deception by feigned illness. (K1800. Deception by disguise or illusion.)
K1810.	Deception by disguise.

257. Shinanidawawan¹³²

A man had gone *wāshimo* by himself. The husband went off hunting and the wife went to search for firewood. Shinanidawawan approached; he had killed a curassow.¹³³ He gave it to the Sanema's wife, and she ate it. When the husband came back he noticed the bones in the fire. "Who killed the game?" he asked. "A hawk killed it," she lied.

Next day the husband went off again, and while the wife was again collecting firewood, Shinanidawawan came back to the shelter and gave the woman another curassow. "When your husband gets angry tell him I've got these bands 'round my arms," he said pointing to his cotton armbands.

Later the husband returned carrying another curassow. He saw more bones lying in the fireplace. The husband got really angry. "My wife is copulating with another Sanema; it's he who gives her these birds!" he said. He became furious. "I'll strike him; I'll beat him," he threatened. "He's got cotton bands around his arms," she told him. So he knew who the visitor was. "I'll beat him on the head," he shouted. Shinanidawawan approached. He whistled as he came. He came into the house. He was very short. "I'll strike him on the head," the husband had threatened. Shinanidawawan came and sat in the husband's hammock. The husband was holding his agouti-tooth chisel.¹³⁴ He jabbed Shinanidawawan in the upper arm with the chisel but it snapped. Shinanidawawan had very long fingernails: *di! di! di! di!* He pinched the Sanema all over. "*ipa! ipa! i-pa!*" exclaimed the husband in pain. Then Shinanidawawan ripped

all the skin off the Sanema's body: *gledididididi!* In the middle of the trail he hung up the empty skin.

The wife fled back home. There were many Sanema there. "Shinanidawawan! He's killed my husband," she told them. The Sanema set to make rope, huge lengths of rope from silk grass.¹³⁵ Then they set off toward Shinanidawawan's house. As they came near they found the empty skin hanging in the trail. "Keep going!" they said. "We'll beat him to death!" "Right." They arrived at Shinanidawawan's house. Some of the Sanema went and sat in Shinanidawawan's hammock. *Di! di! di! di!*—he nipped them all over. The Sanema were all around him. They bound him up with the rope. But—*di! di! di! di!*—he cut his way out. The Sanema grabbed any vines¹³⁶ that came to hand and tried to bind him with that but—*di! di! di! di!*—he cut his way out. "*Lebus* vine,¹³⁷ I suppose," they said. They pulled down some *lebus* vine and bound Shinanidawawan right up. Then they tried to shove an arrow up his anus but his anus was really hard. So, instead, they pushed the fresh end of a *lebus* vine up him. Then the Sanema beat him furiously, and so Shinanidawawan died.

Once he was dead they chopped the body up and left the pieces hanging from the trees. Much later when they came back to look, there were only curassow bones hanging there.

So people said, elder brother.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 57–58.

Summary

Evil spirit visits woman in her husband's absence and gives her food. One day husband tries to kill spirit, but instead spirit flays him. Party of men sets out to take revenge. After several failed attempts they tie up spirit and beat him to death.

Motif content

F402.	Evil spirits.
F402.1.11.	Spirit causes death.
F402.1.12.	Spirit fights against person.
F405.	Means of combating spirits.
F515.2.2.	Person with very long fingernails.
H94.6.	Recognition through arm ring.
H1397.	Quest for enemies.
K2213.	Treacherous wife.
P555.2.	Corpses of dead foes dismembered.
P555.2.1.1.	Publication of slaying.

P555.2.1.1.+.	Publication of victory over opponent. (P555.2.1.1. Publication of slaying.)
Q422.0.1.	Punishment: beating to death.
S114.	Murder by flaying.

258. The Flayer

A Yanomami couple had built a shelter by the side of Sirōrō-miwē's path just when the latter was approaching. The man said to his wife: "You won't be afraid being all alone. I'm going hunting; we'll eat meat." She had no children. He left her by herself. *Tok, tok, tok*, the husband went off.

Sirōrōmi came to where the woman was. On his back he carried two large tinamous, hanging close together. He asked: "What are you doing here? Go and settle elsewhere. Couldn't you have thought: 'Perhaps we built our hut on his path?'" The woman was terrified. Sirōrōmi was tall; do not think that he was short. He was light-skinned and tall. "How sad it is to see her alone like this!" He had two tinamous on his back. "Are you frightened? Don't be! I won't touch you." "He went hunting," stammered the woman. "Look, cook this. You will eat these birds." He threw the woman the two tinamous. "When your husband returns, go and camp somewhere else after you've eaten. Don't build any hut on my path. This path is mine. You will leave this very day. When the sun is there," he said, pointing to the sky, "I shall return." Moving a bit closer to her he whispered: "What about having sex?" He placed his arrows on the ground. One had a lanceolate bamboo point and the other a harpoon point. "Are you generous with your body?" "Yes." "Don't be afraid, or I'll skin you and hang your skin right here on this post in your house." "I'm not afraid." The woman was very frightened. He lay down with her in her hammock made of lianas. When he had finished he stood up. "I have impregnated you; this very day your stomach will grow big. When the baby is about to be born, don't sit down on logs. Pick some new leaves and place them on the ground, and then take the baby in your arms," ordered Sirōrōmiwē. "In particular, go and live elsewhere. Soon I'll return here, when the sun is there, look. When the sun is at that point in the sky I'll return." So saying he left: *tok, tok, tok*. She cooked the tinamous and hung them over the fire. Frightened, she kept glancing up at the sun. As it descended she waited, talking to herself in a loud voice.

Very soon her pregnancy became obvious. Her belly grew enormous, so large that her husband was to be amazed when he returned.

In the forest the husband had been walking in a wide circle: *tok, tok, tok*. He was nearly home. He had been fishing, and on his back he carried the fish, wrapped in leaves. His wife was in the last stage of her pregnancy. She tried to pull in her stomach, and hid her head in the hammock, ashamed. How big her belly was! Her husband lay down for a moment, and then he noticed the tinamous: "Who gave you those? There are two cooked tinamous there; who gave them to you?" "He came as soon as you left, very suddenly. His skin is white and his name is Sirōrōmī. He said: 'I'm Sirōrōmī and I'm going to skin you.'" "And he's the one who has made you pregnant! How infuriating!" "He said he would come back here when the sun is at that point." The man did not strike his wife. He was angry and remained lying on his side, his arm bent under his head. "I'll go to him and I'll burn him. Where's the axe? Give me the axe. Where will the sun be when he returns?" "There, that's where he pointed." Quickly he went to cut some wood. The wood broke into pieces when it fell. It seemed he wanted to cook a large amount of meat. Poor man, he was preparing the wood, knowing full well the misfortune that would befall him by attacking Sirōrōmī. He piled up the logs. After he had finished cutting the wood he lay down. But soon he got up again and asked: "Where did he say the sun would be?" "He pointed over there. 'When the sun is there I'll return,' he said." The husband set fire to a large log. "Come here and poke the fire! Hurry up and get it going; he's already approaching."

Just when the fire had caught completely and was blazing Sirōrōmī appeared: *tok, tok, tok*. The man got up and went toward him, grabbed his arm, and threw him into the fire. Do not believe that the fire continued to blaze; it was as if a waterspout had gushed over it, and it went out at once. Just when Sirōrōmī was about to get up the man seized him around the upper body, immobilizing his arms. While he held Sirōrōmī thus he called to his wife: "Come quickly and tie him up!" But the woman did not dare to approach. Already the man was growing tired. "I'm exhausted!" Sirōrōmī seemed to be acid, emitting a suffocating smell, and an acrid liquid emanated from his body. "My eyes are stinging, my eyes are burning! Come and hold him down on the ground and I'll break his back with my heel!" Sirōrōmī was dragging the Yanomami with him on the ground. "Hurry up, run over here!" The terrified woman was running from one place to another without knowing where to go or

what to do. The Yanomami was clutching Sirōrōmī with all his strength. "Hurry, come and tie him up!" Finally the woman decided to approach in spite of her fear. But she tied him up in vain, for Sirōrōmī cut the rope into pieces with his nails. It was impossible to tie him up.

The Yanomami could no longer keep his burning eyes open, and he ended up letting go. Then Sirōrōmī flayed him and hung his skin on the stakes of the hut. Afterward he left: *tok, tok, tok*. The man, skinless and with his eyes popping out of his head, plunged into the river Maharanapiwei as if he were still intact.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

While hunting in forest man and woman unwittingly build their hut on path of spirit. In husband's absence spirit appears, warns wife to leave, and impregnates her. Planning his revenge, husband waits for spirit to return and then tries to kill him, but fails. Instead spirit flays him and half blinds him. Man throws himself into river.

Motif content

C40.+.	Tabu: offending spirit. (C40. Tabu: offending spirits of water, mountain, etc.)
D2158.2.	Magic extinguishing of fires.
F401.	Appearance of spirits.
F402.	Evil spirits.
F402.1.12.	Spirit fights against person.
F552.1.3.	Extraordinary fingernails.
F687.	Remarkable fragrance (odor) of person.
G302.7.1.+.	Sexual relations between woman and demon. (G302.7.1. Sexual relations between man and demons.)
G310.+.	Flayer. (G310. Ogres with characteristic methods.)
J610.	Forethought in conflict with others—general.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.
P555.2.1.1.+.	Publication of victory over opponent. (P555.2.1.1. Publication of slaying.)
Q457.	Flaying alive as punishment.
T573.	Short pregnancy.
T615.	Supernatural growth.

259. The Flayer

Among our ancestors who lived long ago there was one man who was jealous. He left the others and went to live with his wife in the forest, precisely in a spot along Sirōrōmī's path. The couple settled in the region of Maharawē, at the edge of Sirōrōmī's path. Every time the husband was away hunting Sirōrōmī would come and visit the woman. Each time he would have intercourse with her, and as a result she very soon found herself pregnant.

The first time Sirōrōmī came to the woman he was carrying two plucked curassows tied together. He gave them to her. When the husband returned from the hunt he questioned his wife: "Who gave you those?" "A bird of prey killed them near the river, in the place where the forest has been cleared," she lied.

The next day the husband again went hunting. Sirōrōmī appeared, carrying two large tinamous tied together. He had sex with the woman and offered her the two birds. When the husband returned he asked again: "Who gave you those?" She assured him: "The bird of prey killed those as well, at the water's edge."

The next day the husband went hunting as usual. When Sirōrōmī came he was carrying two blue-throated piping guans hanging close together, and he gave them to her. The husband came home and wanted to know where the birds had come from. "The hawk killed them again." He feigned indifference, but kept glancing in the direction of the birds. Again he went hunting, and Sirōrōmī reappeared, carrying on his back two plucked curassows which were tied together. He offered them to her. The husband noticed the birds when he came home and said: "Is it possible? I think it must be Yanomami who bring them here. Birds kill their prey one at a time, first in one spot and then another." Then the woman confessed: "He is in the habit of coming here. His penis is curved inward and his nails are like hooks." From this description he recognized Sirōrōmī. Without losing a moment he piled up wood until he had enough. He made a fire, then another, then yet another. He wanted to immobilize Sirōrōmī when the latter was in the fire, so he cut two large chunks of wood out of a tree and placed them on the ground. Then he lay down and waited. "You who come here, you who are there, you whose name is Sirōrōmī, approach! Come here and skin me!" he said defiantly.

Sirōrōmī did not take long to arrive: "*Washiri!*" He was tall and fair-skinned. He stood in front of the man and waited. The husband rushed at him, grasped him in his arms, and threw him into the

flames. But the fire went out. Then Sirōrōmi seized the Yanomami and spat an acid liquid into his eyes. The blinded man groped in the air. Slowly, slowly, Sirōrōmi skinned him, taking his time. When he had finished he stuck his nails into the top of the man's head and cut the skin: *kreti, kreti*. In vain the man screamed in pain while he was being flayed. Sirōrōmi hung the skin from the tip of one of the stakes in the roof of the hut and carried off the man as he was, completely skinned. The skin is still in the same place, bloody, screaming its pain, the fingers groping in the air.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Spirit repeatedly visits woman in forest while her husband is hunting and has sex with her. When husband discovers this he tries to kill spirit, but instead latter skins him alive.

Motif content

C40.+.	Tabu: offending spirit. (C40. Tabu: offending spirits of water, mountain, etc.)
D2158.2.	Magic extinguishing of fires.
F401.	Appearance of spirits.
F402.	Evil spirits.
F402.1.12.	Spirit fights against person.
F547.3.	Extraordinary penis.
F552.1.3.	Extraordinary fingernails.
G302.7.1.+.	Sexual relations between woman and demon. (G302.7.1. Sexual relations between man and demons.)
G310.+.	Flayer. (G310. Ogres with characteristic methods.)
J610.	Forethought in conflict with others—general.
P555.2.1.1.+.	Publication of victory over opponent. (P555.2.1.1. Publication of slaying.)
Q457.	Flaying alive as punishment.
R11.2.2.	Abduction by demon.
W181.	Jealousy.

260. Shinarumari Skins a Hunter¹³⁸

A group of villagers was on a collective *henimu* hunting expedition in the forest before a *reahu* festival.¹³⁹ A man and his two wives had left the main group to gather *kasha* caterpillars.¹⁴⁰ They camped in a

forest shelter¹⁴¹ far away from the others, near a path. It was Shinarumari's path. The husband had gone hunting during the day, leaving his two wives in the shelter. The sun was still low. That was when Shinarumari came.

Shinarumari¹⁴² was a supernatural being. He lived without a wife and without fire, exposed to the rigors of the cold, far away from the Yanomam, whom he did not know. Now he came on his path, calling: "*Shinarurururu!*" He lay down in the husband's hammock. The two women asked him: "Who are you? What is your name?"¹⁴³ He was wearing red cotton ornaments¹⁴⁴ around his waist and arms; that was why his name was Shinarumari. He began to touch his armbands and said to them in response: "This is who I am! This! This! That's who I am!" He was pointing to the ornaments instead of saying his name. Before leaving he added: "I'll come back later; I'll appear again. By then you should have fled far away from here! I'm annoyed that you are on my path. This trail is mine, and you have camped right in the middle of it!"

After he left the husband returned from the hunt. The women told him at once what had just happened: "A stranger, a supernatural being, was just here. We don't know who he is. He wants us to leave. He'll come back later. This is his path!" Although they explained it all to him he was jealous. He did not believe them and began to reproach them angrily, accusing them of lying: "People talked about your vulvas! They came here to copulate with you!" They protested their innocence: "You tell us that, although he only lay in your hammock, and then he left! Who was he?" He insisted, and they repeated: "He isn't a Yanomam; he's somebody else, a different being. He touched his ornaments to name himself. He wants us to go far away, and he intends to come back here later!" Shinarumari had said when he left: "I'll return; I'll appear again later!" The two women were ready to flee but their husband wanted to stay, and threatened to beat them.

Darkness fell. In the middle of the night the two women heard a noise: *tō!* *yohuuuu!* They listened closely and said to each other: "Sister! He's coming back; let's get out of here, the two of us!" At that moment Shinarumari's call was heard again: "*Shinarurururu!*" "There he is! His voice is coming toward us; let's flee!" Frightened, they ran precipitously out of their forest shelter—*houuuu!*—and took refuge in the forest some distance away, one crouching near a tree, the other climbing in it.

Shinarumari approached and lay down in the husband's hammock—*hī!* *yaka!*—furious at finding them still camped on his trail in spite of his warning. He penetrated the man's anus,

scratched his eyelids, and pinched his skin all night long until dawn. The husband kept protesting: "*Hĩ!* I am very sleepy, go away! I'll hit you!" To which Shinarumari only repeated: "Hit! Hit! Hit!" "Stop it! I'll throw you into the fire!" "Throw! Throw! Throw!" "Stop it! Go away!" Exasperated, the man tried to gouge Shinarumari's eyes—*krēsssssi!*—but it had no effect and the other only repeated: "Gouge! Gouge! Gouge!" Shinarumari was lying in the man's hammock, sodomizing him, pinching him, and scratching his skin ceaselessly. This continued all night until dawn, and the husband was beside himself with exasperation. Then Shinarumari began to tear off his skin with his nails: *shēēēēē!* This time the man screamed in pain: "*Aka! Aka! Aka!* It hurts terribly! *Aka! Aka! Aka!*" But Shinarumari continued—*wa! shēēēēē!*—trying to tear off his skin. The husband screamed more loudly: "*Akaaa! Akaaa! Akaaa!*" To take revenge he fanned his fire and tried to throw Shinarumari into it by pushing him violently out of his hammock. Shinarumari fell into the fire—*hĩ! brouuuuu!*—but as he fell he put it out, for his body was covered with a kind of moist pitch: *wouuuuu!* *brīkē!* When the fire went out he exacted his own revenge by continuing to tear off the husband's skin with his nails: *shēēēēē! shēēēēē! shēēēēē!* The man went on crying in pain: "*Akaaa! Akaaa! Akaaa!*" Finally Shinarumari skinned him completely, hung the skin on a branch, and carried him off, his raw flesh exposed: "*Akaaa! Akaaa! Akaaa!*" The call of the marbled wood-quails,¹⁴⁵ which is still heard at dawn, comes from the voices of the marbled wood-quail people as they wept in primeval times over the man's torn-off skin: "*Hou! Tōrāō yā kōa kōa kōa!*" Shinarumari did not kill him but carried him like that, skinned alive, to his house. The two women quickly emerged from their hiding place and fled to rejoin the main group of people. There they fearfully reported what they had just seen: "A supernatural creature has just skinned and carried off our husband!"

Shinarumari took the flayed man to where he lived. He did not kill him but simply carried him off, with his raw flesh exposed, to live with him. The man is still with him, over there, in the direction of the sunrise, toward that forest where the people were transformed, in the highlands.¹⁴⁶ They were not transformed in another place. There Shinarumari and the skinned hunter live ever since. That is what the old people said. That was how the people were in primeval times; they behaved in an unruly manner.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

During hunting expedition, man and his two wives camp near path of supernatural creature. In husband's absence creature warns women that they must all leave. When husband ignores warning creature returns, tears off his skin, and carries him off to live with him.

Motif content

A2426.2.	Cries of birds.
C40.+.	Tabu: offending spirit. (C40. Tabu: offending spirits of water, mountain, etc.)
D2158.2.	Magic extinguishing of fires.
F401.	Appearance of spirits.
F402.	Evil spirits.
F402.1.12.	Spirit fights against person.
G302.7.1.	Sexual relations between man and demons.
G310.+.	Flayer. (G310. Ogres with characteristic methods.)
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.
P555.2.1.1.+.	Publication of victory over opponent. (P555.2.1.1. Publication of slaying.)
Q451.	Mutilation as punishment.
Q457.	Flaying alive as punishment.
R11.2.2.	Abduction by demon.
R310.+.	Refuge on roof. (R310. Refuges.)
R312.	Forest as refuge.
S160.	Mutilations.
S187.	Torturing by scratching.
W181.	Jealousy.

Commentary on Shinarumari and the Origin of Cotton

Shinarumari made the people understand his name. He revealed his name, which is "cotton," to the two women. He said his name: "Cotton." After he mentioned his name this way, the people began to call cotton by its right name. Before they met him they did not know it. To name himself he said: "This! This!" He revealed his name like that. In primeval times people did not think about that. They did not know Shinarumari. He named the cotton, and that is what we still call it. Do the people not call cotton *shinaru*? Armlets, belt strings, women's pubic covers, strings crossed over the chest, strings for arrowheads, all those things did not exist before Shinarumari had them made. He taught us how to make these things when he left; he made us think right. People did not think about those things before Shinarumari taught them; they were not wise. Do people not still call cotton by that name, *shinaru ubě*, as Shinarumari named it?

261. Solamani

A man and his wife had gone *wāshimo*. In the evening the man went out. Solamani¹⁴⁷ approached; he was carrying his blowpipe. The Sanema shot him: *glos!* The arrow stuck in Solamani's back. He fell down dead. The sperm poured from the dead man's genitals: *blío! blío! blío!* The Sanema collected *pishia*¹⁴⁸ leaves. He laid them on the ground to collect the sperm which poured out: *blío! blío! blío!* Then he wrapped it all up like a wood quail.¹⁴⁹

He returned home. "Your wrapped wood quail," he said. "Eat it!" he said to his wife. "Eat your Sanema." The wife ate it up. It was delicious; the sperm tasted like cassava. After she had eaten it all up the wife disappeared into the jungle. "Solamani! Solamani! Solamani!" she called out.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 60.

Motif content

D1793.	Magic results from eating or drinking.
F402.	Evil spirits.
F419.+.	Spirit killed. (F419. Spirits and demons—miscellaneous.)
K1044.+.	Dupe induced to eat sperm. (K1044. Dupe induced to eat filth (dung).)
S62.	Cruel husband.
S183.	Frightful meal.

262. The Origin of a Lecherous Forest Spirit

Sirorowë was one of the ancient Yanomamo. He had a sister who lived in the communal house where Xirakowë lived. Then Sirorowë, too, went to live there. He was very fond of women. Therefore, whenever Xirakowë went off to hunt, Sirorowë would grab the other man's wife and take her to the forest. There he would always give her game, especially guan and *gallineta*, which she was extremely fond of. Naturally her husband did not like all this, and he scolded her. But she liked it and kept going off with Sirorowë. From having sex so often with him she already had a big stomach, and it kept growing. Xirakowë was jealous and began to be angry. One day he could not control himself any longer and asked his wife: "Why is it that you never have sex with me and yet you have a big stomach?"

Without waiting for her reply he picked up a firebrand and struck the woman with it to burn her. That is what Xirakowë did. It was done for the first time, so that we Yanomamo men would learn to be jealous of our wives and would burn them with firebrands when they go off with other men.

That afternoon Sirorowë was standing near the entrance to the communal house, waiting for the woman to go out to urinate so he could carry her off as usual. But suddenly he heard Xirakowë angrily repeating his name. Without fear he entered and said: "Here I am, hit me, burn me!" He did this so that we Yanomamo of today would learn to be brave, to present ourselves after doing something bad to receive our punishment.

Xirakowë had prepared a blazing fire, and without further ado he grabbed Sirorowë and threw him into it. *Xai, xai*, sounded the fire. But not only did Sirorowë not burn but the fire went out. Sirorowë stood up, whole and cool. Xirakowë insulted him, revived the fire, and once more threw Sirorowë into it. The latter was not burned this time either. The fire went out, and Sirorowë again stood up, unscathed. Then he seized Xirakowë and stripped off his skin as easily as one skins a deer—*siroro, siroro*¹⁵⁰—leaving him completely flayed. "Aaaiiii!" screamed Xirakowë, beside himself with pain. Instantly he ran toward the forest and turned into a *xirakomïasi*¹⁵¹ plant.

Sirorowë also went into the forest where he turned into Siroromï.¹⁵² He continues to live in the forest, and from there he calls, to trick women. He particularly hates pregnant women whose husbands he skins and then the women themselves.

We Yanomami are afraid of Siroromï, and when we hear him call we take great care. When he calls "*Siiirorororo*," we look for chili pepper and burn it together with white gum. That scares him off.

Informant: The chief of the Iyëwei-teri.

Source: Cocco 1972, p. 218.

Summary

Lecherous man is thrown into fire by aggrieved husband whose wife he has seduced. He emerges unscathed, skins other man, and turns into forest spirit.

Motif content

- | | |
|--------|---|
| D90.+. | Transformation: man to spirit. (D90. Transformation: man to different man—miscellaneous.) |
| D213. | Transformation: man to plant. |
| D1840. | Magic invulnerability. |

D1841.3.	Burning magically evaded.
D2158.2.	Magic extinguishing of fires.
F402.	Evil spirits.
F402.1.11.	Spirit causes death.
F405.	Means of combating spirits.
F405.12.	Demons flee from fire.
F413.	Origin of spirits.
F441.	Wood-spirit.
F441.6.	Deeds of wood-spirits.
Q241.	Adultery punished.
Q243.	Incontinence punished—miscellaneous.
Q243.2.	Seduction punished.
Q414.0.2.	Burning as punishment for adultery.
Q457.	Flaying alive as punishment.
T230.+.	Faithless wife. (T230. Faithlessness in marriage.)

263. The Cannibal

A long time ago a Walma¹⁵³ had gone to visit the foreigners.¹⁵⁴

"Who are you?" asked the foreigner. "Do you speak Spanish?"

The Walma who understood Spanish and was somewhat accustomed to living among the foreigners, pretended that he was also a foreigner and said that he did.

Shortly a Waikia¹⁵⁵ also arrived.

"And who are you?" the foreigner asked him.

"Waikia *sa*,"¹⁵⁶ the Waikia replied.

"*Wiii!* Long ago the Waikia killed all my relations and only I escaped as a young boy," the foreigner confided to the Walma. He killed the Waikia with a blow on the head, and he began to butcher the body, cutting out the guts and arranging all the flesh on a grid-dle to smoke the meat.

He cooked up the liver and began to eat it. He offered some to the Walma. The liver made a strange noise: *gli! gli! gli! gli!*

The Walma refused to eat it but the foreigner was insistent. Being very afraid of the foreigner the Walma finally accepted and then hastily ate some of it, feeling nauseous as he did so. Then he pretended that he was going out to defecate, and he vomited up all the meat.

Next day the Walma bid his host farewell. The foreigner cut off a leg from the roasted flesh and gave it to the Walma to eat on the

journey. The Walma was very afraid and chucked the meat into the river.

So the Walma told me.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 70–71.

Motif content

G10.	Cannibalism.
G80.+.	Forced cannibalism. (G80. Other motifs dealing with cannibals.)
J613.	Wise fear of the weak for the strong.
S183.	Frightful meal.

264. *Poodoli* People

A man and his wife had gone *wāshimo*. The *poodoli*¹⁵⁷ people came night-raiding.¹⁵⁸ From the house they could hear a machete snicking through the undergrowth: *gli! gli! gli!* "Wake up! Wake up!" said the husband. "An armadillo is walking by!" "Really?" she replied. The husband crawled off toward the noise. The *poodoli* people looped a vine about his ankle and they dragged him off: drag! drag! drag! drag! "That's right! That's right! That's the way," said the wife. So people said.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 55–56.

Motif content

R10.	Abduction.
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265. Daring Insects

By the Yawaramapiwei waterfall there was a swarm of mosquitoes. Some children climbed to the top; after all, children are restless creatures. The swarm was swaying softly, buzzing in the breeze. A dark liquid was dripping from it. "Little brother, there's a wasps' nest hanging there. We'll come back later and burn it; both of us will come back and destroy it," they promised each other. So they did not touch it this time but returned home to get fire. "We're going to burn some wasps; the nest is hanging above the waterfall."

A woman said: "When I went there I saw some unfamiliar beings that probably were evil. Don't go there; you'll be devoured." In vain the women warned them; the boys returned to the waterfall intending to burn the wasps. They approached, and set fire to some dry palm leaves. Immediately the fierce mosquitoes put out the fire and attacked them. The boys plunged into the water but the insects followed them and reduced them to skeletons. Then the mosquitoes swarmed into the communal house which was very large, with numerous hearths. All the inhabitants were devoured.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

B16.6.+.	Devastating mosquitoes. (B16.6. Devastating insects.)
G350.+.	Mosquito as ogre. (G350. Animal ogres.)
J652.	Inattention to warnings.

266. Beware of the Hummingbirds

When the people were gathering honey near the Rock of the Menstruating Woman the old people warned them: "Don't go there or you will be eaten by the hummingbirds, a demon people. There are cannibals there." In spite of the warning they insisted on going there to gather honey. In an instant the hummingbirds descended on them with a flutter of wings, perforating the top of their skulls and sucking out their brains. The man-eating hummingbirds live in this direction.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

B16.3.	Devastating birds.
G332.	Sucking monster.
G353.1.	Cannibal bird as ogre.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.

267. Harami

One day a young Sanemá was out in the forest alone. He was looking for food. After walking a great distance without killing a sin-

gle animal he became very annoyed, complaining bitterly because the animals remained in their hiding places.¹⁵⁹

The father of the young hunter was at home, sitting in front of the fire. He was a shaman. Suddenly he saw a swarm of butterflies approaching to put out the fire. There was a great deal of smoke. The shaman heard the prolonged and penetrating howls of Great Fox who has several members of his family in the river. When they emerge from the water they kill not only the hunter who made them abandon their house, but also his entire family. The butterflies also live in the river. They are friends of Great Fox, whom they help kill bad and blameworthy hunters. After extinguishing the fire they attack the family members of the wicked hunter, and if the latter is at home they suck his blood through the corners of his eyes. The shaman, who knew all this, realized what grave danger his son and his family were in, but he also knew how to defend himself against the butterflies. He caught a few of them and spat on them. Immediately the butterflies stopped attacking him, and died. Great Fox fell silent, for he knew that his victim was in the forest under the protection of a powerful shaman. That was how the young hunter was saved from the teeth of Great Fox, who devours his victims and swallows them without chewing.

Source: Wilbert 1961, pp. 235-236.

Motif content

B16.2.1.	Devastating fox.
B16.6.+.	Devastating butterflies. (B16.6. Devastating insects.)
D1402.14.1.	Magic charmed spittle kills.
D1776.	Magic results from spitting.
F911.3.	Animal swallows man.
G310.	Ogres with characteristic methods.
G332.	Sucking monster.
G350.+.	Butterfly as ogre. (G350. Animal ogres.)
G350.+.	Fox as ogre. (G350. Animal ogres.)
G512.	Ogre killed.
G639.+.	Ogre lives in water. (G639. Ogress lives in water.)

268. Ghost Woman¹⁶⁰

A Sanema's wife had died. The child was very thirsty. The man and his child were alone in the house, everyone else having gone away. The house was practically empty. The father gave his child a

mush of *nimo* palm fruits.¹⁶¹ A ghost woman approached in the night. "A Waikia, a Waikia man!" the ghost woman said.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 54.

Motif content

F412.1.+ . Spirit speaks. (F412.1. Invisible spirit speaks.)

269. The Origin of the *Ohinani*¹⁶²

Long ago the ancestors fell underground. For whenever a young girl was menstruating people took no notice. "Mummy. I'm menstruating! Mummy!" the girl might say, but people paid no attention. So they fell underground. In that way many people fell underground and these people became the *ohinani* people.¹⁶³ They fell underground because they ignored their girls' first menses.

The huge Sanema falling from up above would be chopped up by the other *ohinani* below into many pieces. The pieces became many more little *ohinani*. "*Ohinani! ohinani! ohinani! ohinani! ohinani!*" they shouted. They were all over the place. The *moka*¹⁶⁴ frogs on the surface were hopping about in the bog where the people had fallen underground, among the marsh people.¹⁶⁵ And these frogs copied the sound of the *ohinani* shouting underground. "*Ai ai! ai ai! ai! ai ai! ai ai!*" call the frogs. In this way the Shamatali people also fell underground.

Omao, hearing the clamor of the people underground, lifted up the roof and looked down. He saw lots of really fierce people running about in the hole. He replaced the covering. He heard another bunch of people also shouting from a different place. He opened that hole too and peered in. There were many little Waikia people rushing about all over the place. They were really fierce and always shooting arrows so he replaced the top on them too. Omao did not help these people to climb back to the surface because they were so fierce and were always shooting off their arrows. He would look into the hole. "No! Definitely not them! This lot is really fierce. I'll put the top back over them. They're always shooting off their arrows," he would say, and he would put the top back over them.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 52-53.

Motif content

C140.	Tabu connected with menses.
C900.	Punishment for breaking tabu.
F108.	Nature of underworld inhabitants.
F451.1.	Origin of dwarfs.
F451.2.8.	Voice of dwarfs (echo).
F451.4.1.	Dwarfs live under the ground.
F451.5.2.	Malevolent dwarf.
F451.6.4.	Dwarfs fight with each other.
F721.	Subterranean world.
F940.	Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance.
F942.	Man sinks into earth.
F942.1.	Ground opens and swallows up person.
Q552.2.3.	Earth swallowings as punishment.

270. An Indisposed Girl

Long ago the ancestors turned into *amahiri*, inhabitants of the underworld.

A community had been invited to a feast. The villagers were nearing their destination. Certain ones among their hosts foresaw their arrival in their dreams and announced: "Our guests are about to arrive; they're sleeping near here."

At nightfall the girls gathered in the central plaza to perform the hunting ritual. They were going to sing and dance. An old man said to them in a strong voice: "Women, take part, all of you!" A girl was isolated behind a hut made of foliage on the occasion of her first menstruation. Hearing the old woman's urging she emerged without the others knowing it and mingled with the rest of the women. It was she who intoned the song which the others had to repeat: "Bifid tooth, bifid tooth." No sooner had she pronounced these words than water began to gush from the ground. The earth grew very soft, and gradually the people sank into it and disappeared. The singing of the women sounded increasingly faint.

An old woman in her hammock began to shout: "Sons, pull yourselves together; their voices are becoming faint! Sons, come to your senses!" Her sons were shamans. Thanks to the power of their spirits they managed to hold up the beams of their house for a moment. But in spite of their efforts the house, too, disappeared under-

ground. Everything had vanished, the people and the house. In the region of Irota they turned into *amahiri*. It was in Irota that they sank into the ground.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Menstruating girl participates in ritual. Water bursts from ground and people and their house disappear into underworld.

Motif content

C141.	Tabu: going forth during menses.
C900.	Punishment for breaking tabu.
F403.2. +.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
F940.	Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance.
F941.	Building sinks into earth.
F942.	Man sinks into earth.
Q552.2.3.	Earth swallowings as punishment.

271. An Indisposed Girl

Night had fallen. The men were beginning the *wayamo* ritual, and a host and a guest were already facing each other. Their loud voices could be heard above the sounds coming from the house:

Hand me a machete,
Offer it to me!
We shall confront each other harshly,
That is what I am pretending.

The flow of words burst forth, sometimes rapidly, more or less scanned, half sung.

In a place within the large circular house, at the base of the roof, a small shelter had been set up. Inside was a girl who was having her first menstruation, hidden away from all eyes. No one saw her come out. Because of her the Yanomami were going to transform. As soon as the girl appeared the ground became soft and water burst from beneath the earth. Gradually the people sank as if into moving sand. The voices of the participants in the feast grew even fainter:

Brother-in-law, lay a dog at my feet,

Offer him to me!
 Lay before me the animal that yelps,
 Hang it from my neck.
 Then the pigs
 That break wind in the beautiful forest
 Will be pursued at high speed.

They disappeared underground without even realizing it. Their voices grew faint. An old woman gave a cry of alarm: "Watch out, watch out! Your voices are fading; you're sinking into the bowels of the earth!" Relentlessly they continued their descent. They were at the edge of the central plaza, facing one another, arms intertwined. The old woman was still crying in vain: "Demand the goods, the possessions; don't you realize that you're disappearing underground? Who will stay with me?" (But you, old woman, remain without knowing what to do.) Imperturbably the voices continued to answer one another:

Offer me a Waika machete!
 I shall seize it
 And stick it into
 A bare piece of ground!

(I am a shaman, and the souls raise their heads toward me.) After disappearing underground they became *amahiri*. The old woman was transformed into a spirit.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

When menstruating girl joins ritual celebrants all sink into earth.

Motif content

C141.	Tabu: going forth during menses.
C900.	Punishment for breaking tabu.
D90.+.	Transformation: woman to spirit. (D90. Transformation: man to different man— miscellaneous.)
F940.	Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance.
F942.	Man sinks into earth.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.
Q552.2.3.	Earth swallowings as punishment.

272. The Waika Go Under

During those days, the Waika women out there started to sing. The Waika had a festival. They had a festival and invited other Waika. They sang and danced, sang and danced. The Waika sang and sang and sang.

At that time, a Waika girl was menstruating for the first time. While she was menstruating, another Waika woman called for her and said: "Come with us and call down some songs." The Waika women put their arms around her and took her outside, took her outside and told her: "Sing a song." So she did, but as soon as she started singing, unexpectedly the strange song was: "*Tei, tei, tei.*"

It began to rain lightly right away, and from the girl who was menstruating for the first time came water (lit., "amniotic fluid") which took them under. The Waika ended up under the earth. While a Waika woman was menstruating, they put their arms around her and made her sing. They went down. They really went down. The Oinanani (hungry) people live under the earth. Because they had had a lot of ripe bananas, they said: "Alas, I'm really hungry." Even though they were under the earth, on the surface of the water the Waika were heard to cry, saying: "Alas, I'm really hungry, *u, u, u.* Alas, I'm really hungry, *u, u, u.*"

During that time, over there where there was a Waika *lahala* shaman (who extracted sicknesses from the body) the *nimau inga* fruit fell into the water after the Waika had gone under. Along the bank of the big deep lake there is still this strange sound: *tei, tei, tei, tei, tei*. On the bank of the lake sing the *napisima* frogs: "*Ai, ai, ai.*" Other Waika houses stretch along the shore.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

C141.	Tabu: going forth during menses.
C900.	Punishment for breaking tabu.
F108.	Nature of underworld inhabitants.
F940.	Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance.
F942.	Man sinks into earth.
F966.+.	Voices from lower world (or underground). (F966. Voices from heaven (or from the air).)

- F1041.+ Water flows from woman. (F1041. Extraordinary physical reactions of persons.)
 Q552.2.3. Earth swallowings as punishment.

273. *Hemadoi* People

The *hemadoi* people lived far over there in a huge house, a very large house by the edge of a small lake. The girls of the house, those ancestral girls, they were about to celebrate their first menses.

The whole house fell. It disappeared into the ground: *ta!* An old woman who had been sitting outside turned into the *kunamgoshi* toad.¹⁶⁶ Other Sanema arrived. "We've arrived" they shouted. "We've arrived!" they shouted. There was no one there.¹⁶⁷

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 51–52.

Motif content

- D196.+ Transformation: woman to toad. (D196.
 Transformation: man to toad.)
 F941. Building sinks into earth.

274. The Waika Go Down Under

The distant ancestors got fouled up. There in the Noa region there are survivors.

The Waika distant ancestors dragged off a woman while she was menstruating for the first time. They dragged her off intending to dance with her. While they were dragging her off, all the Waika and their house immediately went down under. The Waika fell right away. Just a few Waika who did not belong to that group escaped. They escaped by linking their arms together in a line and they reported the event. The Waika distant ancestors said: "They have gotten fouled up!" While the girl was menstruating for the first time, when they dragged her off, those ancestors said right away: "We've gotten fouled up!"

Informant: Sitiho

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

C141.	Tabu: going forth during menses.
C900.	Punishment for breaking tabu.
F940.	Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance.
F941.	Building sinks into earth.
F942.	Man sinks into earth.
F942.1.	Ground opens and swallows up person.
Q552.2.3.	Earth swallowings as punishment.

275. *Oineitib*

Under the earth there exists a world inhabited by dwarves, who are called *oineitib*. They live like humans, but they talk and eat very quickly. They have neither intestines nor anuses, and when they eat meat or other foods they cut it into pieces and eat it raw, without chewing.¹⁶⁸ Sometimes they also eat women who hide their menstruation. On one occasion the subterranean river grew to tremendous size. It gathered such force that it burst through the earth under the floor of a house in which lived a woman who had hidden her condition. The houses collapsed and the inhabitants drowned, except for the women, who were devoured by the dwarves. Their souls went to live forever with the strong man, who also could not ascend to the sky and live with Omao.

As the dwarves have no intestines they are constantly hungry, and that is why they devour their food so greedily. Once in a while one of the dwarves comes to the earth to visit a man, but never a woman. The man cannot see his guest but feels his presence, for he is overcome by a ravenous hunger. When he realizes what is going on he begins to eat greedily and immediately goes to visit the shaman for the latter to remove the importunate dwarf.

Source: Wilbert 1961, p. 234.

Motif content

A1011.2.	Flood caused by rising of river.
A1018.1.	Flood as punishment for breaking tabu.
C140.	Tabu connected with menses.
C905.1.	Dwarf punishes for breach of tabu.
C923.	Death by drowning for breaking tabu.
D1373.+.	Dwarf causes constant hunger. (D1373. Magic object causes constant hunger.)

F108.	Nature of underworld inhabitants.
F162.2.	Rivers in otherworld.
F451.2.6.+.	Dwarfs have no intestines. (F451.2.6. Other bodily characteristics of dwarfs.)
F451.3.5.3.+.	Dwarfs are hungry. (F451.3.5.3. Dwarf children are hungry.)
F451.4.1.	Dwarfs live under the ground.
F451.5.2.	Malevolent dwarf.
F451.5.2.6.	Dwarfs punish.
F529.2.	People without anuses.
F561.1.	People who prefer raw flesh.
F721.	Subterranean world.
F932.8.	River rises and overflows.
G11.1.	Cannibal dwarfs.

276. Ama Hiri

The Ama Hiri live under the earth. In the old days they lived in the sky, but when the sky fell the first time they ended up below the earth. One of them knew how to perform a Hekura ritual. His name was Uaha Ama Hiri. When the houses began to fall he wanted to fasten the sky, but he was unable to do it and so everyone fell to the earth. They performed the Hekura to try to reach the sky again, but it was in vain; they had to remain below.

Informant: Henrique

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 151.

Motif content

A669.2.	Sky of solid substance.
A1000.+.	Sky falls. (A1000. World catastrophe.)
F167.	Inhabitants of otherworld.
F721.	Subterranean world.
F940.	Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance.

277. A Shamathari Child Falls into the Underworld¹⁶⁹

Two Shamathari¹⁷⁰ children were playing, digging in the sand with their hands, on the bank of a river. Their mothers were busy washing *wabu* fruits¹⁷¹ and had their backs to them. One of the children fell into the sand. The place where this happened is farther away than where my father-in-law lives.¹⁷² It was a Shamathari child who fell into the sand back there, beyond the Hwara u River.¹⁷³ The two children had been playing and digging in the sand with their hands: *hĩ! krō e wa! krō e wa! krō e wa!* They had been digging for a long time, deeper and deeper, very far down.

Someone brought them a basket of boiled *rasha* palm fruits,¹⁷⁴ and it was at that moment that one of the children looked down on the fruits and fell into the hole that he had dug. He disappeared at once when he reached bottom. The Amahiribē¹⁷⁵ had taken him by the arm and carried him off, dragging him into the underworld, weeping. His sobs could be heard coming from underground: "*Hwē! Hwē! Hwē! Hwē!*" His mother began to search for him. Hearing his sobs she thought he was near. But his calls grew increasingly distant: "*Nabaaaaa! Nabaaaaa!*"¹⁷⁶ She became more and more frightened: "*Waaaaa!*"¹⁷⁷ That's him calling!" She began to dig in the direction of the sobs, but already they were coming from another direction: "*Hwē! Hwē! Hwē! Hwē!*" She dug in the new place, but once more the sobs and calls moved away: "*Hwē! Hwē! Hwē! Hwē! Nabaaaa! Nabaaaa!*" Sometimes they seemed to come from just below the surface, but she still did not succeed in reaching the boy. She dug into the forest floor in several places but never succeeded in finding her child. In the hole that she dug back there water burst forth, and now there are many fish in that place. That is what people say. Finally the child's voice fell silent, disappearing in the distance. His mother stopped digging and searching for him. She could no longer hear him weeping; she could no longer hear his voice. The Amahiribē did not eat him; they simply kept him. The place where he fell down is back there, beyond the Hwara u River. I have heard this story well, and I have seen the place where it happened.

Informant: Hewēnakē

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Boy digging in the sand accidentally falls into underworld where he is abducted by cannibal ancestor people. His mother searches for him in vain.

Motif content

F102.	Accidental arrival in lower world.
F108. +.	Man-eating inhabitants of underworld. (F108. Nature of underworld inhabitants.)
F721.	Subterranean world.
F940.	Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance.
F942. +.	Child sinks into earth. (F942. Man sinks into earth.)
R10.3.	Children abducted.
R11.	Abduction by monster (ogre).

278. In the Moving Sands

It was over there, I think, that the master of the moving earth drew the Waika to him. "Over there the earth moves; don't go near it! There's moving earth! You'll sink, you'll be pulled in!" The warnings were in vain; they were stubborn. "There are no moving sands," they decided. "I'll go and look for crabs." They walked up the small stream, feeling with their hands inside the holes to see whether there were any crabs there. Soon they reached a place where the surface of the sand was trembling. "There are a lot of holes here; there should be crabs." They stuck their fingers into the holes. "It's really very good; there ought to be some crabs here." "The others went over there, with empty stomachs, to look for something to eat." Imprudently they approached the moving sands to a spot where the water was swirling. Then they were caught. The master of the moving earth drew them to him, and they were pulled all the way down.

In the evening some air bubbles broke the surface of the water and eddies formed. It looked as though the sand was going to dry up. It was the spirit that raised his head toward the sky. Again the water on the surface began to swirl; it was the water-bug spirit that was playing around.

The master of the moving earth came toward me, a shaman, in the place where the stream ends.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A400. +.	Master of moving earth. (A400. God of earth.)
F401.3. +.	Waterbug spirit. (F401.3. Spirit in animal form.)
F940.	Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance.
F942.	Man sinks into earth.
J652.	Inattention to warnings.

279. The Hungry Jaguar Tricked by the Shamans¹⁷⁸

This story is about a jaguar,¹⁷⁹ at the time when our real ancestors were to become Yanomam.¹⁸⁰

In the place where he had been cremated a dead shaman resuscitated in the form of an *ira* jaguar.¹⁸¹ Where the people had lit the fire, in the ashes which still marked the spot, this jaguar was lying curled up, flat against the ground. He was a shaman who had come back to life in the form of a jaguar. That is why, as we know, the corpses of shamans are cremated "raw."¹⁸² In the spot where this shaman's corpse had been burned a jaguar had simply appeared.

The inhabitants of the collective house had gone to visit a neighboring community. In the empty house two women had stayed behind, two women with their children. Two of the boys were rather big. The women were boiling *kasha* caterpillars,¹⁸³ and the two children had come to eat some. Then they saw the jaguar and in their innocence thought he was a domesticated animal.¹⁸⁴ They wanted to feed him to play, and filled a small *shotehe* basket¹⁸⁵ with boiled caterpillars which they brought him and poured in front of him. He was lying on the ground, very thin. Returning to their mothers they exclaimed in their little voices: "Mother, there's a dog lying over there! It eats caterpillars!" They saw him clearly, however. Their mothers were busy boiling caterpillars, and the children went back and forth to fetch some boiled ones to take to the jaguar. They did not know what supernatural beings were, and that was why they were approaching him like that. One said laughingly: "It hurts to see him eating so gluttonously! *He! He! He! He!*" The other replied: "I'll go again and get him something to eat!" They kept bringing him cooked caterpillars which he ate: *shaka! shaka! shaka!* Then they brought him more: *shaka! shaka! shaka!* It was getting dark; the sun

had set, and night fell. After they had brought him food the jaguar was full, and when night came he fell asleep. But later he shook himself and approached the children in the house. The two mothers called: "*Sheta! Sheta!*"¹⁸⁶ The jaguar's call was frightening. First he caught and dragged along the ground the younger child: *houuu!* *kurai!* The other boy tried to escape and began to run. The jaguar caught him in turn: *houuu!* *kurai!*

That was how this jaguar had arrived. He was a supernatural creature, and although the people fled he stayed by the house. He kept devouring all the people, the women while they were fetching water or cutting wood, the men while they were hunting. Gradually he was decimating the villagers. They crossed the river precipitously. Nearly all of them had died; there were only old people left.

That was when some shamans took revenge on the jaguar. It was a man and his wife. You see this manioc press?¹⁸⁷ The husband turned into a *remoremoreashi* hornet¹⁸⁸ and hid inside a press similar to this one; the wife transformed into a *wayamōramōhi* turtle¹⁸⁹ sitting inside the house. The communal house was deserted; all its last occupants had fled far away. It was in this empty house that the two shamans held their session, taking *yākōana* hallucinogen¹⁹⁰ to bring about their transformation, and where they interposed themselves¹⁹¹ against the supernatural jaguar.

The latter was prowling silently, searching for a new victim, and he entered the empty house. Finding nothing he was about to leave when he noticed a withered manioc press that had remained behind, abandoned by the occupants of the house in their flight. It was hanging from a beam, swinging. He struck it with his paw, trying to take it down, but the press did not cease swinging. He thought: "Something is hidden inside!" Intrigued, he finally inserted his paw to see what it could be that was making it move. He roared: "Who are you? *Rrrrr!* I'm really very hungry! Are you hiding inside here?" He plunged his arm all the way in while compressing the woven tube. "I don't find anything! *Rrrrr!*" he roared again. Disappointed, he wanted to withdraw his paw, but this only tightened the walls of the manioc press and its opening became very narrow. Suddenly he found his paw caught: *krē! houuu! thikē! thikē!* It was the work of the shaman who was hiding inside the suspended manioc press. Roaring with anger the supernatural jaguar swung his paw that was trapped in the press in all directions to try to free himself: *basi wa! basi wa! basi wa!*

This was the predicament he was in when he heard a whistle behind his back: *shuuuuu! shuuuuu! shuuuuu!* It was the little *wayamōramōhi* turtle, who in fact was the other shaman. The jaguar

called: "Who are you? *Rrrrr!*" He began to search, climbing all over the house. When he found the small turtle he first threw her to the ground: *tēhē! tē!* Intrigued, he said to himself: "It has no head!"¹⁹² Turning her around to look at her from all angles he repeated to himself: "It really has no head!" Finally he put her down and went away. When he had gone some distance the turtle began to whistle again: *shuuuuu! shuuuuu! shuuuuu!* Slowly he returned, saying to himself: "What an unpleasant thing!" He crept forward cautiously, thinking to surprise the turtle with her neck out. "I noticed where its voice came from!" Lying flat on the ground he watched, but there was no more sound from the turtle. Again he left and went some distance away. At that moment the turtle resumed her whistling: *shuuuuu! shuuuuu! shuuuuu!* The jaguar hurried back again. Finally he was tired of being tricked, and he grabbed the turtle once more and began to examine her. He was holding her the wrong side up and began to blow on her rump while asking: "Where is your mouth?" Then he turned her around, this time holding her the right way, and blew on her neck: "Is that where you have your head?" Suddenly the turtle stuck her head out and bit the jaguar at the base of the neck—*wa!*—where the flesh is soft, holding on to his throat.¹⁹³ The jaguar was unable to dislodge her with his trapped paw. The turtle began to tear his skin: *hī! wai! wai! wai!* The jaguar screamed with pain: "*Akaaa! Akaaa! Akaaa!*" However, the turtle continued to penetrate his body, tearing the flesh: *seki wa! seki wa! seki wa!* When she reached deep inside she devoured the jaguar's innards, until finally he fell dead to the ground: *hou! kurai!*

That was how the shamans succeeded in killing the supernatural jaguar who was in the ritual condition of *unokai*.¹⁹⁴ They were two shamans, an old woman and her husband. The husband assumed the form of a hornet and trapped the jaguar's arm in a manioc press, and the wife took the form of a turtle and devoured his throat. That was how the shamans interposed themselves against the jaguar.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Dead shaman transformed into supernatural man-eating jaguar terrorizes people into abandoning communal house, leaving only old shaman couple. Man turns himself into hornet, hides in manioc press, and succeeds in trapping jaguar's paw inside it. Woman turns into turtle and bites jaguar's throat until he dies.

Motif content

B16.2. +.	Devastating jaguar. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)
D180.	Transformation: man to insect.
D193. +.	Transformation: woman to turtle. (D193. Transformation: man to tortoise (turtle).)
D651.1.	Transformation to kill enemy.
E1.	Person comes to life.
E42.	Resuscitation from ashes of dead man.
E612. +.	Reincarnation as jaguar. (E612. Reincarnation as wild animal.)
G350. +.	Jaguar as ogre. (G350. Animal ogres.)
G512.	Ogre killed.
J640.	Avoidance of others' power.
K730.	Victim trapped.
K810.	Fatal deception into trickster's power.
Q415.	Punishment: being eaten by animals.

280. Jaguar Finds His Master

Some shamans had said of a neighboring village: "Their shamans are impostors; all they do is make-believe. They pretend to spit out pathogenic objects which they ingest outside their patients' bodies. They are incapable of actually doing it." A member of the community thus slandered was doing his premarital service in the house where these words had been uttered. He told his parents: "They claim that you are shamans without power." "Oh, you'll see what will happen." They cut open a hollow tree and took out a banded tree frog which they dried over the fire. Meanwhile some young men plaited an openwork basket. They prepared a hallucinogen and inhaled it. One of the shamans spat out a "jaguar leaf" covered with blood. They glued white down on his chest and at the corners of his mouth. They placed the dried frog in the basket and in the middle the "jaguar leaf." Then they went to the village where they had been slandered. When they were near the house they set down the basket on the path, and the shaman said: "You won't take this path to come back to us; you will look for your victims on the other side. In particular, don't come back to me." Before turning back they stuck some sharp, pointed palms in the ground between themselves and the basket. Thus the path was blocked on their side.

They were already far away when the frog was transformed into a jaguar who immediately growled. Following the path with his soft

step he reached the house and hid behind a tree. He called: "Hey, you over there! There's a bird of prey here!" "I'm coming." A man approached, and the jaguar crushed his head between his jaws. Afterward he took up position at the edge of another path and called: "Hey, you!" "What's up?" "Over here! A channel-billed toucan is sitting on a low branch." The man approached, and the jaguar crushed his skull as well. Then he cut through the forest and hid near another path. "Over here, over here! There's game here!" Again he killed, and went to lie in ambush elsewhere. He massacred them one after the other, in silence, without letting them call out. At the edge of a new path he called: "Over here! There's honey here!" He would lie in ambush on one path, then another, choosing to kill the people with the most beautiful faces. Finally the ancestors warned one another: "The one calling us like that is a murderous animal." From then on the jaguar called in vain; the people would no longer leave the house. They remained safely inside. Whenever they needed to defecate they would do it on leaves, and afterward they would wrap up the excrements and throw them far away.

An old man spoke: "This jaguar will exterminate us." With the help of his spirits he drove the animal back for a moment, and when the jaguar was some distance away he said: "Untie your hammocks! Let's go!" They left the house to seek refuge in the forest. They had not been gone long when the beast entered the empty house and said: "I feel sorry for you, but I'll kill you all to the last person." He went along the edge of the open-air plaza, examining all the hearths. "Where did they go?" The Yanomami were far away and had already set up camp. In order not to leave too visible a trail and not to be heard they scattered to chop wood, going in the opposite direction from where they used to live. It was a useless precaution; the jaguar was walking straight toward them.

From that moment on fear kept them inside the camp. They no longer went out to defecate and stopped going hunting. The old people had been decimated; there were only a few adult men left. "My daughter, he is behind us; he has followed our trail." The one who spoke these words was a man of mature age, a man who inhales hallucinogens, a shaman. He cried: "What a misfortune!" The shamans gathered. A drug was brought and placed on a leaf on the ground. They absorbed some. "My children, take up position on the paths and draw your bows!"

There was a land turtle there, their pet animal. It was already big, for they had had it a long time. The shaman whom it belonged to began to think: "Where's my turtle?" They brought it, and then they

called their spirit helpers and put a spell on the turtle. At that moment its owner knew what he was going to do. "Listen, my son," he said to the turtle. "That beast is following us. He is coming closer, he is dogging our steps. Tomorrow we'll leave and you will remain behind. Son, if the jaguar presses your mouth against him, if he presents to you his nose, his chest, or his forehead, don't be in a hurry to bite. But if he offers you his throat, that's where you are to bite him and nowhere else." Those were his words.

He put the turtle back in the basket and hung it up. They were so tired that they slept heavily. The day dawned. "Let's go, my daughter. While I drive the jaguar back with the help of my spirits, while I keep him at a distance, hurry up and get ready! Let's leave!" They all left the camp walking close together, one behind the other, the men scattered among the women. It is when no danger threatens that the men walk alone in front, but now they were ready to defend the women. The shaman had remained for a while in the camp they were abandoning. He whistled to call the jaguar, and then said to the turtle: "When he is in the deserted camp, if he makes a move to leave, call him. Just call him."

Gradually the camp fell silent. Only the turtle remained. Meanwhile the young men were constructing a bridge to cross the river, making a lot of noise in the process. The ends of the bridge had just been placed on the ground on each shore. "Arrange the poles well, close together and parallel; don't leave any space between them." The brave turtle was waiting for the jaguar all by itself. (But do not think that it will be unable to kill the beast; it will kill the fierce jaguar.)

They had finished their work, and had built their huts. That was when the animal entered the deserted camp. He examined the huts which were arranged in a circle, walking from one to the next and shaking their poles. "They're pitiful. How miserable they are!" Hearing these words the turtle smiled and thought: "You'll be defeated right here; you're the one who's in a bad situation." Among the spirits gathered around the turtle was Sloth Spirit. They had remained in its company to protect it. The jaguar was moving from one hut to the next. "I feel an insatiable hunger for meat." He examined all the huts and said: "Where did they go? Where are they?" He touched the ashes and the coals: "It isn't very long since they left." Just when he was about to examine the path he heard a voice calling him, like the voice of a Yanomami. He turned. "Here's the shaman's hut. It seems that he has inhaled some hallucinogen." Hearing him the spirits smiled. "What can he have done?" No sooner had he spoken

these words than he left. "Toye! Toye! Toye!" "Whose voice is that?" He searched under the leaves on the roof. "It came from here. Who was it that spoke?" In vain he searched. When he went away it came again: "Toye! Toye! Toye!" "It's over there!" He went back. "Who is making that sound? It must be coming from here." He poked about among the logs and lifted them, searching everywhere. "Who is it? If only I could see him." After searching long and not finding anything he went away again. He was on the verge of leaving the camp when the voice once more called: "Toye! Toye! Toye!" "No doubt about it; it's coming from over there." He looked everywhere but found nothing. As he was about to leave: "Toye! Toye! Toye!" "Over there!" He returned and touched the leaves on the roof. "Didn't it come from outside?" He went to look, and not finding anything he left. "Toye! Toye! Toye!" "It's here! This is where it's coming from." He pulled out the turtle from under the leaves where it was hiding. "So this is what was making that sound; this is what was left behind here! This pitiful thing was waiting for me to kill me! It's their pet animal!" The turtle pulled its head into its shell as far as it could. He examined the animal, turning it over, and said: "Its head is all the way in. Shall I bite it?" He threw it against the ground. "It certainly is in a very sad situation. Can they simply have forgotten it? Where did they move to? Which way did they go?" The turtle's feet did not stick out; they were safely pulled in under the shell. "What if I stick a twig into your anus?" He inserted a small stick into its anus and poked around, but the turtle did not stick its head out for anything. When he set it down on the ground it only dragged itself along a short distance. "What if I force its head out; what if I pull its head off, decapitating it? Shall I do that?" Inserting a claw into the opening in the shell to reach the neck he tried in vain to make the turtle put its head out. Again he threw it to the ground. "What if I crack it?" He had nearly crushed it between his jaws when the spirits intervened. "*Ushu, ushu,*" they said, averting the danger. They were protecting the turtle. The jaguar amused himself by throwing it into the air. "It's hard to see!" He struck the shell, first once, then again. The turtle felt a strong pain in its stomach. The jaguar offered it the back of his knee: "Bite here." Then he offered it his groin. "Bite me in the groin so I can see whether you've got solid teeth." He placed it in his armpit. "Here's my armpit." He squeezed the turtle under his arm. "Hurry up and bite me, or I regret I'll have to crush you between my teeth. Come on, here's my ear. Bite! Bite! Here!" He moved it down along his face. "Bite my nose." He moved it lower. "Bite my chin, since you remained behind alone." He moved it even lower. "Come on, here's my throat." Then the turtle stuck its head

out and bit into the jaguar's throat. The beast roared in pain and rubbed himself against the trees to shake it off. Stretching its neck as far as it was able to the turtle held on, sucking the blood. Then, biting down with all its might, it cut the jaguar's throat, letting go only when he was completely dead.

In the meantime the Yanomami, who wanted to know what was happening, were inhaling hallucinogens. "Right now my turtle is still alive; it has defeated the fierce jaguar," said its master. They went to join the turtle. With its mouth smeared with blood it was on the bridge crossing the river, saying: "*Toye, toye, toye!*" "There it is! There it is!" It moved toward them with its jolting walk. When it was near they asked: "Is it really you?" "*Toye, toye, toye.*" "Did you kill him?" "*Toye, toye, toye.*" They picked it up when it reached the shore. "My turtle's mouth is full of blood. Did you kill him?" "*Toye, toye, toye.*" It put its head out all the way, and its neck was red with blood. Its head had been plunged into the jaguar's wound.

They reached the camp. "Well?" they asked. The turtle's master set it down on the ground. "It's over. Son, didn't you kill the jaguar?" "*Toye, toye, toye.*" "That's good; that's what had to be done! You did what I wanted you to do. Didn't I leave you there by yourself?" "*Toye, toye, toye.*" They went to look at the dead jaguar who lay in the middle of the huts with his feet in the air. His head was terrible to see. The color of the upper hairs went from a light tone to a darker shade, and his mouth was spotted with blood. The head, which faced backward, was frightening. The people kept their distance. An old man said: "That's good; that's what had to be done. Cut off his head right away." They cut his throat and carried the head into the forest where they burned it. They were happy.

But the turtle was tormented by the vital principle of the animal that it had killed, and soon it became sick. Its stomach turned blue and its feet just hung there. "The jaguar is making the turtle sick." Soon its head hung, too. The turtle was dead. They wept over it: "My pet animal is brave! It has just disappeared! How courageous it is! It has just killed the wild beast all by itself!" they were saying.

Soon a caterpillar tree grew in the place where they had burned the jaguar's head. That is where the master of caterpillars lives.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

People are terrorized by supernatural man-eating jaguar created to take revenge on them for slandering shamans of neighboring village. They flee, leaving behind pet turtle to kill jaguar. Latter enters deserted village and

after long search finds turtle whom he challenges to bite him. Turtle finally does so, killing him. Spirit of dead jaguar causes turtle to become sick and die.

Motif content

B16.2.+.	Devastating jaguar. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)
B176.+.	Magic turtle. (B176. Magic reptile.)
B246.+.	Master of caterpillars. (B246. King of insects.)
B491.5.	Helpful turtle (tortoise).
B523.	Animal saves man from pursuer.
B524.2.	Animals overcome man's adversary by strategy.
D419.+.	Transformation: frog to jaguar. (D419. Transformation: miscellaneous animals to other animals.)
D651.1.	Transformation to kill enemy.
D1813.	Magic knowledge of events in distant place.
D2061.	Magic murder.
D2064.	Magic sickness.
F403.2.+.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
F980.+.	Dead jaguar's head faces backward. (F980. Extraordinary occurrences concerning animals.)
G310.	Ogres with characteristic methods.
G350.+.	Jaguar as ogre. (G350. Animal ogres.)
G512.	Ogre killed.
J640.	Avoidance of others' power.
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
K839.2.	Victim lured into approach by false token.
K914.	Murder from ambush.
Q297.	Slander punished.
R312.	Forest as refuge.

281. A Clever Son-in-Law

A large jaguar kept attacking the inhabitants of a communal house. The neighboring villages did not know what was going on. However, one day a visitor arrived in one of them and abruptly addressed a man who was doing his premarital service among the victims of the animal: "A jaguar is exterminating the inhabitants of your wife's village where you regularly go to visit. A wild beast! The population is being decimated. What a misfortune! A jaguar is devouring them." The son-in-law answered: "I'll leave tomorrow to look for the survivors." "You'll be eaten; you'll be eaten! He's devouring them all so he'll certainly attack you." "I won't let myself be eaten;

I'm the one who will kill him. I'll make him bite the dust. If he attacks me I'll keep him at a distance with the help of my *hekura* spirits, and I'll shoot him with my arrows." "Well, go and see, then, and kill him." "I'll kill him."

As soon as it was daylight he left. He reached his destination quickly and saw that the house was empty. Touching the ashes he realized that they had been cold for a long time. "Are there any survivors here at all?" He scrutinized a path. "They usually take this path when they go into the forest." He went to another path. It had not been used for a long time and was obstructed by encroaching vegetation and fallen branches. He went somewhere else, and then said to himself: "Maybe I'll go to the garden." He began to walk again, and went all around the garden. Near the edge, between the cultivated part and the wild vegetation of the forest, he found some bent banana plants. They had been broken in the middle of their stems, and the clusters of bananas had been torn off. Elsewhere he found other banana plants in the same condition. In another garden he discovered the same thing. "Those are the marks of their trail. Perhaps they are over there." And he set off in that direction.

He was headed toward the home of Revenant. As he walked he called: "Are you there?" The path went along the mountain ridges, leading straight toward Revenant. The man stopped for a moment in an open area on a hilltop from where he could see all around. "Are you there?" he called as loudly as he could. "Ēĕĕĕ," replied Revenant. "It comes from over there! It sounds like their voices. Is that where you are?" "Ēĕĕĕ!" The sound was enough to make one's blood freeze. "I'll go and see." Moving toward the voice he whistled. "Ēĕĕĕ." "Yes, it's coming from that direction." There was no smoke, however.

The man reached Revenant's house where he found Revenant, his wife, and his daughter. The girl was already big and her breasts were beginning to point. She was exactly like human women when they mature into adults: her breasts were developing, and she was already a young girl. Revenant received the newcomer with these words: "An omen told me of your arrival. I heard the song of a tinamou coming toward me, and so I knew that someone would arrive. Sit down here next to me." The son-in-law only squatted down. "Daughter, give him something to eat; give him some taro." She brought him ticks, both large and small ones, and placed them on the ground in front of him. They were crawling about. Ticks! "How is it possible!" he thought. Picking up the hammock that he had taken along he slung it in the open between two trees and lay down.

When evening came Revenant said to his daughter: "My daughter, go quickly and hang your hammock under that of your husband. Don't be afraid. He'll be our companion; he'll help us." The night seemed interminable and the man woke up. "Spirits who announce the morning, hurry here to me. Come at once and join us," he implored. As it was very cool and he felt cold he got up. He was a shaman. When Revenant heard him speaking, invoking his spirit helpers, he cried: "How terrible; what frightening talk!" Without even a word of warning or farewell he disappeared, leaving his house suddenly empty.

As soon as it was light the man returned straight home instead of continuing his search. He walked quickly. When he arrived he informed the others: "I discovered some banana plants leaning toward the ground. They had been broken by the survivors who came to pick bananas. I couldn't find their tracks; they must have fled far away. Tomorrow I'll cut down a palm and make a club." He slept in his house. Early in the morning he got up, took his axe, and set off. After felling the palm that he needed he split the trunk and cut out a long piece of wood which he carried home. As he was worried over the fate of his wife and his parents-in-law he hurriedly shaped it into a club. (It is when you make a bow that you must take your time; it is much more difficult.) He carved the club, removed the bark, made a handle by rounding the thinnest end, and finally sharpened the other end to a very fine point. He worked on the edges until they were as sharp as the blade of a machete. "I'll only spend one night here; tomorrow I'm leaving. Mother, peel some green plantains and boil them so I can take them to eat along the way. I won't return before I've found the people." He was a skillful hunter who never let a tapir get away and who was equally adept at hunting jaguars. He slept. Early in the morning he once more untied his hammock and set off.

Soon he reached his destination; his sadness gave him wings. During his journey he searched, called, and scoured the various paths, going to all the places where he thought he might find the jaguar. He discovered that during his absence someone had again come to pick plantains. He called: "Are you there?" This time it was the jaguar who answered him. Suddenly he knew what he had to do. He ran toward a tree with a whitish trunk and climbed up into it. When he was safely ensconced in the tree he placed his club across the branches and attached his arrows so they would not accidentally fall down. After securing the arrows he picked up the club again and used the edge to remove the bark of the tree; a jaguar has

difficulty climbing up a tree with a smooth trunk. He caught his breath, and then called the jaguar once more. The animal answered, and moved directly and unhesitatingly toward him. When he was near the tree he raised his head and began to ascend. Supporting himself against the branches and the trunk the man dealt the jaguar a blow with his club. The animal fell. The sound of his fall was so deafening that the screaming piha sang, thinking it was thunder. "That's what had to be done to you!" exclaimed the son-in-law. But then he thought: "When he comes to he'll start climbing up again." He waited for a moment. "He's pretending to be dead," he said to himself. The animal was still lying on the ground, stunned. After a while he got up, however, and began to climb up the trunk again. The man supported himself as best he could and brought his club down hard. For a second time the jaguar remained long on the ground, stupefied. Then he got up again. The club edge with which the man had first struck the animal had been damaged by the blows, so he turned the weapon around so as to use the edge that was still intact. He let him get as close as possible, and the moment the jaguar was ready to pounce he struck him with all his might. This time he killed him. The jaguar moaned with pain, and his tail shuddered spasmodically. "This time I really killed him," thought the man.

As a precaution he remained perched in the tree. The sun moved downward and touched the horizon; evening came, then darkness. All night he remained in the tree, on his guard in case a trembling of the tree might indicate that the jaguar was climbing up. "May the day come quickly!" he implored. All night long he remained sitting in his hammock which was slung between two branches. He felt as if time stood still. When it was finally light he broke off a few branches and dropped them on the animal. The latter did not wince and he said: "He's really dead." He untied his hammock and rolled it up to carry it, and then climbed down. As he was still afraid he paused halfway down the tree. "I'll poke him." He pricked the jaguar with the tip of a branch. "He doesn't move; I really got him," he concluded. Continuing his descent he reached the ground and walked off without so much as a glance at the dead animal.

He walked, still calling the lost people, and traveled for a long time before anyone answered. "It's over there!" Someone answered him twice, and some Yanomami came running toward him. "Is it really you?" they asked. He rested his club on the ground. "Is it really you?" "I've been searching for you long. I came once before, and then I came back again." "What you say is true. A wild animal is devouring us; a wild animal is exterminating us," they said.

"That's why I came." He was careful not to tell them at once: "I killed him." Together they reached the camp where the people had taken refuge. The father-in-law ordered his daughter: "My child, give your husband something to eat at once. He has just arrived." After eating, the man finally told them: "While I was traveling here and calling you, the jaguar answered me. I killed him." Then his father-in-law said to his companions: "Now we'll climb up the mountainside and return to live in the communal house. We'll all shoot the dead jaguar to take revenge on him. Untie your hammocks; let's go back and live in the house! We've been going hungry long. Let's be off! When we went to pick plantains we always went in that direction; that's where the garden is, not very far from here. We'll follow the same path."

They entered the gardens, crossed them, and headed toward the house which they soon reached. Scattered about under the roof were the empty hearths of the people whom the jaguar had eaten. Only a few survivors remained: two children, two women, two men, and two adolescents. The beast had finished off the others; he had devoured them. "Well, where is he? I'll cut off his head and you will burn it right away, for his teeth are indestructible." "Let's go and see," said the one who had killed the jaguar. They left. "Look for him there." He stopped by the side of the path and let the others search. He was still standing there when they discovered the enormous dead jaguar. The animal was beginning to swell, and his head faced backward. The people shouted triumphantly: "He got what he deserved; this is what had to be done!"

The son-in-law spent two days with them. Then he said: "I'm returning home, but I will come back here soon." Showing them the fingers of one hand he added: "I'll be away this many days." He kept his promise. Upon his return his father-in-law said to him: "You will track tapirs. I intend to arrange a funerary ceremony for those who have disappeared." That son-in-law was not a man who would lose the trail of a tapir.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Village population is being decimated by giant man-eating jaguar until survivors finally flee into forest. Man goes to search for them. During his search he first meets Revenant and his family, who offer him ticks to eat before they disappear. Man makes himself club to prepare for battle with jaguar and climbs up into tree. Jaguar tries repeatedly to climb up to kill him

but is repulsed every time until man finally kills him. Continuing his search he eventually locates lost people, who all return home.

Motif content

B16.2. +.	Devastating jaguar. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)
B147.2.	Birds furnish omens.
E599.5.	Ghost travels swiftly.
F401.6.	Spirit in human form.
F402.6.	Dwelling of demons.
F402.7.	Family of demons.
F403.2. +.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
F404.	Means of summoning spirits.
F556.	Remarkable voice.
F980. +.	Dead jaguar's head faces backward. (F980. Extraordinary occurrences concerning animals.)
G350. +.	Jaguar as ogre. (G350. Animal ogres.)
G512.8.1.	Ogre killed by striking with club.
H1385.	Quest for lost persons.
J580.	Wisdom of caution.
J613.	Wise fear of the weak for the strong.
K810.	Fatal deception into trickster's power.
K910.	Murder by strategy.
K1113.1.	Dupe persuaded to climb tall tree.

282. A Close Call

The spirits of the shaman Thōmihewē shot a fierce jaguar. The spirits warned their children: "You were nearly devoured by the jaguar!"

The large jaguar was advancing, swaying as he moved. The spirits shot off their arrows at him but they only wounded him superficially. The jaguar growled and then he leaped at the spirits, seized one between his claws, and tore him to pieces. "Watch out, the jaguar is fierce!" The jaguar pursued the spirits to where they had taken refuge, and their trampling cleared an area in the forest.

In spite of everything the spirits finally killed the jaguar. It was Kakuruyathawē who got the better of him; he is a killer of jaguars. The jaguar lay there dead. In their flight the spirits had been caught in some thick lianas and, dragging them along, had broken them. These lianas are still like that, as if all this happened yesterday. In their flight they knocked against trees which became entangled as

they fell and remained standing, leaning heavily. Fierce wasps suspended their nests in these trees, and from then on the trees became the trees of the spirits. "You were nearly devoured by the jaguar!" said the spirits again.

They cut off the head of the jaguar and hung it up. In the sockets of the skull the wasps made their nests. I think they are still there; those wasps did not fear anything. "You were nearly devoured by the jaguar!"

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Spirits kill and decapitate fierce jaguar which has devoured one of them.

Motif content

B16.2.+.	Devastating jaguar. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)
F403.2.+.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
F419.+.	Spirit killed. (F419. Spirits and demons—miscellaneous.)
G510.4.	Hero overcomes devastating animal.
H84.	Tokens of exploits.
P555.2.1.1.	Publication of slaying.

283. Watch Out, Pregnant Woman

Some people had gone to gather *rasha* fruit. Then they went to bathe near the bank of a river. There they amused themselves by splashing water on one another and keeping one another's faces under water until they were so full of water that they could hardly move. "All right, children, let's go!" Our ancestors often did some unusual things. "Let's go! And see to it that no one falls behind, for there's a wild animal following us. He appeared on the path back there, and now he's following our trail. Hurry up!"

A child was sitting in a tree at the water's edge. Three women had stayed behind to bathe. Suddenly the boy's look froze and he began to say: "Pregnant woman, be careful! Pregnant woman, be careful! Watch out, a deer! Pregnant woman, pregnant woman, be careful!" As he spoke these words a large jaguar approached. Two of the women hurried toward shore and managed to reach land. The third, who was pregnant, was not as nimble. The jaguar devoured her.

The two women who had managed to escape told the others when they reached the house: "A wild animal has just eaten one of us!" The men hurried back but the jaguar had quickly left, dragging his victim with him. All the while the boy had remained in the tree. "The jaguar has satisfied his desire for flesh," declared the old people. The boy had remained perched there without being seen.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

B16.2. +. Devastating jaguar. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)

284. The Paca-Jaguar

There was a jaguar¹⁹⁵ who had a beautiful daughter; she was a young girl. There were three of them, the jaguar, his wife, and the daughter.

One day a Sanema arrived to visit. "Girl, make gruel for the visitor. The visitor needs filling up," said the jaguar.¹⁹⁶ Once the visitor had been fed the jaguar told his daughter to accompany the visitor, helping him to find a paca. "Let's go and kill a paca," suggested the daughter to the visitor.¹⁹⁷ "Right! Off you go," said the visitor. The jaguar gave the visitor a really good stave. "Kill a paca then!" encouraged the jaguar, so the visitor and the daughter went off down to the river.¹⁹⁸

As soon as they had gone the jaguar rushed off and hid himself in a hole in the riverbank: *tolo!* After a while the girl led the visitor to that spot. They descended to the mouth of the hole. "Here's the place," called the girl. "Dig the animal out!" The girl poked the stave into the hole while the Sanema tunneled and crawled in. "The footprints are really fresh," she said, but the jaguar leaped out and killed the man—*glun!*—and then carried him home to eat him.

Whenever Sanema came to visit, the jaguar ate them. The girl would pretend that she was about to copulate with the visitor and take them to that paca's earth.

Now the giant anteater was the jaguar's wife.¹⁹⁹ One day two women came visiting from where they were *wāshimo*. The jaguar killed them too and ate them: *glun! glun!* One of the women was pregnant. The jaguar ripped her open and gave the child to his wife. The baby cried and cried, and the anteater comforted it. "Hush!

Ooooooooo! Hush! Ooooooooo!" said the jaguar-mother, nursing the baby.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 87-88.

Summary

Daughter of jaguar ogre regularly lures human visitors into forest where her father kills and eats them.

Motif content

B16.2.+.	Devastating jaguar. (B16.2. Devastating wild animals.)
F575.1.	Remarkably beautiful woman.
G310.	Ogres with characteristic methods.
G350.+.	Jaguar as ogre. (G350. Animal ogres.)
K800.	Killing or maiming by deception.
K810.	Fatal deception into trickster's power.
K917.	Treacherous murder during hunt.
T584.2.	Child removed from body of dead mother.

285. A Deceitful Jaguar Deceived

Many people had gone *wāshimo*. A girl separated from her relations cried: "Wa! Wa! Wa! Wa!" The father-in-law got angry. "I'm really annoyed at that girl!" he said. Being so vexed he went off into the forest to get away from her. A jaguar²⁰⁰ killed the man in the forest and ate him.

Then, pretending to be the Sanema, the jaguar returned to the house at night. He handed a packet of wrapped *moka* frogs²⁰¹ to the woman and climbed into the liana hammock over her.²⁰² She was the wife of the Sanema that he had killed. The woman could feel his hairy body rubbing hers as he lay slung in the hammock above her. "Wā! My husband's all hairy tonight," she said. "It's not your husband, it's the jaguar!" people replied.

When it became light the jaguar still lay in his hammock. The woman pretended to cook up cassava porridge but really boiled up resin.²⁰³ *kopo! kopo! kopo!* She pretended to stir the porridge: *sako! sako! sako!* She told her daughter to flee. The daughter fled, putting her back-basket into her hammock as she left. Everyone else fled, leaving baskets in their place. Once the boiling *betun* was ready she offered it to the jaguar. "Here, drink your porridge," she said. As the jaguar prepared to drink it, she poured the boiling *betun* all over

him: *salulu!* She poured it over him as he looked up. She then fled too. The jaguar pounced on the hammocks. There was nobody there, only baskets; they had all fled.

That's what happened to the jaguar.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 92-93.

Summary

Jaguar masking as woman's husband is burned when she pours boiling liquid over him.

Motif content

J613.	Wise fear of the weak for the strong.
K1311.+.	Attempted seduction by masking as woman's husband. (K1311. Seduction by masking as woman's husband.)
K1910.	Marital impostors.
Q243.2.1.	Attempted seduction punished.
Q262.	Impostor punished.
Q469.10.1.	Scalding as punishment for attempted seduction.

286. A Woman Kills the Jaguar

The husband went to Jaguar Mountain to hunt. He approached the mountain, and there was an inga tree there. He circled around hunting near the base of Jaguar Mountain till he came to the inga tree. The husband chopped away, cut down the inga fruits, and ate away there on top of the pile. Then he returned home and lay down in his hammock. "I cut down inga fruits out there," said the husband. His wife left her very young infant son and said: "I'm going out to pull down some ingas." She rushed off, running. She cut down the ingas where it was evident that her husband had been.

Then a Sanuma arrived and said: "Come. Come." He took her away and together they climbed Jaguar Mountain. He led her in dancing back and forth, back and forth. As they kept dancing back and forth the hungry woman was growing increasingly weak. She said: "Uncle, uncle. Take me dancing near the edge. Take me dancing over there near the edge."

While the Sanuma was doing that with the mother, the infant son continued to cry at home because he was really thirsty.

While he was crying and crying at home, out on Jaguar Mountain his mother was made really hungry (lit., "his mother's intestines are completely emptied of any food") by the jaguar man. The woman was forced to say: "Uncle, uncle. Take me dancing over there by the edge. Take me dancing over there by the edge." She was forced to say that on Jaguar Mountain.

Meanwhile birds were chirping away in a clump of shrubs. They chirped as they fluttered in and out.

It was like this that on Jaguar Mountain the woman was led in dancing back and forth. There are good *hekula* spirit songs about that. Their songs are given to the *hekula* spirits.

She was led in dancing back and forth, back and forth. She said: "Uncle. Take me dancing back and forth there by the edge." He did not take her dancing by the edge at first, but kept on dancing back and forth with the woman on the level part of the mountain.

At the same time the little infant son at home kept on crying and crying. The little thirsty one was made to get really weak.

When the hungry woman got good and tired she said: "Uncle. Take me dancing back and forth by the edge," so he did. There by the edge where they danced back and forth the woman threw the jaguar against the side of a big sharp rock. The jaguar was cut in two. He growled: "*Aaau.*" A cougar and a striped jaguar immediately jumped up and away. (When the jaguar was cut in two, the bottom part became a cougar and the upper part became a striped jaguar.) That's the way it happened.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

While gathering fruit, woman is forced to dance with jaguar-man. Finally, she pushes him over edge of cliff, killing him.

Motif content

B20.+.	Jaguar-man. (B20. Beast-men.)
B293.	Animal dance.
D447.	Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.
D1275.	Magic song.
K800.	Killing or maiming by deception.
L310.	Weak overcomes strong in conflict.
S118.1.	Murder by cutting adversary in two.

287. The Woman Causes the Jaguar to Split Open on Jaguar Mountain

This is how the ancestors were. The ancestors got all fouled up.

Long ago on Jaguar Mountain a woman danced back and forth. The jaguar took one of the women of the ancestors and danced back and forth with her. He danced with her from early morning until very late in the afternoon. Then late in the afternoon, the woman caused the jaguar to split open. That is the name. "On Jaguar Mountain" is the name received right away.

Informant: Sitiho

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

A1617.	Origin of place-name.
B293.	Animals dance.
K800.	Killing or maiming by deception.
L310.	Weak overcomes strong in conflict.

288. Aro, Attacked by Enemies, Turns into a Jaguar²⁰⁴

Aro was attacked by enemies who were armed with clubs. They beat him ceaselessly, and that was how he was transformed into a jaguar.²⁰⁵ A long time before that he had eaten larvae from a wasps²⁰⁶ nest, and afterward he had transformed; he had become another person. The wasps had stung him a lot, causing him to lose consciousness, and he had fallen to the ground completely stiff from the pain.²⁰⁷ Why was he not afraid of those wasps? They really stung him all over until they had finished with him, and he finally fell down, unconscious. It was only much later that he came to himself again. When he began to regain consciousness he called: "Aro! Aro! Aro! Aro!" That is how he got his name.

He had very long testicles that hung all the way down to his knees. At first they did not hang like that; they were small and black, and close to his body. But Aro was very tough and brave; he had killed many people.²⁰⁸ That is what he was like. He was tall, like

Aika's son of the people of Heroutheri,²⁰⁹ the one with gray hair; have you seen him?

Enemy warriors attacked Aro. They shot him full of arrows and then beat him endlessly with clubs. That was when Aro became a jaguar. Finally they left him for dead on the ground, and that was how he turned into a jaguar and fled into the forest. When he transformed he cut off his long testicles—*seki!*—and threw them away. He thought: "These testicles are too long; they look ugly!"

Aro really did transform into a jaguar after being attacked by enemies who shot him and beat him with long clubs. He turned into a huge jaguar whose roar is frightening to hear, and he is still a jaguar.

Informant: Kobi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Man becomes supernaturally tough after being stung by wasps. Then, shot and beaten endlessly by enemies, he transforms into jaguar.

Motif content

D112.6.	Transformation: man to jaguar.
D566.	Transformation by striking.
F547.7.	Enormous testicles.
F600.+.	Mighty warrior. (F600. Persons with extraordinary powers.)

Commentary on Warfare among the Highlands Yanomam

People still make war in the region where Aro became a jaguar. Do the people of Shitheetheri²¹⁰ not make war all the time? Not just once in a while but really all the time! It is only around Surukuku²¹¹ that the warfare ends. Where there are no white people the Yanomam make war a lot! A lot, not just a little! Even though the villagers are neighbors they attack one another at dawn. The people do not go far to make war; they attack one another at dawn, just like that, although they live close together, like from here to the FUNAI post.²¹² Although they are neighbors they make war on one another, even though they may have lived together previously. They do not fight wars with outsiders but with their own people.²¹³ It is because they want to make war that they separate.²¹⁴ We, too, experienced war in which our elders fought, when the people of Shitheetheri, Sharaitheri, and Hayowatheri, and the Shamathari,²¹⁵ all used to attack us. We, the youn-

gest, are the sons of the people who fought those wars; we are the ones who remain. The enemies killed all our elders.²¹⁶

289. Agouti, the Stingy Mother-in-Law²¹⁷

Agouti²¹⁸ refused to share her food with her son-in-law, and poisoned him with fruits from the *wabukohi* tree.²¹⁹ That is why he shot her with an arrow, furious over her stinginess. The mother-in-law was called Agouti, and her son-in-law Acouchi.²²⁰

Agouti and Acouchi were both in their communal house. Agouti was sitting in the dark at the far end of her living area,²²¹ eating *wabu* fruits that she had prepared²²² and opening *shorehe* fruit²²³ shells to eat with them.²²⁴ Not far from her Acouchi lay down in his hammock, and thus he heard the incessant sound of his mother-in-law's fingernails as she peeled the fruits: *tihi! tihi! krësssi! krësssi!* He asked her: "Mother-in-law, I would like some of the fruits you are eating. Give me some!" She replied: "Remember that I'm peeling bitter *wabu* fruits! *Tëkë! Tëkë! Tëkë!*" But in fact she was lying; she was peeling tasty *shorehe* fruits to eat with the *wabu* she had already prepared. The sound of her fingernails against the rough shell of the fruits could be heard incessantly: *tihi! tihi! tihi! krësssi! krësssi! krësssi!* Wearily her son-in-law asked again: "Mother-in-law, what are you eating? Give me some of those fruits!" Again she replied: "I'm simply peeling bitter *wabu* fruits!" He insisted again: "Mother-in-law, give me some of your *wabu* fruits!"

Night fell. She continued to lie to him: "How can you ask for *wabu* before they have been sliced? Why don't you realize that I'm peeling them so that I can cut them up tomorrow?²²⁵ *Tëkë! Tëkë! Tëkë!*" He kept insisting: "Mother-in-law, you've been preparing those *wabu* for so long! Go and see whether the ones you've already put to soak in the river haven't become edible! I'm very hungry!" She still refused and only answered: "They're still bitter! *Tëkë! Tëkë! Tëkë!*"

Finally, at the insistence of her son-in-law, Agouti pretended to go to the river to rub her *wabu*.²²⁶ But in the end all she brought him were bitter *wabu*. She tricked him by giving him inedible fruits and hiding the rest. She was really stingy! She alone ate her tasty *wabu* during the night, along with *shorehe* fruits gathered in a basket under her hammock.

Acouchi ate the still bitter *wabu* and was gradually poisoned. He began to lose consciousness, and vomited: *uwë! shau! uwë! shau!* She

had given him unprepared fruits that were poisoning him. Then she went to the river pretending that she was going to finish preparing other *wabu*.

Left alone in the house Acouchi gradually recovered his senses. In order to regain consciousness he struck the top of his head with his hand²²⁷ and said to himself furiously: "*Asi!*"²²⁸ I really feel bad! I nearly died! She made me very sick! *Asi!*" He took an arrow and stuck a sharp point²²⁹ into the shaft. Then he went looking for his mother-in-law, asking in a loud voice: "Where did that bad woman go?" Somebody answered: "She just went to the river to prepare more *wabu*." His anger mounted: "*Asi!* That stingy woman really makes me furious! *Asi!*" He left the house and took a circuitous route through the forest in order to surprise Agouti on the riverbank. As he approached her he kept himself out of view. He could see her jaws and cheeks moving quickly while she ate the *wabu*, which now were edible. She was eating greedily, with watchful eyes, hurrying in order not to be discovered: *krui wa! krui wa!* Do the agoutis not still eat like that?

Acouchi said to himself: "So that's how she eats the edible *wabu* all by herself! And she made me sick by giving me the ones that were still bitter! I'm going to shoot an arrow into her rump!" He bent his bow and let fly: *thai wa! thikē!* The arrow struck Agouti: *koshshshshi!* She let out a scream from pain and turned into an agouti: *hwē! hwē! hwē! hwē!* The arrowhead broke inside her body—*kra!*—and the arrow became the tail of the agouti. She fell—*kurai!*—and then she got up and fled, wounded, into the undergrowth: *shashashashasha! kukēhe! kukēhe! kurai!* Acouchi followed her trail and finally found her lying on the ground, panting: *hēēē! hēēē! tukē! tukē! tukē!* He finished her off, cut her up, and carried her home to eat her.²³⁰ In those days there was no game; that is why people used to eat one other like that.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Stingy woman refuses to share fruits with her son-in-law, giving him inedible fruits instead. He gets sick. In revenge he shoots her. She turns into agouti, and he finally eats her.

Motif content

A2215.1. +.	Arrow shot at agouti's rump: hence tail. (A2215.1. Stick (leaf) thrown at animal's rump: hence tail.)
A2378.1. +.	Where agouti got its tail. (A2378.1. Why animals have tail.)
D110. +.	Transformation: woman to agouti. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D560. +.	Transformation by shooting. (D560. Transformation by various means.)
G70. +.	Flesh of relative transformed to animal eaten. (G70. Occasional cannibalism—deliberate.)
K2218. +.	Treacherous mother-in-law. (K2218. Treacherous relatives-in-law.)
Q276.	Stinginess punished.
Q551.3.2.	Punishment: transformation into animal.
W152.	Stinginess.

290. A Gluttonous Mother-in-Law

Agouti-Woman undoubtedly wanted to transform. Her son-in-law said to her: "Mother-in-law, my brother-in-law and I are going to gather *wapu* fruits." "All right, my boy, hit the branches with a stick and gather the fruits. The other people are already eating some. We'll mix them with water and eat them like that," said Agouti-Woman. But actually she wanted to eat them by herself. Alone! Just then their garden was producing little, and food was scarce; they were eating *wapu* mash.

The two young men went off to gather fruits. They prepared the ones they found and put them into the river to soak. After a few days the son-in-law asked: "Mother-in-law, what about the *wapus* that are soaking; have they lost their bitter taste? Are they good to eat?" "They're still hard." She was lying; she had already secretly gone to eat several times. "I'll ask my brother-in-law," decided her son-in-law. He approached the latter and sat down on the edge of his hammock. "Brother-in-law, are you eating any of the *wapus* that we went to gather?" "I already finished them a while ago. Look, here's the basket." The other thought: "He has eaten his. Are there still any left, soaking in the river?" He returned to his mother-in-law and said: "Mother-in-law, my brother-in-law has already eaten his *wapus*. Why do you keep them so long in the water? Are you per-

haps eating them yourself little by little? You go away so often." "I found that they were still hard," she replied.

Agouti-Woman had just gone off one more time to eat by herself. Her son-in-law did not fail to notice it; after all, young men notice everything. He sought out the other people: "Have you returned from collecting *wapus*?" "Yes, in fact I went to gather some today." Everyone was eating *wapus*. "I would have liked to go as well; I would have prepared some for myself. My mother-in-law pretends that hers are still bitter. Does she really only taste them?" She was hiding her basket under a flat stone, near the riverbank.

Returning to his hearth he noticed that his mother-in-law was not there. "Where did she go this time?" She had disappeared, slipping out behind the house where she had her hammock, near the lowest part of the roof. "Where can she be?" he wondered. "She has gone to eat *wapus*; she's eating them all by herself. I'll go and see." He got down from his hammock. The river was nearby; it was White Stone River. And there she was indeed, digging into the basket with her hands after she had opened it. Looking around furtively she ate gluttonously. (Are agoutis not gluttons?) The son-in-law flew into a rage. "How annoying she is!" he shouted. He picked up a stone, hard, sharp, and milky like garasole, and hurled it at Agouti-Woman. She turned into an animal, and her cries could be heard gradually moving off into the distance. When she reached the source of the Kootopiwei River she suddenly halted and, like the immortal spirits, shook her ears vigorously.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Agouti-Woman treacherously keeps food supply from her son-in-law, eating it all herself. When he finds out he throws stone at her and she turns into agouti.

Motif content

D110.+.	Transformation: woman to agouti. (D110.
	Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D566.	Transformation by striking.
K2218.+.	Treacherous mother-in-law. (K2218. Treacherous relatives-in-law.)
Q276.	Stinginess punished.
Q551.3.2.	Punishment: transformation into animal.
W152.	Stinginess.

291. The Greedy Agouti²³¹

The original agouti went out collecting. People were very hungry. The agouti collected *senhendî* fruits.²³² Then in the night the agouti could be heard doing something: *bli! bli!* "What are you eating, mummy?" asked the agouti's son. "No, I'm just squeezing the gut contents out of caterpillars," she lied. That agouti was very selfish. She ate *senhendî* fruits in the night, when everyone else was very hungry and her son was hungry too. "No, I'm just squeezing the gut contents out of caterpillars," she lied!

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 92.

Motif content

S12.6.	Cruel mother refuses children food.
W151.	Greed.

292. Ancestors Flee to the Water

The old people were at home over there lying in their hammocks. They lay in their hammocks after others had gone out. Early in the day they ran out to hunt, ran over the mountain, and when it was still early they went along a ridge out in the forest. They all listened and heard the sound of the *santetemy* bird: "*Ikekekeke*." (A sound like the verb *ikeke*, "to open wide and expose.")

Because they heard that sound, they said: "Oh, the tips of our penises are going to be exposed. What are we going to do?" They immediately said: "Here's what we'll do. We'll go into the river." And they jumped into the river.

They turned into animals that are at home in the water. Over there, away went a couple of capybaras and an alligator. When all the old people fell into the river they turned into animals, and over there, away went a capybara, a *plolo* otter, and a *hatamy* Brazilian otter.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

D100.

Transformation: man to animal.

293. An Imprudent Boy Is Transformed into a Turtle²³³

A group of women were returning from a fishing expedition.²³⁴ After gathering the fish together they had set out toward their house, leaving the stream to travel through the forest along a path that made a long detour.

Some fruits had fallen from a *abiawishakomahi* tree,²³⁵ and one of the women saw them on the ground. She ate one and exclaimed: "Hî! These fruits are delicious!" Her young son asked for some: "Where are they? Give me some, mother! Here!" They were very tasty! The mother said again: "These fruits are really succulent!" They were quite hungry. Her son asked: "Mother, may I cut off a few branches to pick the fruits?" She answered: "Don't climb that tree; you will fall!" He insisted: "Mother, I'll make a climbing ring²³⁶ to help me climb, and I'll cut off some branches!"²³⁷ He made his ring, hung a machete on his back with a bark string around his neck,²³⁸ and began to climb. His mother called to him: "Over there! Cut some branches starting from that fork!" The boy kept climbing, and then he began to transform, calling: "Yuuutu! Yuuutu! Yuuutu!" thus announcing his fall.²³⁹ He continued to climb: "Yuuutu! Yuuutu! Yuuutu!" Finally he crouched on a branch and untied the machete which he had been carrying on his back. He began to cut into the branches: *kure! kure! kure!* Suddenly the machete slipped: *wa thaiii!* Thrown off balance he fell from the tree while turning into a turtle:²⁴⁰ *hatututututu!* Changing from a Yanomam to a turtle he fell from a great height onto the forest floor. It was in that forest that he fell, over there in the highlands,²⁴¹ very far from here.

Informant: Kobi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Ignoring his mother's warning, boy climbs tree to gather fruits. He falls, and turns into turtle.

Motif content

D193.	Transformation: man to tortoise (turtle).
J652.	Inattention to warnings.

294. Some Neglected Children Are Transformed into Birds²⁴²

Some children were transformed into red-throated caracaras.²⁴³ It happened over there in the highland,²⁴⁴ far away. A few women had gone to chop wood in the forest: *thikē! thikē! thikē!* This was during a gathering expedition.²⁴⁵ They had not cut very much wood. There were hostile relationships among them—do women not argue among themselves? They had cut a few logs, and were busy splitting them: *hā! thikē! thikē! thikē!* They had taken with them all those of their children who were still nursing, and were carrying them on their backs.

Returning with their wood they saw in the forest a wasps' nest, and decided to eat the larvae raw.²⁴⁶ They ate and ate. As they had left their children some distance away they did not hear them crying when they grew hungry.²⁴⁷ Finally they returned in the direction of the children and called them: "Son! Come here quickly!" The only answer was a kind of strange moan: "*Hī! Hī!*" Anxiously the women started to run toward their children. When they reached them the latter had just been transformed into *kobari* birds. They flew when their mothers arrived—*waooooo! bouuuuu!*—while emitting resounding calls: "*Ka ka ka kãããã!*" Then they flew up and perched on some branches high up. Terrified, their mothers began to lament: "*Waaa! Waaa!*"²⁴⁸ The youngest women tried to climb the trees to catch their children who had become birds, to hold them back. It was in vain; the birds took flight, and this time they settled on the branches in the treetops. All the mothers began to cry, and they remained in the forest like that, weeping.

Informant: Kobi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

During food-gathering expedition abandoned children turn into birds and remain in forest.

Motif content

D150. Transformation: man to bird.

295. The *Tanakamĩ* Bird

A Yekuana ancestor was making a canoe. He became that bird²⁴⁹ that calls "*Tana tau!*" It was that ancestor who was making a canoe. He was chopping at the sides of the canoe to shape it: *talo! talo! talo! talo! de! de! de! de! de! to! tana! tau!* He was chopping at the canoe with his axe—*de! de! de!*—so he transformed into the *tanakamĩ* bird.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 88.

Motif content

D150. Transformation: man to bird.

296. Bird Song

People were punting a canoe upstream. They were Yekuana. "Cut a punt pole," said one. "Right!" "This pole's really short; cut me a good long one." One of the Yekuana climbed ashore. He went into the trees but he never came back. He had transformed. A little bird sang: "*Toti toti! toti toti totiii!*" His voice sang from the jungle.²⁵⁰

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 95.

Motif content

D150. Transformation: man to bird.

297. *The Woodpecker Gives Blood for Honey

The old people were out looking for food. The ancestors of long ago, *tesamy* woodpeckers, were chopping away at a *sotonatopy* tree in

*Cf. narratives 111 and 112.

order to get some honey of the *samonama* bees. They did this early in the day and returned home before the others. The *hutuhutummy* woodpecker, however, was still out looking for food. Night was fast falling but he had not found honey and was just up in the top of a tree chopping away. He called down for some leaves. His two wives, whom he had taken along, ran, broke off some leaves, and tied them to a vine so the woodpecker could pull them up. The *hutuhutummy* woodpecker formed the leaves into the shape of a bowl and said: "Here! I'm sending down the honeycomb, but I won't be sending down any more."

After it had gotten dark the *hutuhutummy* woodpecker formed the leaves into the shape of a bowl; then he pierced his nose with a stick. Blood came pouring out. The blood filled up the leaf bowl and he wrapped it up. The *hutuhutummy* woodpecker said: "Drink it back at the house. Go back and just drink it there together." The *hutuhutummy* woodpecker's wife was really hungry, so she went back home. The woodpecker's nose was bleeding badly. He washed it and said: "Your honey is here. Drink it. Drink it all up at once." So they drank it all.

On one hand the *tesamy* woodpecker chopped away over there getting out *samonama* bee honey and called for leaves to wrap the honey, while on the other hand the little *hutuhutummy* woodpecker kept going out looking for food. His wife laid the wrapping of honey on the ground, and they drank it early in the morning. But the little *hutuhutummy* woodpecker kept on looking for food. As night was about to fall, he chopped at a limb of a tree and called for leaves. His wife broke some off and tied them on a vine for him. He pierced his nose and it bled. "Take this leaf package of honey and go home. Then drink up all the honey," he ordered them without others hearing. Even though he said: "Drink up all the honey," the old ancestor, the *hutuhutummy* woodpecker's mother-in-law, said: "Everybody else was drinking honey and I was left wanting some and didn't have any this morning." Then she covered the leaf package and slept and slept. It became daylight again.

Early in the day after daybreak the *tesamy* woodpecker's wife drank real honey there by herself. Over there where the *hutuhutummy* woodpecker's mother-in-law had laid the leaf package of liquid, she unwrapped it and uncovered the big wrapping of blood. She said: "I hate the way he always makes me go without while others are filled." Just then the little *hutuhutummy* woodpecker turned into a real woodpecker and started saying: "*Hututututu, hutu, hutu, hutu.*" Meanwhile, the *tesamy* woodpecker turned into a real woodpecker

and tapped away at a tree and started making the sounds: "Tesa, tesa, hutututu, klo, klo, klo, klo, tesa, klo, klo, klo."

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

Man gives his in-laws blood to eat instead of honey. Eventually all turn into woodpeckers.

Motif content

D153.1.	Transformation: man to woodpecker.
K2218.+.	Treacherous son-in-law. (K2218. Treacherous relatives-in-law.)
S183.	Frightful meal.

298. For the Love of Honey

Early in the morning a man called his son-in-law, for it had already been light for a while. "Did you sleep well, son? Thanks to your sharp eyes the other people often eat honey. I, too, want to dilute honey with water and drink it. Come, you will show me the beehives." His son-in-law was the son of Tayra. "Father-in-law, let's hurry up and leave. In the morning when the sun is still low and the rays pass under the trees at a slant the bees are very visible." "Yes. Wait a moment; I want to paint a line on my forehead with urucú. I am also capable of finding beehives!" Using his fingertips he traced a maroon line all around his face. "Let's go!" "Father-in-law, carry the axe on your shoulder." "I will. Come, son, you will lick my fingers." They set off, walking one behind the other, the father-in-law in front.

"Father-in-law, over there, in that direction, one always finds something." When they left the path the father-in-law scraped the ground with his foot to remove the plant debris that covered it, and then he placed a handful of leaves there. This brings luck. "Even if you didn't do that I would still find honey," said his son-in-law. Several times the older man crumpled leaves between his hands; he was really eager for honey. "There are beehives in the trees in that direction." This time it was the son-in-law who walked in the lead. "Father-in-law, father-in-law, here's *mashipuma* honey!" "Leave it, our rear ends will get dirty!" They walked on. Not far from there:

"Father-in-law, look, here's *narimi* honey!" "Where? I'm sure those are *mamokasi yakokorimi* wasps." They continued: *tok, tok, tok*. "Father-in-law, here's some excellent *shapomi* honey!" "Those are *pahari* bees. They are ferocious; leave them!" They went on. "Father-in-law, here's *himoto* honey, right above us!" "Our eyelids will lose most of their eyelashes!" They continued on their way. "Father-in-law, here's some *ami kē ushi* honey!" "We'll end up with a red glans!" Again they spurned the honey. "Father-in-law, there's some *tima* honey here!" "We'll get circles under our eyes!" They went on searching. "Father-in-law, here's some *husira* honey; it's excellent." "We'll get hanging lips!" They walked in another direction. "Father-in-law, father-in-law!" "What?" "Come and look over here. What kind of honey do you prefer?" "Those are certainly *mamokasi yakokorimi* wasps." Again they left the honey untouched.

"Father-in-law, here's some very good *hēshē* honey!" "He! He!" He was pleased; that was the kind he preferred. "Son, sit down at the foot of this tree." Quickly the man began to climb. It was a big tree with convenient protuberances to hold onto. "Father-in-law, you have to enlarge the opening." "Bring me some leaves!" "In a moment I'll go and gather some leaves." "Get me leaves!" "Father-in-law, drop the honeycomb!" "I'll deal with it." He crushed the honeycomb and the pollen as well as the scraps, and pressed the wax between his hands to squeeze out the honey. That is what he did. "Son, wait a minute, I'm separating the honey. First I'll throw you the scraps." He had already thrown down the wax. Now, instead of doing what he had said he filled the hole in the tree to the brim with honey. Once in a while he would lean toward his son-in-law when the latter's head was raised, for he wanted to secretly drop into the hollow tree. When the son-in-law bent down to pull out a thorn from his foot the man took the opportunity to let himself fall into the tree. The son-in-law raised his head again. "Father-in-law, father-in-law!" he called. "*Wa, wa. . .*" Already the father-in-law had been transformed into a tree frog, and the opening in the tree trunk had begun to shrink; he was imprisoned in the hollow trunk. "*Wa wa hu hu,*" croaked the tree frog. Thorupewë had been transformed.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

While searching for honey in forest, man repeatedly rejects beehives found by his son-in-law. When they finally find acceptable hive father-in-

law tries to keep honey for himself by hiding it inside hollow tree. He falls inside tree and turns into frog.

Motif content

D195.	Transformation: man to frog.
N131.	Acts performed for changing luck.
W152.	Stinginess.

299. The Reluctant Old Woman

Far over there some Sanema had gone *wāshimo*. They had been out there for many days. People then decided to return home.

The next day they got ready to go. One old lady sat on the ground very firmly. "Off we go," they said. The old lady was reluctant, very reluctant. People grabbed hold of her arm and tried to pull her up. They pulled very hard. But the old lady stayed firmly where she was. "Enough of that!" people said, giving up. The old lady turned into a termites' nest.²⁵¹

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 56.

Motif content

D200.+.	Transformation: woman to termites' nest. (D200. Transformation: man to object.)
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300. Kokopilima

Kokopilima²⁵² had married Anedema's daughter. She was called Anedeshuma.²⁵³

Kokopilima told his wife to grate the manioc tubers. She grated and grated and grated. "Your wife is covered in sores," said his elder brother. It was true; she was covered in boils, sores, and pus. Kokopilima returned home. "*Pila! pila!*" he said. "That finishes that." He transformed into the bird that goes: "*Koko koko koko koko pila pila pila pila!*"²⁵⁴

So people have said.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 93.

Motif content

D150.

Transformation: man to bird.

301. The Snake's Resentment

The ancestors had been invited to a feast. "Hurry up, let's start; our hosts are calling us!" "Yes, yes!" they agreed. They left the house with their belongings and arrived near where the feast was to take place. "Well, go on, my son! You are the one who our hosts want to make the opening statement; they want you to be the invitation's messenger." "I don't want to show myself right away; someone ugly should go." "No, you're the one they are calling for; they don't want anyone else." Tragavenados placed a monkey tail on his head and set off. Before leaving he said: "You will gather here, you will all gather here!"

Tragavenados left and entered the house of his hosts. "Over here, over here!" they shouted to him from afar. He made the customary declaration, pronouncing these words:

I am a Waika;
I intend to give a bow.
That is why I am here,
That is certainly what you say.

They placed in front of him a basket containing meat and cooked plantains which he took with him as he hurried back to the others who were waiting nearby. The meat was distributed and they ate, and then they painted themselves and adorned themselves with colored feathers. The bushmaster was the first to finish, after hastily drawing a few circles on his skin. All the others were still getting ready, painting themselves carefully and gluing white down on their hair. Tragavenados and Boa Constrictor were standing some distance away and decorating themselves, hidden by a tree. Boas have a beautiful red tail, and their bodies have graceful designs.

When they had finished painting themselves, when they had inserted pendants made of bird skin into their earlobes, stuck macaw tail feathers under their armbands, and draped monkey tails around their heads, when they were really beautiful, then Tragavenados and Boa Constrictor appeared. Both were tall. They stood close together, and Tragavenados asked: "Are you painted? We'll have a

good time for quite a while during the feast." As he spoke these words the bushmaster, who was sitting apart from them, watched them with envious eyes. After a moment he lowered his head and considered his own designs. They were ugly, whereas those of the two others were splendid. This realization made him angry. He did not think: "It doesn't matter that I'm like this;" instead he turned into a snake and crawled off.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Invited to feast, all except one man adorn themselves beautifully. Embarrassed by his plain looks he turns into snake.

Motif content

D191.	Transformation: man to serpent (snake).
D642.5.	Transformation to escape notice.
W195.	Envy.

302. The Snake's Resentment

Once very long ago the ancestors of Tragavenados and of the bushmaster lived together. They had not yet entered the house of the *hekura* spirits. One day they wanted to pay a visit to the spirits and left their house carrying their belongings with them. They traveled in stages, halting to rest. When they were near the home of the *hekura* they bathed, painted designs on their skin with urucú, and adorned themselves with feathers. They wanted to look beautiful and drew the motifs on their bodies with great care.

The bushmaster was crouching some distance away while the people were getting ready. Hastily, tastelessly, he had traced a few circles and large, ugly, interlacing designs on his body. Tragavenados occupied the center of the group, and when he had finished adorning himself he stood up and said: "Have you finished painting yourselves? Let's enter the house of the *hekura* without delay; let's go there quickly!" Tragavenados' body was decorated with elegant designs. Now he called the *hekura* in a ringing voice. Watching him, the bushmaster was ashamed of his own ugliness. He hid his head in his crossed arms, envious of Tragavenados' beauty. So great was his resentment that he slid under a heap of rubbish

nearby, intending to turn into a snake. He crawled underneath the rubbish and coiled up, having become a snake. When the others saw that they gave up their plan and returned home without visiting the *hekura*.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

D191.	Transformation: man to serpent (snake).
D642.5.	Transformation to escape notice.
F402.6.	Dwelling of demons.
W195.	Envy.

303. The Mouse and the Guans

During those days, some Waika climbed up an *apia* fruit tree over there. They climbed up after the *penau* mouse had blown poison darts at the tree. The *penau* mouse had already blown poison darts at the limb that the Waika climbed. The limb broke. No sooner had they started yelling than they turned into *kulemy* guans and scattered, making the sound of the *kulemy* guans.

Those who were sitting on the limb that broke fell down, and those who remained on the outer branches yelled and turned into *kulemy* guans and scattered right away, making the sound of *kulemy* guans.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D1564. +.	Magic dart breaks tree branch. (D1564. Magic object splits or cuts things.)

304. The *Pinadu*

The guan people²⁵⁵ had gone *wāshimo*. They were eager to eat *apia* fruits.²⁵⁶ So all of them climbed high up into a huge *apia* tree.

While they were up the tree evil shamans²⁵⁷ came raiding; they were the *pinadu* mice people.²⁵⁸ They blew their *alawali* up at the tree—*bloto! glashi!*—so that it struck the tree where it branched. And another blew his *alawali* at another point where the tree divided: *bloto! glashi!* The branches ripped away from the great tree—*gledididididi!*—and crashed down below. Many of the guan people were killed.

Three of the guan people noticed what was happening; they climbed slowly down and jumped into the branches of another tree: *wisa sili! wisa sili! wisa sili!* They were the guan people.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 61.

Motif content

B16. +.	Devastating mouse. (B16. Devastating animals.)
B90. +.	Mythical mouse. (B90. Other mythical animals.)
D1093.	Magic missile.
D1564. +.	Magic dart breaks tree branch. (D1564. Magic object splits or cuts things.)

305. The Petrified Wives²⁵⁹

Some people were transformed in primeval times. It happened not very far from here in a place called Thuwēiyēkē,²⁶⁰ beyond the headwaters of the Wakatha u River, near the Hwara u River's sources.²⁶¹ The headwaters of these rivers are close. Women transformed into mountains during their first menstruation. They were the last people to transform. That was when the forest was about to take its right shape, when people were about to cease to metamorphose.²⁶²

A man and his two wives had joined a gathering expedition,²⁶³ traveling in the forest although the younger woman had just had her first menstruation. Her husband had made her leave her menstruation hut in order to travel.

On the way the two wives, who were sisters,²⁶⁴ had stopped in a small clearing. They sat on the ground next to each other, and the older was delousing the younger.²⁶⁵ Their husband had left the trail to hunt. It became overcast.²⁶⁶ The other women began to move on again, but the two sisters remained as before, delousing each other. Their mother urged them to hurry: "Hurry up! We want to get to our forest camp as quickly as possible!" But they did not reply. They had begun to be transformed into stone, with their hindquarters

planted deep in the ground. Their companions tried to get them to move but failed. They pulled the two women by their arms, but the arms yielded one after the other: *brikē! brikē!* Then they tried to separate them from the ground by using axes—*thikē! thikē! thikē! thikē!*—but that failed as well. The two women's mother started to cry and lament: "My daughters! *Yaiyo! Yaiyo! Yaiyo! Yaiyo!*"²⁶⁷ Thus the sisters became two mountains, side by side, one overhanging the other, as the older sister leaned over the younger girl while delousing her. They became the mountains called *Thuwēiyēkē*.

Meanwhile their husband was pursuing a band of monkeys, hunting them with a blowgun²⁶⁸ on the mountain *Sherekikē*.²⁶⁹ He began to kill some. Then he killed more and more: *hōōō! baho wa! thikē wa!* But the monkeys, who had been transformed because of the man's menstrual condition,²⁷⁰ began to come at him furiously from all sides. They wanted in fact to transform him. Gradually he began to run out of darts, and the monkeys encircled him in ever greater numbers. Many fell: *ba! warai! brō! ba! warai! brō!* But more came, bands of *yōkoshi* monkeys, capuchin monkeys, spider monkeys, howler monkeys, white monkeys.²⁷¹ Aggressively they kept descending toward him from all directions, calling: "*A e! A e! A e! A e!*"

After a while he had no more darts left. Then the furious monkeys ran up to him and seized his arms in order to carry him up into the trees: *brao wa! brao wa! brao wa!* As they dragged him along among the branches he himself began to turn into a monkey. They had also taken his blowgun, and stuck it into his lower back to give him a tail: *koshshshi!* Although he had turned into a monkey his skin remained smooth, for he was originally a Yanomam. They carried him along in the treetops, very far up on the mountain *Sherekikē*, where there are still many monkeys,²⁷² at the source of the *Wakatha u* River. Finally they disappeared into a cave with him.

He was a Yanomam but he imitated the monkeys, following them and climbing from branch to branch—*ae! ae! ae!*—calling like a spider monkey: "*Hē! Hē! Hē!*" He went to live with the monkeys on the mountain *Sherekikē* because of his younger wife's menstruation. This mountain can be seen near the *Arahai* garden,²⁷³ at the *Wakatha u* River headwaters, where this river is a small stream in the highlands. Our old people migrated downstream, following this river. That's it; that is enough for this story.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Young woman is forced by her husband to travel during her first menstruation. She and her sister turn into mountains. Husband is attacked by bands of monkeys and is himself eventually transformed into monkey.

Motif content

A2215.1. +.	Blowgun stuck into monkey's rump: hence tail. (A2215.1. Stick (leaf) thrown at animal's rump: hence tail.)
A2378.1. +.	Where monkey got its tail. (A2378.1. Why animals have tail.)
C141.	Tabu: going forth during menses.
C961.2.	Transformation to stone for breaking tabu.
D118.2.	Transformation: man (woman) to monkey.
D291. +.	Transformation: woman to mountain. (D291. Transformation: man to mountain.)
D681.	Gradual transformation.
D682.	Partial transformation.
R13.1.7.	Abduction by monkey.
S62.	Cruel husband.

306. The Petrified Hunter

Near the Hill of the Menstruating Woman a girl was having her first menstruation. While she was isolated behind a partition made of foliage they heard the calls of a troupe of spider monkeys. "I'm going to hunt the monkeys," decided the girl's husband. He left. After identifying their whereabouts he set off in pursuit along the enormous rock on which they were climbing.

Meanwhile his wife surreptitiously emerged from her hut. She reached the foot of the rock. The husband was lying in ambush above; the wife was below. In an instant the rock turned red and something like the crackling of fire could be heard. "*Puriwato, puriwato*," repeated the Yanomami. He was turning into stone.

A violent wind began to blow inside the house, a frightening wind. "You over there, check whether the girl is still inside her hut." Her mother moved aside the foliage of the partition. "She has gone to join her husband. They are probably being transformed right now." "So that's why the wind is blowing." They were all on the verge of being transformed. The shamans invoked the spirits. "*Ushu, ushu*," they said, to counteract the danger. "What a misfortune! The

girl has left." They ran in the direction of the hill. Then they heard these terrible words: "*Puriwato, puriwato*." The husband had turned into stone, and the large rock glowed red as if it were on fire. The petrified man stood there, holding his arrows against his body.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

C141.	Tabu: going forth during menses.
C961.2.	Transformation to stone for breaking tabu.
D231.	Transformation: man to stone.
D492.+.	Rock turns red. (D492. Color of object changed.)
F403.2.+.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
F807.	Rock of extraordinary color.

307. The Laughing Head

A girl had just had her first menstruation; she had just ended her period of seclusion. Around her breast she had crossed a twisted string of new cotton. The cotton cut off her head. Separated from her body the head rolled toward the husband and began to snicker. He became furious and threw the head far away, saying: "You come to me as if you were a complete human being!" She came rolling back behind her husband although she was only a head, and again began to laugh. He was about to cause her to transform. How annoying she was! The head giggled and rubbed itself against his leg. As he was approaching a river, he picked up the head and threw it into the water. It fell silent, having turned into a water bug.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

D447.+.	Transformation: head to waterbug. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.)
D1617.+.	Magic laughing head. (D1617. Magic laughing object.)
D1641.7.1.	Self-rolling head.
E783.	Vital head.
R261.1.	Pursuit by rolling head.

308. A Man Is Transformed into a Bees' Nest²⁷⁴

In the forest a man had found an *ōi* bees' nest²⁷⁵ attached to the trunk of a large *arōkōhi* tree.²⁷⁶ He decided to climb up and chop it off to extract its honey. He began to construct a ladder made of poles at the root of the huge trunk in order to be able to climb up.²⁷⁷ It was afternoon. Just then his wife, who had remained in the house, had her first menstruation, and the heat began to rise inside her.²⁷⁸ The sun was descending, and in the midst of his climb the man felt himself growing hot like his wife and his skin gradually growing sticky,²⁷⁹ like hers. His forehead became damp and sticky like the foreheads of people who are in the *unokai* ritual state of homicide.²⁸⁰ When a lot of blood flows the forehead becomes like that, greasy and sticky. So the husband became sticky too. He was climbing up the tree, up and up. All the while his wife was afraid, thinking in her husband's absence: "What shall I become?" She was thinking that her husband was probably being transformed far away in the forest.

Other people had accompanied the man into the forest; they had remained squatting at the foot of the tree while he climbed up. Panting, he shouted to them: "*Shēēē!*"²⁸¹ It's very warm! I've become quite sticky; it's frightening! Am I high enough?" He had difficulty climbing for his feet were damp and he had no climbing ring to keep their grip firmly against the trunk. He kept crouching and pulling himself up, ascending slowly.²⁸² The climb took a very long time. Finally he arrived near the bees' nest, threw down a liana, and called: "My skin is completely sticky! I'm anxious to finish this! Tie some *hokosikē* palm²⁸³ leaves to this liana!" They did as he asked, and he pulled them up quickly: *hokī! hokī! hokī! hokī!* He set fire to them—*houuuuuu! woi! woi! woi!*—brought the torch near the nest, and smoked out the bees: *yī! yī! yī! yī! yī!* Then he started to chop the nest with his axe: *koshi! koshi! koshi! koshi!* Suddenly, after a blow with the axe, he let out a rattling sound from pain: "*Wa! Krēshi! Hm!*" He had long been in the process of transforming, and he began to disembowel himself.²⁸⁴ He began to pull out his innards with his hands, throwing them to the ground as if they were combs of the bees' nest. As he threw them he named them: "*Hwei!*"²⁸⁵ Here are the lungs!" They fell noisily: *brao! thouuuuu!* "*Hwei!* Here are the intestines!" *Brao! thouuuuu!* "*Hwei!* Here's the liver!" *Brao! thouuuuu!* Thus he dropped his innards. Having turned into a bees' nest and disemboweled himself he stuck to the trunk forever.

As for his wife she was frightened by her husband's fate and began to weep over him as if he were an *arōkōhi* tree. Thus she intoned funerary lamentations: "My young *arōkōhi*! *Yaiyo! Yaiyo! Yaiyo!* My young husband! *Yaiyo! Yaiyo! Yaiyo!*"²⁸⁶ Do we not weep over young men in this way? Although she had been placed in pubertal seclusion²⁸⁷ she, too, began to transform. Her mother asked her: "What's the matter with your husband? *Hēi!*"²⁸⁸ But she did not answer. She had closed her eyes.

Shamans came running to detach the husband but could not do it; he was firmly glued to the trunk. His wife was transformed as well. The shamans tried to save her, too, by pulling her from her seclusion hut, but she became a termites' nest,²⁸⁹ planted in the ground forever.

Informant: Kobi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Man gathers honey while his wife has her first menstruation. He turns into bees' nest, and she becomes termites' nest.

Motif content

C141.	Tabu: going forth during menses.
C960.	Transformation for breaking tabu.
D200.+.	Transformation: man to beehive. (D200.
	Transformation: man to object.)
D200.+.	Transformation: woman to termites' nest. (D200.
	Transformation: man to object.)
D681.	Gradual transformation.
F1041.	Extraordinary physical reactions of persons.
S160.1.	Self-mutilation.

309. Transformed into a Beehive

It never occurred to the man that his wife was having her first menstruation. It never occurred to him that they had only just removed the leaves that had isolated her, and that the ritual restrictions remained in force until the final ceremony.

"Older brother, I've discovered a magnificent beehive. It is certain to contain honey; we'll drink it diluted with water." His sister was

calling him to gather the honey. "Older brother, let's go and eat the honey. You will open the hive." "We'll eat it, sister; let's go. Take some embers with you." Those who had discovered the honey guided the others. "The hive is over there, attached to the trunk of a big tree. Very close to it there's a smaller tree whose top is not very large. One can easily climb up that one and then move over to the other tree to get to the beehive." "Older brother, there it is! It's really there. I'm sure it contains a lot of honey."

The brother climbed up into the tree which was swaying gently. He seized a liana and by pulling it brought the top of the small tree close to the top of the large one. Then he tied them together. "Just a moment! I'll place a stick up there that I can perch on to reach the hive and work on it." He climbed down, cut a short stick, and climbed up again, holding the stick. He arranged it in such a way that he would have easy access to the beehive. "Dry some dead leaves. As soon as I get them I'll burn the bees and collect the honey." The people made a fire over which they dried some damp dead leaves, and then one of the men on the ground climbed up to give them to the man in the tree. The latter tied a bunch of them to the tip of a stick along with some firebrands and approached the hive, holding the stick in one hand. Perched on the first stick he took the leaves, untied the firebrands, set fire to the leaves by blowing on the glowing embers, and burned the hive. He did everything necessary to be transformed. The fire did not burn a single bee, but he began to repeat: "Bee, bee, bee. . . ." Already he was being transformed.

He was not even able to inform the people waiting below whether there was any honey. Instead of honey it was blood that began to drip from the hive, and it was his liver that fell to the ground. "How terrible!" they cried, frightened by what was happening. His intestines also fell, and then his lungs. He was completely eviscerated. "This is awful!" He was up there, clutching the hive with his arms and legs; he had turned into a beehive. "Older brother, older brother!" cried his sister. Then, panic-stricken, they fled toward the communal house.

The man turned into a beehive while his wife was observing the ritual of her first menstruation.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Husband of menstruating woman goes out to gather honey and while doing so turns into beehive.

Motif content

C141.	Tabu: going forth during menses.
C960.	Transformation for breaking tabu.
D200.+.	Transformation: man to beehive. (D200. Transformation: man to object.)
D681.	Gradual transformation.

310. The Menstruating Girl and the Herd of Peccaries²⁹⁰

Just as the female ancestors menstruated for the first time, so the Sanema today also celebrate a girl's first menses.²⁹¹ And the ancestors also hunted peccaries.²⁹²

One day a young man decided to go out hunting. "I'm off to kill peccary," he said. Then, because no one had said that people who are celebrating their passage into adulthood should not go out,²⁹³ he said to his young wife who was having her first menses: "You too! Come on!" and so she accompanied him.

After going some way they came on a large herd of peccary. "Quick! Climb high up into a tree and sit there," said the husband, and she climbed up into a *musamai*²⁹⁴ tree. As soon as she was up the tree the husband went and chased the peccaries. *Na! na! na! nananana! blululululululu!* went the peccaries as they ran. But the husband did not kill any. The peccaries came running by the tree in which the wife was sitting. "Come on!" they called to the girl. "Right," she replied and climbed down. The husband returned. "No kill!" he said. "But this is where I told my wife to climb up. 'You sit here,' that's what I said. But where has she gone?" The wife was not there. "She must have run off with the peccaries, but where to?" He searched about for a while and then gave up, and returned home in the dusk. "My wife is lost, I'm afraid. I told her to sit in a tree while I went hunting. The peccaries came running by and my wife climbed back down; she ran off along the peccary track. It seems that she's run off to accompany them." The girl's mother cried. She cried and

cried and so turned into the *solagimusi* bird²⁹⁵ which calls "*Sola kō kō kō kō kō*." That bird's voice is the mother crying. "Tomorrow we'll go after her as quick as we can. But tomorrow it must be," said the fathers.

So the next day they said: "Right. Like we said. Quick, wrap some cassava." As soon as the cassava was wrapped they asked the husband: "Which way?" The men went off, following the husband. "Here, this is where I chased the peccaries. They went off this way!" So along the trail they went, a great distance. Farther on they saw where the peccaries had eaten and gone on. Later, again, they came to a place where they had eaten and gone on.

They came upon a tinamou²⁹⁶ sitting by the trail. "Friend.²⁹⁷ Did people come running by this way?" they asked. "Yes! It was yesterday evening that they passed," replied the tinamou. "Really! Friend," they said. "In that case I think we'll sleep here." So they lay down for the night, in the tinamou's company.

In the night the tinamou said: "We're cold. I'll blow on the fire." He blew on the fire: *pff! pff! pff! pff!* But the fire did not catch at all. The tinamou flew off into the forest: *hududududududu!* The flecked white feathers of the tinamou are the ash of the fire. Trying to warm himself in front of the fire, the tinamou became covered in ash. That ash became his feathers. Now he walks alone in the forest.

The others went on farther and farther. They came on a place where the peccaries had slept; they had gone on farther, so they followed. Still farther on they came on a place where the peccaries had ripped up small *mana* palms.²⁹⁸ The husband mourned, seeing where his wife had eaten and gone on. He was very fond of her.

Later they came on some felled firewood, lying on the ground. Nearby there was a jaguar.²⁹⁹ "What are you doing?" inquired the jaguar. "What's up, friend?" "My wife has run off with the peccaries. I am following after her," replied the husband. "Yes! Peccaries have come by this way," replied the jaguar from where he was seated. "This meat here, lying on the grill, they are peccaries that I have killed. That's my firewood over there to grill them." The jaguar then suggested that he accompany them, and went off leading them after the peccary. "This way," he said, sniffing along the ground. "The people fled this way," he carried on, sniffing as he went. Farther and farther on he led them. "They went home this way, by this trail," called down some capuchin monkeys.³⁰⁰ "Come, friend," said the jaguar, "they went this way." Still farther on the jaguar led them. "Here the tracks are really fresh," he said. The

peccary had ripped up *mana* palms and eaten them. The small palms lay about, broken at the waist.

Farther on they descended into a stream. The water was all soiled by the peccaries' crossing. "Look. People have gone by very recently," said the jaguar. The husband looked all about. "You're right," he said. The jaguar ran all about and then led them up over a hill. They came on very fresh spoor. "Right now they've gone by, friend," said the jaguar; and, as they came up to the top of the hill, they heard the peccaries collecting firewood: *to! to! to! to!* "The people are down there," said the jaguar. The husband and his relations looked all about. "Yes! You're right. You go over there beyond them, and then we'll chase them toward you," they said to the jaguar. "Right," he replied. The jaguar then went and sat down beyond the peccaries. "Right! Give chase," said the jaguar. The Sanema immediately gave chase. *Ka! blululululululu! na! na! na! nanana! blulululu! eu! eu! eu! eu! eu!* went the peccaries. The jaguar caught the Sanema woman. The peccaries, furious, grunted fiercely at the jaguar: "*Eu! Eu! Eu! Eu!*" "Right," called the jaguar to the hunters. So saying, he grabbed the woman by the nose and ripped off her skin, drawing it back over the forehead and all down the back: *gledidididi!* He completely stripped off her outer skin. He set the skin down on the trail. It ran off after the peccaries: *na! na! na! na!*

The husband kept from looking at his wife, while the jaguar prepared her properly. He put cotton armbands on her and attached curassow³⁰¹ feathers to the bands. He put bead bandoliers, crossing her shoulders to her waist; he threaded tanager³⁰² skins to hang from her ears; he painted her body and face with annatto.³⁰³ He cut off all her hair. For she was celebrating her passage into adulthood. "Right," he said to the husband. The husband looked at his wife, all painted up and beautifully prepared. "Thank you," said the husband.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 42–45.

Summary

Woman having her first menstruation accompanies her husband on peccary hunt. Instead of waiting for him she goes off with peccaries. Search party goes in pursuit of her and, aided by jaguar, eventually locates her. Jaguar shows her how to adorn herself for her first menstruation.

Motif content

A1530.+.	Origin of customs pertaining to first menstruation. (A1530. Origin of social ceremonials.)
A2210.	Animal characteristics: change in ancient animal.
A2217.1.	Birds painted their present colors.
A2275.1.	Animal cries a lament for person lost when animal was transformed.
A2412.2.	Markings on birds.
A2426.2.	Cries of birds.
B430.+.	Helpful jaguar. (B430. Helpful wild beasts.)
B441.1.	Helpful monkey.
B450.	Helpful birds.
B543.0.1.	Animal helps on quest for vanished wife.
C141.	Tabu: going forth during menses.
D150.+.	Transformation: woman to bird. (D150. Transformation: man to bird.)
D721.	Disenchantment by removing skin (or covering).
E785.	Vital skin.
H1385.3.	Quest for vanished wife (mistress).

311. The Peccary Girl

They found peccaries over there. "There are peccaries back there," they said. They took a young woman along with them. Her husband took her along with him. The peccaries attracted them over there. One of them was seen, and as they were attracting their pursuers one of the peccaries said: "Hey! I know who is surrounding us. Hey! I know it is the Pole people."

Then the girl climbed up a tree. Her husband said: "Sit up in this tree while I'm gone. I'll come back here after chasing the peccaries." He went and joined the others as they were in ambush. One of the peccaries said: "I know it is the Apiamy people who are circling us. It was the Apiamy people who circled us this morning."

The men shot arrows at the peccaries. One got away, but three more got shot. Because the husband did not shoot a peccary, he went off with the others and chased after the peccaries. The men went off out of earshot. So while the wife was still sitting up in the tree, one of the young peccary men who remained went over to her and said: "Come on down again. I didn't shoot a peccary. I didn't shoot a peccary." The young woman slid down, landed on the ground, snorted like a peccary, and ran off. The woman was led off

immediately. That was what was done to the young woman. The husband did not think that that was what they would certainly do to his wife, and he left her sitting up in a tree while he was off shooting the peccary.

He looked up again, but she was not there any more. At the base of the tree there was a line of peccary tracks, so he returned home. They were singeing the hair off the peccaries. They put all the peccaries on a rack.

It became daylight, and when it did they went out, following the tracks of the peccaries. Out there they approached the tinamou man cutting a little bit of firewood. "Let's just stay here with him," they said, and when they arrived they said: "Brother-in-law, we're just going to stay with you." "Sure," he said. Then they plunked themselves down in the tinamou man's house and hung up their hammocks to stay overnight. "Tell me to make the fire." "Okay," they say. They got the tinamou man to say: "Tell me to make the fire."

It got darker and darker and they went off to sleep. Then someone said: "Make the fire," and he made it. In the middle of the night the one who had chased after the peccaries was very cold, so he got down from his hammock. No sooner had he blown on the fire than the tinamou man flew off and landed on the other side of the stream. The fire burned again. He had taken the fire with him and landed on the other side of the stream. He was the only one who got to warm himself. The rest of them were cold and just stayed behind curled up in a ball trying to keep warm. Finally at dawn they went off again following the tracks of the peccary.

As soon as they got to the top of the hill, the jaguar was up ahead cooking some peccaries. They heard him cutting wood, but then when they got there it was other people who were living there. The jaguar did that to those Sanuma. He did that to the ancestors of long ago.

They went down and then up on another ridge where they listened again and heard him chopping firewood again. Off they went to where the sound was coming from. Even though he was cutting firewood, he was growling at no one but the *hekula* spirits: "Aau, aau, aau, aau, aau." It was just a fake growl coming from his mouth. Off they went to where the sound was coming from. As they got close again they heard the jaguar still cutting firewood. He was cutting firewood in order to cook the peccaries. They got really close and then they arrived. There was a pot cooking. The jaguar was cooking the peccaries.

"Let's stay here with him," said the Sanuma. The jaguar kept on cooking the peccaries. The jaguar said: "They just now came by here with the girl and are now living back there in the Pasy region." The Sanuma, the ancestors of long ago, said immediately: "Oh, you can get back our girl." They stayed on at that house, the house of the jaguar, and the jaguar kept on boiling the peccaries. When he finished cooking them and they were very well done, he placed them on leaves on the ground and cut them up. He gave some to each Sanuma. When he finished, the Sanuma ate away.

It got dark, and after they slept they ordered the jaguar: "You can get our girl back." He answered: "Yes, sure," and off he went with them.

They met another ancestor on the way. He told them that they had very recently gone by there with the girl. He told them that they were living over there in the Honama region, whereupon they said: "Oh yes," and traveled on to that region.

The peccaries were there, grunting. The jaguar listened and heard another sound coming from the midst of the peccaries: "*Weh, weh, weh, weh, weh.*" The jaguar said: "Hey, that's the peccary. It's that young peccary." They had her right in their very midst. Right there in their very midst she said like a young peccary: "*Weh, weh, weh, weh.*" The jaguar said: "Hey, it's that one. Hey, it's that one. Let me go look. Let me go look."

The mother was still following right behind the jaguar, carrying in her hand curassow crest feathers wrapped up. Since the peccaries had the girl surrounded, he darted right into the very center of where they were and took out the one who was really a Sanuma. He ripped and cut off her nose. As soon as he threw the skin away, the skin cried: "*Teh, teh, teh, teh, teh*" as it went off. The peccary skin made that sound as it went away into the forest.

There stood a Sanuma again. Her mother had brought cotton string and crest feathers of the curassow all wrapped up. Now she put the cotton string around the girl's legs and around her arms. She put on the white curassow feathers and tied them with more cotton string. She did that right away.

When the jaguar gave the girl back to her mother he said: "Let me kill a peccary for myself now," so right away he dove back in among them and pounced on one of the peccaries . . . then on another, and on another. He killed them and sliced them up. He returned the girl to her mother.

They said: "Let's go back home," and they traveled back. The jaguar arrived again at the place where he had hosted the Sanuma and

directed them, saying: "Go right up here to the top of the hill; go along that ridge that slopes down at the end, and as you go along the level part of that ridge you will come to the place I used for defecating. My excrement is there. Say: 'That is what the old one told us about this morning.' "

So they went, and as they were going along the ridge they saw that the jaguar had made his roll of tobacco there (lit., "defecated there"). They said: "This is what the jaguar told us this morning. He told us to stand still here and listen." As they listened, they heard the voices of people up on the hill and said: "He told us we live right near here. Those are our people." They went straight along that little level ridge and returned home.

After they got home, the girl kept lying in her hammock. The *solokoamasy* bird sang: "Solo kon, kon, kon, kon, kon, kon." The girl from whom they had peeled off the peccary skin cried, saying: "As my uncle would come back home, that song was the indication that he had broken off some *kley* peach palm fruits again. That song would be the indication that he had broken off some good oily *kley* peach palm fruits again." As she cried saying that, she became more and more deranged. She was not a real Sanuma anymore. She would almost revive, but then the *solokoamasy* bird would sing: "Solo kon, kon, kon." As the bird sang, she would inevitably say: "As my uncle would be on his way back home, that song was the indication that he had plucked off some *kley* peach palm fruits again." She nearly revived, but the bird sang: "Solo kon, kon, kon, kon."

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

During hunt, woman is abducted by peccaries and begins to transform into peccary. Hunters follow her tracks, aided by jaguar. After locating peccary herd, jaguar tears off her peccary skin. People return home with woman.

Motif content

B430.+.	Helpful jaguar. (B430. Helpful wild beasts.)
B543.0.1.	Animal helps on quest for vanished wife.
B563.	Animals direct man on journey.
D114.3.1.+.	Transformation: woman to peccary. (D114.3.1. Transformation: man to peccary.)
D721.	Disenchantment by removing skin (or covering).

D2065.	Magic insanity.
E785.	Vital skin.
H1233.	Helpers on quest.
H1385.3.	Quest for vanished wife (mistress).
R13. +.	Abduction by peccary. (R13. Abduction by animal.)

312. The Peccary Woman

Long ago the peccaries took a woman. They took away a young woman and then they and the woman camped overnight. They arrived with her at the *sapinami* trees. Then they took her to the *tisinami* trees. The peccaries met the jaguar and the jaguar shot at them as they passed by.

Some Sanuma went in that direction and camped out overnight. The next day they listened and heard the sound of the jaguar cutting firewood. The jaguar was cutting firewood. The ancestors said: "Oh, there are people over there," and they arrived where the jaguar was cutting firewood. The ancestors asked: "Did one of our people pass by here?" The jaguar replied: "Yes."

The Sanuma followed the tracks and set up an ambush where the peccaries were. They surrounded the peccaries and, seeing the girl, one of them immediately put his hand on her nose. He tore apart the nostrils of the peccary and made her into a Sanuma again.

They had with them annatto, white down of the curassow, and cotton string. Ripping apart the nostrils, they rubbed the annatto on her and took her with them. On their way they got back to where the jaguar was. "Go back this way," said the jaguar. "Keep on going along the level ground till you come to a ridge, and along the ridge where I prepared my roll of tobacco go down and you will immediately cross a stream." So right away the ancestors left for home and they returned to where they lived, which was close by.

When they were home, the little *solokoamasy* bird sang: "*Solokon, kon, kon, kon,*" upon which the one who had gone away with the peccaries cried, saying: "That song was the indication that my peccary maternal uncle was about to come." The Sanuma who was a peccary cried, saying: "Alas, when the bird sang that, my cross-cousin would come later with peach palm in his back pack." They tell us that is what the woman ancestor said.

Informant: Sitiho

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

Woman abducted by peccaries is rescued by her people.

Motif content

B430. +.	Helpful jaguar. (B430. Helpful wild beasts.)
B563.	Animals direct man on journey.
D114.3.1. +.	Transformation: woman to peccary. (D114.3.1. Transformation: man to peccary.)
D712.6.	Disenchantment by wounding.
H1385.	Quest for lost persons.
R13. +.	Abduction by peccary. (R13. Abduction by animal.)

313. The Woman Who Turned into a Peccary

A man wanted to go and hunt peccaries and asked his wife to accompany him. She was menstruating; however, she said nothing to her husband. In the forest they found a small herd of peccaries. The husband made his wife climb up into a tree while he got ready to kill peccaries. No sooner had the hunter left the spot than a peccary appeared at the foot of the tree. He transformed himself into a man and climbed up into the tree to carry off the woman. When the hunter returned he began to look for his wife anxiously, but could not find her. He ran to the village and told his companions what had happened, and they decided to follow the woman's tracks. The shaman went at the head of the group, which advanced in single file.

Soon they encountered a man who called himself *hasmō*, and from whose stomach flames emanated. They asked him if he had seen a woman nearby. He replied that he had seen a woman whose upper body had turned into that of a peccary when she had tried to crawl under a fallen tree trunk on all fours. She had been accompanied by many men and women.

The Sanemá continued their search, accompanied by the *hasmō*. When evening came the men slung their hammocks very close together, for it was cold. One of them, still half asleep, wanted to blow on the fire to revive it, but he made a mistake and instead blew on the fire of the *hasmō*, who turned into a *gallineta* and flew off.

Very early the next morning the men continued searching for the abducted woman. After walking for quite a while they heard the sound of an axe. Someone was cutting trees. It was the jaguar, who is always going after peccaries. He was cutting firewood to roast a peccary which he had just killed. He had seen the woman who was almost completely transformed into a peccary; only her feet were still those of a person. All those who were with her belonged to a great flock of peccaries. The jaguar offered to show them the way. Very early the next morning he helped them attack the enemy camp. During the attack the man found his wife, whom he recognized by her feet which still had not lost their human shape. He approached her. From behind he seized her upper lip with his right hand and her lower lip with his left, and pulled violently. He stripped off her peccary skin, thus freeing her from that repulsive guise. The skin rose up and fled toward the forest. The Sanemá killed all the peccaries, all the men, women, and children. Jaguar said goodbye and left, and the woman returned joyfully to the village with the men.

Source: Wilbert 1961, pp. 234-235.

Summary

Woman is abducted by peccaries and partly transformed into peccary. Party of men searching for her is assisted by jaguar, who also takes part in their attack on peccary village. Woman's husband strips her of her peccary skin and she becomes human again, returning home with him.

Motif content

B430. +.	Helpful jaguar. (B430. Helpful wild beasts.)
C141.	Tabu: going forth during menses.
D114.3.1. +.	Transformation: woman to peccary. (D114.3.1. Transformation: man to peccary.)
D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
D300. +.	Transformation: peccary to man. (D300. Transformation: animal to person.)
D681.	Gradual transformation.
D682.	Partial transformation.
D721.	Disenchantment by removing skin (or covering).
E785.	Vital skin.
F559.6. +.	Stomach emits flames. (F559.6. Extraordinary stomach.)
H50. +.	Recognition by feet. (H50. Recognition by bodily marks or physical attributes.)

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| H62.1. | Recognition of person transformed to animal. |
| H1385.3. | Quest for vanished wife (mistress). |
| R13. | Abduction by animal. |

314. A Menstruating Girl Goes Dancing³⁰⁴

Far over there is the house of the Waikia³⁰⁵ people. The ancestors of the Waikia said: "Everyone is to dance!" "Really!" others replied, and so all the people who had been out *wāshimo* returned. Many many people came over to have the dance. There were people all over the place. The new arrivals got painted up. Then one by one they went into the central compound. One girl was just about to celebrate her first menses. She accompanied the men who danced in the central compound. They began to return to their shelter. The girl accompanied the elders. As they reached the house the men played their flutes: *hi!* Everyone cried out: "Aaaaa!" The girl who was accompanying them also exclaimed: "Aaaa! Look at all the people; they are all over the place. Everyone is decorated in their down!"³⁰⁶ As she said that all these people, those newly arrived, turned into a huge mountain. So when others called to them they could not hear anything. Nothing at all. People came over to investigate. They stared and stared at the huge mountain all covered in down.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 47.

Motif content

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|---------|----------------------------------|
| C141. | Tabu: going forth during menses. |
| D291. | Transformation: man to mountain. |
| Q551.3. | Punishment: transformation. |

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315. Ocelot, the Withered Lover³⁰⁷

Ocelot³⁰⁸ became emaciated. He is also called Hwëimë.³⁰⁹ He was a Yanomam, a great hunter of toucans.³¹⁰ He had just returned from a hunt heavily laden with game. A girl who had recently begun to menstruate was secluded in the communal house. Her mother had gone to the river to fetch water to cook the game. Taking advantage of the mother's absence Ocelot entered the menstruation hut, *shiri!*

The girl was a virgin; her vagina was still "choked." He deflowered the girl although she was in the midst of her first menstruation. The girl had been lying stretched out in her hammock for a long time.³¹¹ She did not move, her body straight. Ocelot parted her legs and penetrated her: *kosho*! He felt at once the frightening heat³¹² of her vagina. He had an orgasm, *hi*! and immediately began to wither.

He had become emaciated like smoked game; he had become thin, and shivering with cold. From the cold his legs and arms had grown very thin. He began to feel hungry for meat all the time. His mother was obliged to carry him on her shoulders as he was dry and "smoked." His flesh had become dry and hard. After a long time she grew tired of him and broke his bones. She actually killed him, the one who used to carry him around all the time on her back. She got angry because he whined all the time. Although he was an adult he whined with hunger for meat at every opportunity.³¹³ She used to offer him pieces of meat, saying: "Son! What do you want? Is it the wing that you prefer?" He would answer: "No! I want the breast!" And that would go on endlessly: "You prefer the breast?" "No! I want the head!" "You want the head?" "No! I prefer the legs!" "You want the legs?" "No! The neck!" "The neck?" "No!" That was why his mother ended by breaking his bones; she got angry because of his constant whining. She also got tired of carrying him because he was heavy. She broke his bones like that: *krai*!

It was because he was too eager to copulate that Ocelot withered.³¹⁴ That is what the old people said. It happened because he deflowered a girl during her first menstruation. His name was Ocelot, and although he was a great hunter he became emaciated after "eating" the vagina of a virgin girl in menstrual seclusion. He withered because of the dangerous power of the girl's vagina. That's how it was; that's all.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Good hunter deflowers girl during her first menstruation and in consequence becomes emaciated, chilly, and unable to move. Tired of carrying him around his mother kills him.

Motif content

C142.

Tabu: sexual intercourse during menses.

C942.	Loss of strength from broken tabu.
C985.+.	Emaciation because of broken tabu. (C985. Physical changes in person because of broken tabu.)
D1837.	Magic weakness.
F679.5.	Skillful hunter.

316. The Bat Girl Dies

During that time a girl was menstruating for the first time. While she was menstruating and had just shaved her head, her husband made a little round wrapping around a fistful of bats and ate them. He gave one to his wife and she ate it. The husband said: "There are bats over there. There are bats over there." Someone said: "Tomorrow let's kill them." And then they went to sleep. The next day they went out.

His mother-in-law carried a basket on her back and another woman carried a basket on her back. In those baskets they killed the bats by breaking their neck bone.

The one who was menstruating for the first time, who had her head shaved and ate the bats, was back at the house slumped in fatigue. She was down there at home drooped over from tiredness, and the bat made her deranged. Her husband was out there killing bats in the forest.

In the meantime her mother was also hitting bats and killing them. When she finished killing them late in the afternoon the mother came home with them. Her little brothers were there, children of the distant ancestors. They looked into the opening of the basket and exclaimed: "Oh, oh! Mom got some bats! The basket is filled to the top with bats!" The deranged woman took the cover off the basket, tore apart the bats and ate them . . . tore and ate, tore and ate. Then she said: "*Alamakete, alamakete, alamakete, alamakete.*" She clung to the side of another mountain and said the same thing. Then she attached herself to the side of another mountain and said it. "*Alamakete, alamakete, alamakete, alamakete,*" she said as she attached herself to still another mountain.

Because of this her husband took a multipointed arrow used for stunning birds and climbed up to where the deranged one was. Her husband sat up in a tree waiting to shoot, but she attached herself to the other side of the mountain and said: "*Alamakete, alamakete, alamakete.*" So her husband slid down the tree. He descended and

climbed up the other side of the mountain where he had heard her. When he was near again, she said from the other side of the mountain: "*Alamakete, alamakete,*" whereupon her husband was shaken in spirit. As he climbed, the shaken husband said: "How dreadful! My wife is deranged and has become a bat."

As her shaken husband was going through all this, the girl's brother left the house. The husband went home and lay in his hammock because his stomach was scraped from climbing the tree. He reported that down there the girl had become deranged. As he said this, the girl's brother returned home, got the blowgun, and both he and the girl's husband went back out. The husband climbed the tree that he had climbed before and again waited to shoot. Once again he chased off the girl.

The brother was waiting in ambush. The girl secured herself to the mountain where he was. As she secured herself she said: "*Alamakete, alamakete, alamakete, alamakete.*" When she said that, he shot her with a dart from the blowgun. With the dart in her she said: "*Sasasasa, sasasasasa,*" as she fell through the air.

Her father was standing there and ripped her nose. No sooner had he thrown away the skin than it went: "*Sasasasasa.*" The skin went flying around on that mountain. That is what happened to the skin.

Here is what they did to the Sanuma girl. They put cotton string around her legs and the down of the curassow in her ears. Then they made her lie in a hammock again, but even though they rescued her, she was too deranged and died. That is what happened to her. Her soul left her.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

Menstruating girl eats bat, and then turns into bat herself.

Motif content

- | | |
|----------|---|
| C140. +. | Tabu: eating certain food during menses. (C140. Tabu connected with menses.) |
| C962. | Transformation to animal for breaking tabu. |
| D110. +. | Transformation: woman to bat. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).) |
| D1837. | Magic weakness. |
| D2065. | Magic insanity. |

E785.

Vital skin.

317. The Bat Girl

During those days, a woman, a distant ancestor, was menstruating for the first time. While she was in the menstrual booth she ate a bat and turned into one. The bats went away and they are still on the side of the mountain. Where the head is, there are two legs.

Her husband pointed his blowgun at her with the intention of blowing a dart at his wife. But it was her brother who blew a dart at her. He blew a dart at her, peeling off her skin, and the skin is still on that Bat Mountain. There are still *hekula* spirit songs about that.

Informant: Sitiho

Source: Borgman ms.

Motif content

- C140.+ Tabu: eating certain food during menses. (C140. Tabu connected with menses.)
 C962. Transformation to animal for breaking tabu.
 D110.+ Transformation: woman to bat. (D110.
 Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
 D1275. Magic song.

318. The Menstruating Girl and the Bats

Over there there was a huge mountain. The ancestors used to kill bats³¹⁵ by that mountain. There were many, many bats hanging there among the rocks on the mountain.

One girl was in confinement during her first menses. "Don't eat bats!" people had said. But a little boy came and visited her. He gave her a bat. She ate it. The girl got diarrhea. Then her arms changed into wings and she turned into a bat. She flew off toward the mountain: *se! se! se! se!*

Her brother was out hunting bats with his blowpipe.³¹⁶ He shot a dart through her wing: *bloto!* Then he returned home. They ate the bat. Those ancestors had terrible diarrhea.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 45.

Motif content

- C140.+ Tabu: eating certain food during menses. (C140. Tabu connected with menses.)
 C962. Transformation to animal for breaking tabu.
 D110.+ Transformation: woman to bat. (D110.
 Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
 J652. Inattention to warnings.

319. The Menstruating Girl and the Bats³¹⁷

A young girl was just celebrating her first menses. Others had gone to a large mountain to collect bats. They climbed up and collected the bats in baskets: *tolo! tolo! tolo! tolo! tolo! tolo!* They plucked them down from the ceiling of the caves.

Later the girl who was menstruating ate one of the wrapped, cooked bats. "Give me mine!" she had said, so they gave her one and she ate it. Once she had eaten it with great enjoyment she wanted very much to chant. Her soul-space wanted to sing a song:

"Na-bi di	na-bi di	na-bi di	na-bi di."
(a Yekuana	a Yekuana	a Yekuana	a Yekuana)

Such was the song she longed to sing. She flapped her arms and flew off, flapping: *la hu! la hu! la hu! la hu!*

Yekuana!
 Yekuana!
 Yekuana!
 Yekuana!
 Yekuana!
 Yekuana!

So she sang, and she flew off toward the mountain singing:

Yekuana!
 Yekuana!
 Yekuana!
 Yekuana!

Her brothers went out to look for her. They clambered up the mountain. One of them blew a dart from his blowpipe: *bloto!* It stuck in her wing: *se! se! se! se! se! se!* The bat fell to the ground. The brother ripped off her skin—*gledididididi!*—and chucked it away. It was a bat and flew off: *lahu! lahu! lahu! lahu!*

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 46.

Motif content

- C140.+. Tabu: eating certain food during menses. (C140. Tabu connected with menses.)
 C962. Transformation to animal for breaking tabu.
 D110.+. Transformation: woman to bat. (D110.
 Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)

320. The Pubertal Boy and the Bats

One boy was just about to celebrate his passage into adulthood.³¹⁸ It was after that girl had already turned into a bat. The boy went with many other Sanema into a cave in the big mountain to collect bats. One after another they crept into the cave. Once they had collected the bats they squeezed out again one after another. But just as it came to the young boy in the *padashibi* age group³¹⁹ (he was just about to celebrate his passage into adulthood), just as it was his turn the cave's mouth closed shut! . . .

Back at the house a youth who had just learned how to shamanize was taking *sakona* snuff³²⁰ and chanting. As he chanted, he danced to and fro, to and fro.

The others returned and told him what had happened; how they had been collecting bats and putting them into their back-baskets and had all left but one when the cave's mouth closed. "Really!" nodded the youth, and then he continued with his chanting.

The cave's mouth opened and the boy came out! The *hekula* spirits had done it; because that youth had chanted the boy had come back.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 46–47.

Motif content

- D1275. Magic song.
 D1552. Mountains or rocks open and close.

D1781.

Magic results from singing.

321. Bat Resuscitates the Dead

During his lifetime Bat used to move from one place to another and resuscitate those Yanomami who had died. He would travel to the people who were mourning. His power was so great that he could revive children whose bodies had started to smell. Since Bat was blind he had to be carried on someone's back in a backstrap.

When he wanted to revive a dead person he would take a pinch of a hallucinogen and inhale it from the palm of his hand. All he would subsequently do was to run his fingers along the cords of the hammock where the dead person was lying, touching him very lightly. It was not a real shamanic cure; he did not fight with evil spirits. He would move his hands, touch the body with his fingertips, and place his ear against its chest. His agile fingers would run along the ropes of the hammock—the rope that is nearest the central plaza and the one attached to the lower part of the roof—and life would return. The breathing would resume. If there were several dead he would resuscitate them all, men as well as women. He would touch the hammock, moving in a squatting position, and life would be reborn.

Bat and his wife died at the same time. Their parents built a platform in the forest some distance from the house. It had two levels. On the lower one they placed the woman and above they placed the man. They surrounded the bodies with branches in order to protect them from carrion-eating animals and felines, and then returned home. While on their way they heard the call of a creature whom they were unable to identify. It sounded like: "*Hooo!* Come and look for us again!" They thought it was the roar of a jaguar, and from then on they feared to venture into the forest, convinced that a wild animal was prowling around near the two dead bodies.

Without any help the dead had resuscitated. In the communal house some people felt that an unusual event had taken place. "Strange sounds are coming from the place where the bodies are exposed," they said. The old people told the young ones: "Children, go regularly and see what is happening back there." Several times the young men went in the direction of the platform intending to shoot the vultures with their arrows, but each time they claimed to

hear the jaguar and returned home without finding out what was going on.

However, after coming back to life Bat and his wife had extricated themselves from the branches that protected them, and had descended from the platform and cleansed themselves by bathing in the river. Since Bat no longer remembered the way home he began to shout for someone to come. It was his call that the people mistook for the roar of a jaguar. As no one came they went away, disappearing into the forest. Meanwhile the other people were searching for them.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Bat has power to revive dead people. When he and his wife die their bodies are left on platform in forest. They resuscitate, and disappear into forest forever.

Motif content

E1.	Person comes to life.
E50.	Resuscitation by magic.
E121.7.	Resuscitation by magician.
H1385.	Quest for lost persons.
J1765.	Person thought to be animal.
J1812.+.	Man's call mistaken for jaguar's roar. (J1812. Other sounds misunderstood.)

322. Abducted by the Peccaries

The peccaries forced Sherekanawë to follow them. In those days Sherekanawë was decimating them. While everyone in the circular house was busy cooking the peccary meat another herd approached. The man who had found them hurried home with the news. "There's a herd of peccaries very near here!" he announced. Sherekanawë told his mother: "Mother, mother, you mustn't worry about me. I have noticed that my body is emitting an aphrodisiac smell." "Where does it come from?" "Mother, I have had this smell since the time the peccaries surrounded me and I was placed in the center of the herd," he admitted. The peccaries had taken a liking to him and had impregnated him with an aphrodisiac; they had not sprayed it onto him, the way it is usually done. They were animals

whose coats had circular designs, silver-colored like the leaves of the *tokori* tree. They were the ones that carried him off with them.

The men went off to hunt. When they were near the herd someone said: "Let's be careful, let's halt for a while. The peccaries are very close by. Let's stop for a minute and attach lanceolate points to our arrows. We'll smoke the peccary meat." They wanted to smoke the animals although they still had cooked meat at home. "Where are they?" "Over there." "Give me some lanceolate arrowheads," demanded Sherekanawë. "Here's one; you kill an animal every time." "To make sure, give him a few points; you yourself never kill many," the men commented, referring to the hunter. They attached the lanceolate points to their arrows. Sherekanawë was carrying many. "Let's move on. We'll shoot them." They advanced to where they were in front of the herd. "This is fine; stay where you are."

They could hear the peccaries grunt. Just above the center of the herd a light breeze was blowing. The female peccaries were at the periphery; only Ekoayoma occupied the center. The forest smelled good. "As usual I'll shoot the peccary leaders," announced Sherekanawë. The animals were already surrounding him so that he was right in among them. He shot off his arrows, but found himself encircled by the peccaries. They wanted to abduct him, which was why they had approached him. Soon their bodies were rubbing against his, and it looked as if innumerable termites' nests were scattered all over the ground. Sherekanawë shot off some more arrows. As his bamboo points were damaged he put them back in the shaft of the arrows. "Come here and shoot them!" he called. He shot off a few arrows, and then still more. "Listen, all of you, I've got no more arrows left!" He grabbed the ones that the men handed him. "The peccaries are fleeing, watch out!"

The Yanomami scattered while shooting at the pigs, which advanced without paying any attention to them. Trapped in the middle of the herd Sherekanawë was going with them, pulled along by the peccaries. "That's enough!" Ekoayoma took him by the hand, and Haramiyoma also took hold of him. "Stay here!" the people called to him. The peccaries fled, carrying Sherekanawë with them. "Aë, aë, aë . . ." he called a single time. "Stay here!" The Yanomami followed for a while, hoping to bring back their companion. But the peccaries, accompanied by Sherekanawë, were already climbing up the great tinamou mountain. That was when he broke off a short piece from the tip of an arrow, where the point is fixed. When they reached the top of the mountain he pushed it into the ground at a

slant, thinking that it would grow. Scattered arrow reeds appeared, and the toucan people began to grow fond of them.

When the Yanomami were home again they said: "He accompanied the peccaries. The man who lived near this hearth followed the animals." An old man exclaimed: "You didn't say: 'Never mind this herd; we still have a lot of meat to eat.' What a misfortune! From now on he won't have any more headaches; he has become a different being." That was how they referred to Sherekanawë.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

During hunt, man is abducted by peccaries.

Motif content

D454.9. +.	Transformation: arrowhead to reed. (D454.9.
	Transformation: weapon to other object.)
D965.	Magic plant.
F679.5.	Skillful hunter.
F970.	Extraordinary behavior of trees and plants.
R13. +.	Abduction by peccary. (R13. Abduction by animal.)

323. Homicidal Sloths

A *henapoi* man went out to kill a sloth. Once he had killed the sloth³²¹ he returned home. Next day he killed another sloth. He was really good at killing sloths. His name was Hepoia and he was also called Palali'a.

"Oh! How I wish I could kill a sloth too!" said another Sanema. So next day he and Hepoia went off hunting together. Hepoia put an *alawali*—a sloth charm³²²—on the branch of a tree: *kff! kff! kff! kff!* "Later we can come back this way," said Hepoia and he went off hunting. The other man went off only a little way before doubling back. When he got to the tree he saw a sloth so he climbed up into the tree to kill it.³²³ As soon as he was in the tree sloths attacked him. They struck the man all over: *gloso! gloso! gloso! gloso! gloso!* So the man died still hanging in the tree over the branch.

When the *henapoi* man returned he looked up and saw the dead Sanema hanging in the branches. "Oh, but why couldn't you have

waited?" he groaned.³²⁴ He returned home. "A Sanema has been killed," said Palali, and he told them what had happened.

Palali went off again. He killed one sloth; that one had bloody nails. He went farther on and killed another sloth; that one had bloody nails too. He killed another sloth; that one also had bloody nails. Once he was far away he killed another sloth; that one's nails were not bloody. He came on another sloth; that one had bloody nails, and another that had bloody nails too. That's what he found.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 98.

Motif content

B16. +.	Devastating sloth. (B16. Devastating animals.)
D965.	Magic plant.
D2074.1.	Animals magically called.
F679.5.	Skillful hunter.

324. The Young Sanema Visits the Sun and Moon

A long time ago, but long after Omao had created the Sanema, a young Sanema went to visit the original otter people³²⁵ who were Yekuana. And when the otter people went downstream in their canoes he accompanied them. So together downstream in their canoes he plunged underwater. The otter people went on downstream underwater, only to resurface farther on, but the Sanema did not plunge down with them; he stayed on the surface of the water and climbed out on top of a rock, and there he sat.

While he was still sitting on the rock the tinamou girl³²⁶ approached. "Who are you?" she asked. "I'm a Sanema," he replied. "Come on! Come with me!" said the tinamou girl. "I'm feeling really randy. He'll be my husband!" she continued to herself. So the youth accompanied her.

She had a huge, big hammock and they lay in it till it became dusk. "I think I'm falling ill!" said the tinamou girl. "You're getting ill?" "I think I've got diarrhea," she said. "Well, I don't!" he replied. So night fell, and it became very dark. He was pleased it was dark, and the girl pleased him greatly. And so he got an erection because the tinamou girl was so beautiful. He was ready to copulate. But just as he was about to penetrate³²⁷ her the tinamou girl broke wind: *u!*

dudududududu! She flew off! "What did you break wind for?" he asked. "No! Wait! Wait another three days. Then you can copulate with me," she said. "But you're nice and fresh now! You're ready to copulate, now!" he replied. "Wait! Later on we'll really do it," she said. She was shy, being so young, that's why. She broke wind and flew off.

But the youth did not lie all alone in the hammock. Instead he went and lay by himself on the branch of a large tree. And the moon came down the trail below the tree, carrying a sieve. Being very meat-hungry he had come down to the river for food.³²⁸ "I'm going to scoop out some shrimps," he said to himself, and he scooped them from the water with his sieve. Looking in the water he noticed the reflection of the youth's face. Seeing the face in the water he tried to scoop it out but caught nothing. "But where is it? Deep down, I suppose!" When he tried to scoop it up he only scraped up a lot of sand.

Then the Sanema's spit fell into the water. It fell right in the middle of the sieve: *tai!* The moon looked up and saw the youth sitting on the branch. "Well! What a laugh!" he said. "Interesting! My game!" he said. "Climb down!" he said to the youth. So the Sanema boy climbed down. "Come on! Follow me!" he said and they returned to the moon's house. "Quick! Quick! Bake some cassava," said the moon, and the wife did so. "Grill your meat quick! And I'll make the cassava," she replied. "Right! Quick! Quick! Lay the firewood. I'm going to grill some meat," said the moon to his son. The son laid some firewood and went and cut some more. But the moon's little son said to the youth: "This firewood of daddy's, this cassava that my mummy's baking—it's because my daddy's going to grill you!" said the little boy, following the Sanema youth around. "Yes, of course! Well, what a laugh!" said the youth. He had come into the clearing all unwary: "All this firewood's for grilling me, is it?" The youth then asked: "So which is the trail to the star people's house?" "Well, this is the trail to the star people's house, and this is the trail to the vulture people's house."³²⁹ And this one is the trail to the sun's house." "Ah! Right!" "But those star people are a fierce lot. They're a different people altogether." So the youth ran off down the track toward the sun's house. Then the moon's younger son scattered sand on the trail and obscured the tracks. "Wasps! Aaaa! Wasps! Aaaa!" he shouted out.³³⁰

At the sun's house the sun was lying in his hammock. The youth ran in. "Who are you?" asked the sun. "It's me," the youth replied. "Really!" said the sun. "I'm a Sanema boy," he replied. "Come in!

Come in! Come in! I really like you," said the sun. "Come in! I'll make a pet of you. Sling your hammock here."

When the moon realized that the youth had fled he ran along the track to the star people's house. "Have any Sanema come this way?" he asked. "No! Nobody," they replied. So the moon returned and went off along the trail to the vulture people's house. "Have any Sanema come this way?" he asked them. "No! Nobody," the vultures replied.

So the moon then raced along the trail to the sun's house. "Has a Sanema arrived, elder brother?" he asked. "No! Not at all!" replied the sun. The moon went off again, searching, but shortly came back. "Well, we've arrived," said the moon. The sun became really angry; he turned his face and stared at the moon. "Oooooo!" he shouted fiercely. The moon was scorched by the fierce heat of the sun. "Eu! eu! eu! eu! Alright! Alright!" cried the moon and he returned home. And that is why the moon's face is blotched, because the sun scorched him in the glare of his face.

"Go and kill me some game!" the sun said to the Sanema boy, and he gave him a blowpipe to hunt with. So the youth went off and killed some game. When he returned home they ate it, with chilis. And the youth ate some too.

Next day in the morning the sun sent the Sanema youth out hunting again. "But don't look down the mouth of the blowpipe!" he warned the boy. "I'll not look," he replied. And he went off hunting small birds.³³¹ "I wonder what is in there?" said the youth to himself. And he looked down the blowpipe. As soon as he looked in, down the length of the pipe the boy himself went. He was blown out like a dart: *bloto!*

The mother of the youth, at home, had cried. She mourned for him. "My son went visiting. But he never returned. That's why I'm afraid!" So she mourned. She had loved him dearly. The mother was baking cassava at home. The dart came back home through a hole in the roof, having followed the smoke rising from the baking of the cassava. Blown out of the blowpipe, like a dart, the youth had been returned home, and landed in his hammock. Once she had made the cassava the mother painted up her face with annatto. "This one! I'll eat him up now!"³³² she said to herself, mistaking the returned youth for a stranger. She was about to playfully throw the cassava scrapings at the youth when he said: "No! Mummy! Don't throw that at me!" She stared at him wide-eyed. It was her son! "Wiii! My son! The one who went off to visit the Yekuana. He's come back. Hooray!" said the mother.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 72–74.

Summary

Young man meets tinamou girl who flies off when he tries to have sex with her. Then Moon appears, and asks him to accompany him to his (Moon's) house. When Moon's son warns youth that Moon is planning to devour him he escapes to Sun's house. Sun takes him in and turns away Moon, who comes in pursuit of boy. One day while hunting he disobeys Sun's injunctions, and suddenly finds himself back in his own house again.

Motif content

A736.	Sun as human being.
A736.3.	Sun and moon as brothers.
A745.	Family of the moon.
A751.11.+.	Moon spots from burns. (A751.11. Other marks on the moon.)
A753.	Moon as a person.
A753.2.	Moon has house.
A753.3.1.+.	Sun deceives moon. (A753.3.1. Moon deceives sun.)
A1210.	Creation of man by creator.
D2120.	Magic transportation.
F1021.	Extraordinary flights through air.
G11.+.	Moon as cannibal. (G11. Kinds of cannibals.)
G400.	Person falls into ogre's power.
G530.2.	Help from ogre's daughter (or son).
J652.	Inattention to warnings.
J652.4.	Warnings against certain peoples.
J1791.	Reflection in water thought to be the original of the thing reflected.
K1210.	Humiliated or baffled lovers.
N818.1.	Sun as helper.
N832.	Boy as helper.
T55.	Girl as wooer.
T230.	Faithlessness in marriage.

325. A Visit to the Souls

A Yanomami who had just been initiated as a shaman went to the place where the souls live. He visited their big house. Some termites who had been invited by the souls to a *momo* fruit feast had asked him to accompany them.

At some distance from the communal house some termite soldiers prepared themselves, covering their hair with down. Meanwhile winged termites were flying inside the large circular house which they had just entered. "Catch the winged termites; they're coming out of their nest!" the Yanomami were saying. "I urgently need to defecate," said the man who had just been initiated. Still dirty from the recent ceremony, his chest stained with saliva and gluey hallucinogen, he stepped over the threshold of the house. Suddenly he found himself among the soldier termites whose heads were covered with swaying white down. "What are you doing?" "We are going to a *momo* fruit feast, and we'll participate in the presentation dance. We've been invited. Come with us!" said the termites to him. "I don't feel like going there." "Accompany us, we'll return tomorrow. Tomorrow you can leave us and go back home." The termites made him decide to accompany them; he was going with them to have some fun.

They enjoyed themselves, they danced, and then the souls invited them to their hearths one after another: "Come and sit here, sit among us," they said to each of their guests. They were so numerous that they hung their hammocks side by side close together, and the man was right in the middle of them. The souls offered baskets full of *momo* which they placed among their crowded guests. Then it was their turn to participate in the presentation dance. "Come on, it's time to have fun; the sun is low! The sun is just above the horizon; let's hurry up and dance!" said an old man among the souls. And the souls danced in turn.

They slept. Early in the morning the souls brought their guests large baskets full of *momo* fruit. "Come on, let's leave," decided the termites. All of a sudden they got out of their hammocks without saying a word to the man who was with them, and left. During the return journey the termites made the man walk in the lead. That was when they told him: "Your sister was back there where we were, among the souls." "Why didn't you tell me? Didn't you realize that I would have taken her home? Why didn't you inform me?"

The man who had found himself among the winged termites had gotten to know the house of the souls in the sky. He arrived home carrying a big basket of *momo* fruits, and again stepped across the threshold of the house. "What's that?" "They are *momo* fruits, *momos*." "Who gave them to you?" "Some souls. The ones that you were catching, the termites, invited me to accompany them. Don't cry over the dead; live without feeling sorry for them; you grieve

needlessly. The souls are alive; they lie in their hammocks. One can see them."

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Man accompanies termites to land of souls in sky to attend feast. He returns home, bringing fruit.

Motif content

E480.	Abode of the dead.
E481.8.	Land of dead in sky.
E493.	Dead men dance.
E499.1.	Gay banquet of the dead.
F10.	Journey to upper world.
F10.1.	Return from upper world.

326. The Moon on a Fireless Night³³³

Way over there the Sanema had gone into the forest *wāshimo*. A single Sanema came to visit them but since the others were out he found the house empty. So he sat in the house alone and fanned the fire. It did not catch. Under the fireplace the Sanema had buried an old man. The visitor was not aware of this at all. He lay in his hammock all alone. Then he took out his firesticks³³⁴ and twirled them. But no fire emerged. Not at all. He lay down again.

Although it was nighttime it became very bright. The moon climbed down from the sky and then came into the house where the Sanema lay in his hammock. The moon dug under the hearth: *blo! blo! blo! blo!* The Sanema was terrified. He overheard the moon pull the corpse from out of the ground: *pli*. The moon broke a hand off the corpse: *glo'ai! Ka'u! ka'u! ka'u!* went the moon's mouth as he ate. "Oh! I wish dawn would come quickly!" said the man.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 50.

Motif content

F30.	Inhabitant of upper world visits earth.
G11.+.	Moon as cannibal. (G11. Kinds of cannibals.)

327. The Tortoises and the Tapir³³⁵

The tapir³³⁶ was walking by over there, and the tortoises³³⁷ were wandering by a lake. There were two of them, and they were pretending to be Yekuana. The tapir approached. "I wonder who those people are?" said the tapir to himself when he saw the two little tortoises wandering by, pretending to be Yekuana. "Wiii! Who are you?" asked the tapir. "We're Yekuana women," they replied. "Really! Where's your father's house then?" he asked. "Over there in the part of the forest where there are many *pishia* leaves;³³⁸ that's where our father lives," they replied. "Oh! Really! And where are you going?" he asked. "Over there," they replied, and they went off toward a boggy piece of flooded ground. They descended and began to cross the bog. That tapir followed and he stamped on the tortoises, forcing them far underground so that they were stuck in the mud with their arms up above them like sloths. They were truly stuck.

The tapir returned into the distant forest—*wa!*—a long way from them. He went high up the hill and then, later, began to come back down again.

"Hang on! Hup! That's the way!" Gradually the tortoises worked their way back to the surface. Then they waited by the deep slot left by the passage of the tapir going by.³³⁹ The tortoises hid under some leaves at the edge of the track and they waited there until the tapir, thirsty after feeding, returned.

Shortly the tapir returned, looking all about him for the tortoises. "Wait a bit! Wait a bit!" they said, and they sat still. The tapir stepped down and came alongside. "Right! Now!" One of the tortoises grabbed the bottom end of the tapir's penis and the other bit into the top end. The tapir ran off, in pain and anguish! But the tortoises held on below and were carried off. The tapir ran off as fast as he could, then plunged into one river—*kopu!*—and submerged under water. But though he sat there the tortoises still did not let go. The tapir went off again, crashing through the undergrowth, and the tortoises held on tenaciously. So the tapir died, bitten by the tortoises; he was completely weakened, and thus he drowned.³⁴⁰ "Right! So that's that, he's dead!" they said. "Right! Taken!"

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 95–96.

Summary

Tapir pushes tortoises deep into bog. After crawling out they wait for him to return and then bite his penis, hanging on until he dies.

Motif content

K2297.	Treacherous friend.
Q411.	Death as punishment.
Q453.	Punishment: being bitten by animal.

328. The Tortoises and the Jaguar³⁴¹

Once the tortoises had killed the tapir, they opened their mouths. "Right, that's that," said one. "Just as I said then!" said the other. "Right! Do the guts," said one. "Let's gut it and then grill it," so the other set to butchering. But with his tiny little teeth he could not cut it at all. "My knife's no good!" said the tortoise. The other laughed uproariously. "*Ha! ha! ha! ha! ha!*" he laughed, like a Yekuana. "Well, you try then!" said the first; but he was no more successful than the other. So they both laughed loudly, like Yekuana.

Then from the forest a jaguar came down to them. "What is it, children?" he asked, using a Yekuana voice. "Give me my tapir." "No! There isn't any!" they replied. "Really! What a laugh!" said the jaguar coming near. "Oh! I see! What a laugh!" The tortoises were being greedy. Yekuana are selfish when they have tapir and do not give to the Sanema. "Can't you see?" the Sanema say. So the tortoises were being selfish too, for that is how Yekuana are, and the tortoises were pretending to be Yekuana. They were putting on a Yekuana voice. But they had not been able to butcher the tapir.

So the jaguar came down to where they were. "Where is it? Here, let me help!" he said, and so he did the guts—*we! we! we!*—pulled out the liver, cut off the big belly flap, pulled out the big liver: *ble! ble!* The tortoises sat down, and they did not say: "Right. That's enough," so the jaguar made a grill and laid all the meat on it. He began to look about for firewood, and the tortoises became angry. "*Gah!* The rotten old woman is really making me angry!" said the tortoises from where they were sitting. The jaguar laid all the meat on the grill. "Fan the fire!" he said to the tortoises. "Really!" they replied. "I'm off to get more meat," said the jaguar. Then the tortoises got really angry, for the jaguar had given them only very

small portions of meat, so they said: "Yes! Get yourself some more meat. We'll care for the grill," and the jaguar went off.

The tortoises immediately set to making a hole, not a very large one, but a small hole like crabs make. They dug it a little way off from where the grill was. Then they dragged the tapir's corpse over there in basketloads and put it all down the hole.

Later the jaguar returned and came back down to them. The huge griddle was completely bare! "Wiii! People really make me furious! They've eaten all my meat! But where did they take it to? By what track?" and he looked about all over for the track. There was no sign. No sign of any Sanema footprints. "That was my meat! I'll beat whoever I find has taken it," but he could not discover its whereabouts. "Oh, no! We haven't taken it away!" said the tortoises. "Wait a bit then," he replied.

The tortoises then also hid in the hole; the meat was just beyond them. The hole looked really small but that's where they were. "It must be in this hole, I think," said the jaguar. Then he pulled down several lengths of liana:³⁴² *selulo! selulo! selulo!* He pushed an end of a vine down the hole and twirled it 'round and 'round: *sokedi! sokedi! sokedi!* It twisted up around the tortoise's back. It bound him up completely. Then with another vine he bound up the other tortoise: *sokedi! sokedi! sokedi!* The shell of the tortoise is the result of the jaguar binding them up with liana.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 96-98.

Summary

After killing tapir, tortoises are unable to cut up his body. Jaguar does it for them, but takes most of the meat for himself. When he briefly leaves, tortoises hide meat. Jaguar ties them up with lianas.

Motif content

A2312.1.	Origin of tortoise's shell.
J1100.+.	Clever tortoise. (J1100. Cleverness.)
J2300.	Gullible fools.
K300.	Thefts and cheats—general.
Q434.	Punishment: fettering.
W152.	Stinginess.

329. The Tapir's Diarrhea

The tapir³⁴³ used to be a Sanema. He and his elder brother had gone visiting, way over there: *op!* The tapir slept below the others for he had terrible diarrhea: *tish! tish! tish! tish!* He became very thin. As he was so thin, the other ancestors said to his elder brother: "Your younger brother has the runs very badly; he might die!" they said. So the two brothers returned home.

The elder brother lay in his hammock. "Why has my brother got the runs?" he wondered. "You sleep here in my hammock," he said to his younger brother. So the tapir lay down with his elder brother in his hammock. They shared it. The tapir defecated: *tish!* "Don't do that," said the elder brother angrily. He grabbed a spear and thrust it into his brother's anus: *glos!* He left the spear sticking in the body.

Next morning his son, the *shuemawai*,³⁴⁴ said fearfully: "Daddy! Daddy! Wake up! Wake up!" But the father had died; he was white. People came to look. They looked at the anus. The spear was still sticking in it. The little boy cried: "*Sala kā kā kā!*"

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 93–94.

Motif content

S73.	Cruel brother (sister).
S73.1.	Fratricide.

330. Posposmane³⁴⁵

Over there the ancestors, the *salisalimus*³⁴⁶ people, had gone to collect caterpillars. Posposmane went out to kill a tapir. Once he had killed the tapir he wrapped the tiny thing in some leaves. He carried the tiny wrapped game home. Once home he laid the package down. The tapir lay on its back with its feet pointing into the air. The tapir grew enormous! They cut it up and laid the meat on a griddle.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 91.

Motif content

D487.	Animal becomes larger.
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331. Lusting After Their Sisters

The men of Wayorewë loved to have sex with their sisters and were constantly committing incest with them. They did it so much and so often that finally dawn ceased to come and a lasting darkness reigned.

The night did not end. Soon the people had no more firewood left. The incestuous ones among them climbed up on the roof beams where they turned into sloths. Seeing their guilty companions transformed into animals and hanging from the roof the others, those who had not committed incest, threw various objects outside, convinced that now daylight would return. Some time passed before they finally found the case in which they kept their feathers. This, too, they threw out, and the case turned into a blue-throated piping guan which flew off flapping its wing quills. That is what these birds do at dawn during the mating season. "Watch out! Here comes daylight again!" shouted one of those who had not committed incest. Numerous sloths were hanging from the beams of the house. It grew light, and the scene was revealed in all its horror. Panic-stricken, two men fled into the forest. In the country where this happened innumerable sloths live.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A2434.3.+.	Why sloth lives in certain region. (A2434.3. Why animals live in certain countries.)
C114.	Tabu: incest.
D110.+.	Transformation: man to sloth. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D444.+.	Transformation: receptacle to bird. (D444. Transformation: manufactured object to animal.)
D908.	Magic darkness.
F962.10.	Extraordinary mist (darkness).
Q242.	Incest punished.
Q551.3.2.	Punishment: transformation into animal.
Q552.20.1.	Miraculous darkness as punishment.
T415.	Brother-sister incest.
T415.1.	Lecherous brother.

332. Lusting After Their Sisters

In the land of the Waika the tree frog let out a powerful croak. The Waika, who heard it for the first time, became frightened and fled in panic. Then the *hekura* passed. In the region where the centipede spirit lived the centipedes often bit the Waika, making them suffer. That was where they were transformed; that is really where it was.

The men in those days were not averse to having sex with their sisters; in fact they committed incest over and over again. Then daylight ceased to come. They had no more firewood left and implored: "I'm cold! I'm cold! Please let it be light soon!" In the darkness of the night they groped about, searching for wood. "There's no wood here!" "Here, burn these twigs." Then the guilty men were transformed into sloths, and suspended themselves from the roof beams one next to the other. One of those who had not committed incest exclaimed: "It's because they committed incest that daylight doesn't come! What a disgrace!" They searched for wood long in the area surrounding the house.

The house of the incestuous people is in that direction, and that is where the sloths live. They used to copulate with their sisters, and never thought that they were committing a reprehensible act.

The spirits! An element of the adornment of the spirits moves toward me and says: "What if I killed a Yanomami?" As he approaches I can gradually distinguish the designs on his face, which is covered with undulating lines. Lodged in the breast of a human being he raises his eyes and threatens: "Be quiet or I'll kill you; I'll shoot you with my arrows."

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Incestuous people are punished by onset of great darkness and by being transformed into sloths.

Motif content

A2434.3.+.	Why sloth lives in certain region. (A2434.3. Why animals live in certain countries.)
C114.	Tabu: incest.
D110.+.	Transformation: man to sloth. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D908.	Magic darkness.
F962.10.	Extraordinary mist (darkness).

Q242.	Incest punished.
Q551.3.2.	Punishment: transformation into animal.
Q552.20.1.	Miraculous darkness as punishment.
T415.	Brother-sister incest.
T415.1.	Lecherous brother.

333. The Opossum Kills a Bee Girl

During that time, the opossum was already making the *samonama* bee girls laugh. The girls pleased the opossum very much. So he kept on flirting with them.

One of the Lehaky people was down there working in the garden. The young men were working with him. The opossum ran out and said: "I just saw the young *samonama* bee girls back at the house." One of the Lehaky young men said: "Go get my feather decorations." "Okay," said the opossum, and he ran back to the house and got earlobe plugs, metal pendants, some feather decorations, and some wrapped-up annatto. The Lehaky man rubbed the paint on his face, made squiggly lines for decoration on his face, and returned home. When he arrived the *samonama* bee girls were there. Right away they started flirting with the Lehaky young man, and they kept it up. They no longer even talked to the opossum, so he lay in a hammock above a *samonama* bee girl and said: "Hey, hey, hey! Give me back my earlobe plug." Then he took another earlobe plug, again dropped it, and said: "Hey, hey, hey! Give me back my earlobe plug." The *samonama* bee girl said: "Quit dropping that plug," upon which the opossum immediately threw the magic *alawali* root on her, causing the *samonama* bee girl to die right then and there.

When the girl died, a fire was made to burn her, whereupon a swarm of *samonama* bees flew off, and a beehive of the *samonama* bees hung up in a tree on the side of Lokoloko Banana Mountain. The *samonama* beehives soon multiplied in the trees of that region. Because the *hekula* spirit songs come to the side of that mountain, they call it Telekelemy Banana Mountain. They call it Lokoloko Banana Mountain.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

Jealous man magically kills girl. Her body turns into swarm of bees.

Motif content

D449.+.	Transformation: corpse to bees. (D449. Transformation: miscellaneous objects to animals.)
D967.	Magic roots.
D1275.	Magic song.
D1402.+.	Magic root kills. (D1402. Magic object kills.)
D2061.	Magic murder.

334. The Armadillo That Was Cut in Half

Hōrōnamī had gotten lost; he wanted to teach the Yanomami the art of getting lost. He had gone into the wrong valley, and after losing his way he had arrived in a region called Yakērë. Then he heard someone striking a hollow tree. "Who's making that noise? Maybe I'll go and see," he thought. He approached. Armadillo was busy collecting honey. The sound of the stone axe that he was wielding could be heard over a considerable distance; it was like the echo of a song with these words:

There are many *shēpinama* leaves!
 There are many *mokoro* leaves!
 There are many *pishaa* leaves!
 There are many *wēima* leaves!
 There are many *umorōmī* leaves!
 There are many *pishaasi* leaves!

Hōrōnamī showed himself: "What kind of honey are you gathering?" he asked. "*Tima* honey, but I can't reach the cavity inside the trunk," replied Armadillo. Hōrōnamī said to him: "My custom is to crawl directly into hollow trees by sliding under the foot of the tree; that's how I get honey. Dig a hole, crawl into the tree, and eat the honey!" Armadillo did so; he entered the tree and ate the honey. While he was eating Hōrōnamī plugged up the opening by which he had crawled in, making the surface as uniform and smooth as if there had never been a hole there.

Hōrōnamī leaned against the tree to listen. After Armadillo had eaten all the honey he moved backward and realized that the opening through which he had entered was closed. "Well, here I am," he

said hesitantly after a while. Hōrōnamī snickered. Armadillo thought for a moment, and then he caused the tree in which he was trapped to explode. Hōrōnamī fell unconscious to the ground from the violent impact. He lay there long, and when he finally regained consciousness he exclaimed: "This is exasperating!" He picked up the stone axe that lay on the ground, and while Armadillo was entangled in the branches of the tree that had fallen he cut him in half. The front part of Armadillo began to burrow in the ground and crawled in, pulling behind it the exposed intestines. Then Armadillo turned into an animal.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Hōrōnamī traps Armadillo inside tree. Armadillo escapes by causing tree to explode, after which Hōrōnamī cuts him in half.

Motif content

D110.+.	Transformation: man to armadillo. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
D2165.	Escapes by magic.
K700.	Capture by deception.
K714.3.	Dupe tricked into entering hollow tree.
K730.	Victim trapped.

335. The Boastful White-Tailed Trogon

Hōrōnamī went hunting. He killed a tapir, a deer, and a peccary. The tapir he carried on his back, and tied the deer on one side and the peccary on another. Leaving the animals behind he returned home. When he arrived he said: "I left a dead deer on the top of the mountain. It was heavy so I left it. Go and fetch it." "I'll hang it from my earlobe and carry it home like that!" boasted Trogon. Hōrōnamī took him at his word and said: "All right, go and get it!"

Trogon left to pick up the game. He tied the tapir's feet together. How big that tapir was! On one side he arranged the peccary and on the other the deer, and then he placed the burden on his back. It was so heavy that in order to get up he had to support himself against a tree. Nevertheless he managed to stand up, took a few faltering steps, and collapsed. He remained crouching under his bur-

den without succeeding in getting up. His legs were transformed and became short and black, like those of the white-tailed trogon. Only then did he manage to free himself. No sooner had he returned home than he turned into a bird.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

D150.	Transformation: man to bird.
W117.	Boastfulness.

336. Horonami and Monkey

A Horonami was out hunting. Then he met a monkey who was eating *abia* fruits. Horonami said to him: "I want to eat some of those fruits too." Monkey answered: "Climb up!" Horonami did so. He ate fruits until he could no longer climb down from the tree. After remaining up there a long time he finally turned into a small bee. Then he flew down and became a man again. He looked for Monkey, and when he found him he killed him. Then he went home. The dead monkey turned into a stone.

Informant: Pedro

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 155.

Motif content

A527.3.1.	Culture hero can transform self.
D182.1.	Transformation: man to bee.
D421.+.	Transformation: monkey to stone. (D421.
	Transformation: mammal (wild) to object.)
D631.1.1.	Person changes appearance at will.
D642.	Transformation to escape difficult situation.
Q411.	Death as punishment.

337. Horonami and Jaguar

A Horonami was hunting in the mountains. He met a monkey, and killed it. Then a jaguar came and dragged him up into the

mountains. He ate Horonami and threw his head down below. Horonami's brother found it. He picked up his brother's head and bones and carried them home. There he prepared a banana mash, added the bonemeal from Horonami's bones, and ate it. It made him strong. Then he went up into the hills, killed the jaguar, and destroyed the mountains. Afterward he returned home.

Informant: Pedro

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 155.

Motif content

A515.1.	Culture heroes brothers.
A526.7.	Culture hero performs remarkable feats of strength and skill.
D1335.1.	Magic strength-giving food.
D1830.	Magic strength.
D2099.+.	Mountain destroyed by magic. (D2099. Miscellaneous destructive magic powers.)
G13.1.	Ritual cannibalism: corpse of hero (demigod) eaten to acquire his strength.
P253.5.+.	Brother avenges brother's death. (P253.5. Sister avenges brother's death.)

338. Uaka and Horonami

Uaka (also a *poré* spirit) is the companion of the armadillo. Neither of them had any oil (?). Uaka had no mouth and no ears, so he could neither talk nor hear. Uaka fought with Armadillo. Horonami met the two of them and went with them. While Uaka slept, Horonami pushed his bow into the other's head, and oil flowed out. The place where Horonami had pierced Uaka's head became his mouth. Now he could talk. From the oil that flowed out his ears appeared and now he could hear as well.

Informant: Pedro

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 154.

Motif content

F401.+.	Spirit acquires ears and mouth. (F401. Appearance of spirits.)
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F601. Extraordinary companions.

339. Horonami

Oromaue was the father of all the Horonami. Omaue had made him. Oromaue made baskets. He made a hole in the baskets, and they turned into armadillos. The Horonami taught the people many things. They lived in the northeast. Today there are no more Horonami; the jaguars have eaten them all.³⁴⁷

Informant: Daniel

Source: Knobloch 1967, p. 149.

Motif content

- | | |
|----------|---|
| A512. | Parentage of culture hero. |
| A515.1. | Culture heroes brothers. |
| A1210. | Creation of man by creator. |
| D444. +. | Transformation: basket to armadillo. (D444. |
| | Transformation: manufactured object to animal.) |

340. Tapir Viscera Turn into Vultures

In those days, the old ancestors, the vulture people, took in the kinkajou as a son-in-law. During the time that they had him as a son-in-law, the old ancestor, the kinkajou man, went out hunting. He shot a tapir in the headwaters of what the vulture people had named the Santau River. The kinkajou man shot a tapir out there in the forest. He went back home with the viscera of the tapir wrapped up. Where he was working for the vulture people as a son-in-law he came home and placed the wrapped-up viscera of the tapir on the ground. That's the way it was.

They cooked the viscera of the tapir. After they hung up the cooked viscera, the vulture people worked at putting feathers on their arrows. While they were putting feathers on their arrows, one of the sons of the vulture people was out playing house. He came running home and said: "Father, from what animal are the viscera?" "They're from the tapir. Don't come asking again what animal the viscera came from," said the vulture people, but despite what they

said, while they were putting feathers on their arrows, the little boy ran out and lay down in the playhouse. After a time the son of the vulture people came running back. He said: "Father, what animal were the viscera from?" "They were from the tapir," he said. Then the vulture people went outside and heaved the viscera. They threw the viscera of the tapir up into the air and right away vultures followed after them. They went away making the sound of the vultures: "*Toku, toku, toku, toku.*" Up in the air vultures went off right away. Immediately the vulture people went high up into the air.

While the vultures were up in the air, down low the little kinkajou stayed back in holes in the trees. The vultures landed farther up on a hill they called Sanuta Hill. After the incident, the *hekula* spirits told the ancestors about it and they then named the hill.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

Tapir's intestines thrown into air turn into vultures.

Motif content

A1617.	Origin of place-name.
D447.+.	Transformation: intestines to birds. (D447.
	Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.)
J652.	Inattention to warnings.

341. River Music

People had gone *wāshimo*. They went far, far, far into the forests. One woman collected *kwalī*³⁴⁸ leaves and stuck them into the bands 'round her upper arms. They went on and came to a large river. They crossed the river on a fallen tree one by one.

The woman with *kwalī* leaves slipped and fell into the river. The others on the bank watched. She went deep down and did not reappear. Deep down underwater she sang a song during the night. The great river sang her song too: *tui! tui! tui! tui!*

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 56-57.

Motif content

D1275.	Magic song.
F930.6.	Water chants song.
F940.+.	Woman sinks into river: song heard from under water. (F940. Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance.)

342. The Resuscitation of a Dog

The old people had a dog, a large dog that was a good hunter. His name was Tokorinawē, and thanks to him they had killed many tapirs. The envious shamans of a neighboring community said: "It seems that with the help of that dog they eat tapir meat often." The dog had been inactive for several days. "Send him off to track a tapir! We need some game, and the dog has not done any hunting for a long time. Go with him and track down a tapir," they decided.

They went hunting accompanied by the dog. Then the envious shamans, who were watching them from a distance, sent their *hekura* spirits to lie in ambush along the path they were following. The hunters were advancing in the forest toward a place where a tapir trail crossed the path. "Look, here are some tracks." The dog followed the trail, hunted out the tapir, and began to bark. "Hurry up, guide yourselves by the dog's barking! Go quickly! Sons, run, run, all of you; he has found a tapir!" They ran. They heard the barking of the dog moving in a circle, and then it ceased; a jaguar had just decapitated him. When the barking stopped they searched without having a reference point, and when they did not find anything they followed the tracks of the tapir. "This is where the barking stopped after moving in a circle." Following the tracks of the tapir they ended up discovering the dead dog. "Couldn't he have been killed by a jaguar? A wild animal killed him! What a misfortune!" They carried the dog. It was not a simple wound; the head had been completely severed. They placed him on the ground and wept over him. "My poor dog was a great hunter!" They mourned deeply.

The master of the dog reflected; he wanted to make the animal come back to life. He placed him first on one rock, then another, then successively on several rocks. Then he invoked the *hekura* spirits and said: "May my dog resuscitate!" One would not have thought that such a thing was possible. "This throat, this severed throat, aren't they beginning to heal it? Why did the shamans bring

misfortune on my dog?" He laid the dog on a large flat stone. The *hekura* sang: "We are about to go to where you are!" They put the head back in its place, healed the wound, and returned life to the dog. He looked as if he had never been dead.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Marvelous hunting dog is killed by spirits of envious shamans. Other spirits bring dog back to life.

Motif content

B330.	Death of helpful animal.
B421.	Helpful dog.
E3.	Dead animal comes to life.
E30.	Resuscitation by arrangement of members.
E783.1.	Head cut off and successfully replaced.
F402.1.11.	Spirit causes death.
F403.2. +.	Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.)
W195.	Envy.

343. The Song Tree Becomes Silent

During those days a whole village of Waika people went out. They overnighted four times. Out there one of the Waika went across in the late afternoon. A song tree started to sing. "*Hooo aaaauuu*," it sang, so the Waika dashed over, but he did not see it. He returned to the encampment and said: "There are Sanuma (people) singing out there, but I didn't see them." Late in the afternoon as soon as they ran out there, again and again the song was heard: "*Hooo aaaauuu*." But they did not see anything. "Even though they are singing out there, we didn't see them," they said. One of the Waika *hekula* spirits told them: "There is a song tree there." Late one afternoon they ran out there again and again the tree sang: "*Hooo aaaauuu*." They said: "The song from the tree was really good. There is a song from a tree out there." The Waika villagers therefore went across right away, went right to the base of the tree, and at the base of that tree the Waika women received the songs.

They made a clearing at the base of the tree, and joined arm in arm they danced. The leaves of the song tree started falling. "*Klalala*,

klalala," was the song that the tree sang as the leaves fell. They were like the feathers of a green parrot. The Waika women attached them to themselves for decoration. Late in the afternoon, after they had attached them all, the Waika women danced arm in arm again, and even as they listened there were the beautiful songs of the song tree. Since they were beautiful songs, the Waika women learned them.

After the Waika men finished attaching all the song tree leaves to themselves for decoration and the Waika women finished painting their faces, they learned the songs from the song tree. The song tree always sang late in the afternoon. Whenever the Sanuma got near the song tree, they heard it sing. The songs were beautiful.

Out there a young Waika man had intercourse with a Waika woman who was learning a song. Upon his having intercourse with her, the inside of the song tree left them and went downriver. After that, the Waika women painted their faces again, and late in the afternoon they lined up in a circle around that tree again, but they did not hear the songs anymore. They just went back and lay down in their hammocks again. That is what the song tree did to the Waika women.

At that time, the old Waika women down there received the songs from the roots of the tree, not from the tree itself.

At that time, the Waika women were learning the songs, and when they gathered the leaves of the song tree, a breeze blew through the tree. As soon as it did, the leaves went: "*Kili, kili, kili, kili*." But someone had intercourse with a Waika woman down there and immediately the song tree became silent and was heard no more.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

Women learn songs from singing tree.

Motif content

A1464.2.1.	Origin of particular song.
D950.	Magic tree.
D967.	Magic roots.
D1275.	Magic song.
D1615.1.	Singing tree.

344. A Cumbersome Penis

Long ago there lived a rather short man. His penis was gigantic, so big that its owner could not move. What a monstrous penis that Yanomami had! He said: "Son, cut some sticks to move this thing. All one can do is push it with levers." They cut sticks which they used as levers and pushed the penis before them with great difficulty. At the end of the enormous penis was the small man. They lifted the penis with their sticks and moved it, again and again, and each time the man moved back a little, pushed along with his penis.

The sun was low on the horizon and they had barely advanced at all. Then they decided: "Let's make a shelter here!" Do not believe that the penis was in the hammock with the man. No, the hammock had been hung on a level with the ground, and the thing was on the ground. How big that man's penis was! "Pile up an abundant supply of firewood near him! We'll abandon him here; let's go and camp alone in the forest. I'm exhausted." They abandoned the man, leaving him many plantains. This was at the time of the ancestors; here is their house.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

F547.3.1. Long penis.

NOTES

1. See Lévi-Strauss 1970, p. 124.
2. *Iskolemgigi* (not identified).
3. Kinkajou, *haso* (*Potos flavus*).
4. *Olingo, hela* (*Bassaricyon gabii*). Both animals are active only at night and are very rare game.
5. There are many circumlocutions to describe copulation. In this case the snake is described as "penis-eating" the girl; "screwing" might be a more appropriate translation. Men frequently refer to copulation using an aggressive vocabulary: eating, stinging, swallowing, and so on.
6. Stands of pishia leaves (*Calathea altissima*) occur commonly on poorly drained soils.
7. It may be relevant to note that women sit on the ground during their menses. Except for a girl's first menses, menstruation is always referred to by the term "sitting" (*loa*).
8. *Kulemi*, Spix's guan (*Penelope jacquacu*).

9. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi.

10. *Cuniculus paca*. This large rodent makes its burrow on the riverbanks, and forages for food during the night in the forest or in the gardens.

11. These large forest earthworms are often also found in the ground behind the hearths in Yanomam houses. They are considered particularly repulsive.

12. See narrative 102, note 4.

13. This back part of the hearth is primarily the women's space. It is also used as a storage area for firewood, baskets, pots, agricultural implements, etc.

14. See narrative 50, note 308.

15. The Yanomam consider passionate love to be the result of the inhalation of charms, usually prepared from fragrant plants (see Albert 1985, pp. 240–244).

16. Respectively, *Crax alector*, *Tinamus major*, and *Pipile pipile*.

17. *Leucopternis melanops*. The Yanomam consider this hawk an excellent hunter, and say that it decapitates its victims and abandons their bodies.

18. A harpoon arrowhead with a hook made of monkey bone. The Yanomam use it to hunt large birds.

19. Respectively, *Crypturellus variegatus* and *Rhamphastos tucanus* or *Rhamphastos cuvieri*.

20. Large crabs (*Fredius reflexifrons*) and crawfish (*Macrobrachium nattereri*) gathered in the highland streams of the Yanomam territory.

21. Small red berries of the *Pseudolmedia laevis* tree.

22. An implement consisting of a long handle to which a short piece of wood is tied at a sharp angle, forming a hook. Before the generalized use of machetes it seems to have been used to catch and break the branches of trees to gather their fruits. It is still used to gather the cluster of fruits of the *rasha* palm (*Bactris gasipaes*).

23. This vegetable condiment comes from the ashes of the epiphytic plant *Asplundia xiphophylla*.

24. See narrative 35, note 182.

25. Lit., *yai thēkē*: an object or being that is inedible, repulsive, nameless.

26. See narrative 111, note 530.

27. *Electrophorus electricus*.

28. See Lizot 1975b, p. 99.

29. *Holemagigi*, in fact a giant worm that is eaten by the Sanema. The Sanema classify worms with the snakes. In telling this tale, significantly just before mentioning the snake's beauty, the teller of the tale accidentally says *ibinagigi* (*Anilius* sp.), a snake with many colored bands. In another version, otherwise virtually identical, the snake is the *ibinagigi* throughout.

30. *Asmada*, tasty red fruits like cherries (*Pseudolmedia laevis*).

31. It may be significant that snake-lovers are always associated with sitting (see Colchester 1981, p. 114, note 201). Sanema always sit on leaves in the forest and not directly on leaf litter, which may result in an intensely itchy skin rash. In all three versions of this myth which I recorded, *fresh* leaves are always mentioned.

32. *Maĩgoshi*, resin collected from trees such as *Manilkara* spp. and used as a fixative.

33. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979.

34. *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*. The giant anteater also appears in the form of a female personage in narrative 42.

35. A mythical ancestor considered an excellent hunter. He is probably an avatar of Ocelot (Yaori), *Leopardus pardalis*. When a hunter has hallucinations in the forest, the sign or call for him to become a shaman, the Yanomam say that Yaoriyomë "has taken his vital principle."

36. See narrative 11, note 43.

37. See narrative 227, note 15.

38. The Yanomam say that the giant anteater gets up on its hind legs and uses its forelegs with their powerful claws to fight.

39. See narrative 11, note 55.

40. *Amblyomma* sp. (?). Large grayish ticks which bore into the skin during every journey in the forest. The Yanomam take great care to remove them. To keep ticks, especially under the arms and in the pubic area, is considered repulsive and a sign of slovenliness.

41. In order to gain purchase on the tree trunk the Sanema loop their ankles together. They then move up the tree alternately reaching up with their arms and legs in the manner of a geometrid caterpillar.

42. The description fits exactly the customary way of grilling monkeys. Once gutted the tendons are cut at the knees, and the wrists, ankles, and neck are all bound together. The body is then smoked and becomes blackened; the skin tightens and in places splits so that the muscle protrudes. The tightened skin opens the mouth into a rictus of a smile.

43. The call is that of the bird *kwādodomī*, antshrike (*Thamnomanes* sp.), whose call is said to reveal the presence of the latex-bearing vine *kwātoto* (not identified) and also to signal the approach of evil beings (*sai dībī*). Some Sanema consider that the bird's call also signals the presence of the curare vine (*maakolitoto*).

44. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Kobi in 1985.

45. Fishing using ichthyotoxic plants, of which there are seven varieties. The plants are pounded and then dropped into ponds or small streams.

46. The entrance that faces a main trail leading to neighboring communities.

47. The reference is to an unspecified revenant (see narrative 35).

48. Every visitor or guest must sport this decoration (see narrative 42, note 236) and paint his body with red urucu dye. Conversely, enemy sorcerers are said to be painted black with their hair plastered down with resin.

49. A hammock made of a bundle of liana slashes (*Heteropsis spruceana*) whose ends are tied together with a *Cecropia* fiber string (see narrative 167, note 809).

50. The narrator is considered an important shaman. He misses no pretext, however slight, to slander his less prestigious colleagues.

51. This is the formal way of presenting visitors outside of the *reahu* festival (see narrative 11, note 43).

52. A cry of welcome.

53. See narrative 41, note 219.

54. After their presentation, visitors or guests must remain standing motionless and impassive in the central plaza until their hosts come and take them by the arm, in the midst of many exclamations and jokes, and

lead them to a living area in the communal house where they may sling their hammocks (see Albert 1985, pp. 454–455).

55. A sign of fatigue.

56. Intervillage marriages are officially negotiated during the ceremonial *yāimu* dialogues (see narrative 11, note 42). When an agreement is reached, it is said that the father-in-law “calls his future son-in-law for premarital service.”

57. A placement considered favorable to sexual intimacy, conjugal or not (see narratives 42 and 130).

58. See narrative 41, note 216.

59. This tracing function of the white down is also found in narrative 246.

60. This is not the usual sound accompanying a description of eating honey.

61. The larvae in the honeycomb are eaten by the Sanema. The wax has many applications.

62. *Hobi* (*Coendou insidiosus*).

63. *Kasa*, an edible species of caterpillar that occurs only in certain areas of the forest, early in the wet season. The caterpillars congregate on the stems of small saplings and weave a cocoon to protect them during metamorphosis.

64. *Hashimo* (*Tinamus major*) (the term includes the rarer *T. tao*).

65. The story of the lice picking to dispatch the man-eater is found in Lizot (1975b, p. 24).

66. *Koshilo ola* is a variety of honey. The name may be derived from this.

67. *Kulikasa* (*Amazona* spp., *A. amazonica* and *A. farinosa*).

68. Large kills once butchered are generally grilled on a griddle over a fire. The meat so smoked is gradually eaten over the following days. Guts and the liver are cooked and eaten separately. If some meat is to be immediately cooked up, the liver and spleen are boiled in the pot with a liana looped round them. They are drawn out after a short while and eaten while the flesh gradually softens.

69. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Arianamē in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi.

70. Regarding this ceremonial hunt, see narrative 11, note 64.

71. Because he failed to respect the appropriate conjugal pubertal seclusion ritual (see narrative 33, note 151 and narrative 308, notes 279 and 280).

72. The funerary game caught during the *henimu* ceremonial hunt.

73. A white-lipped peccary, *Tayassu albirostris*.

74. Fruits of a *Dacryodes* sp. tree.

75. See narrative 35, note 182.

76. *Amazona farinosa*. The Yanomam say that the evil forest spirits perceive humans as game: boys as parrots, girls as *broro* otters (*Lutra ennudris*), adults as spider monkeys (*Ateles belzebuth*).

77. See the end of narrative 241.

78. The Yanomam say that in early times when people died their ghosts used to settle back on earth (see narrative 35).

79. Regarding the origin of this man-eating spirit see narrative 251, note 123.

80. See narrative 111, note 530.

81. When Yanomam return from hunting at dusk, the innards of their

catch are immediately cooked and eaten, for it would be impossible to keep them from becoming spoiled. The meat is cut up and hung, to be cooked and eaten the following day.

82. See narrative 47, note 255.

83. *Elizabetha princeps*. The bark of this tree is known for its thickness and durability.

84. *Oenocarpus bacaba*.

85. Red pepper, *Capsicum frutescens*.

86. In the past, several groups surrounding the Yanomam used blowguns with curare darts for hunting and warfare. Of these the only ones left are the Ye'kuana, whose *kurata* blowguns (*Arthrostylidium schomburgkii*) were famous all over the region (Civrieux 1980, p. 185, and Ramos 1980, p. 82).

87. A similar use of pepper smoke was frequent in ancient Tupinamba warfare (Fernandes 1970, pp. 27–28).

88. Regarding the call of the ghosts, see narrative 124, note 582.

89. See narrative 47, notes 255 and 276.

90. Regarding Yanomam funerary lamentations, see Albert 1985, pp. 383–387.

91. See Lizot 1975*b*, p. 95; Lévi-Strauss 1970, pp. 69 and 152*n.*; Colchester and Lister 1978.

92. There are numerous inga species. All, and a number of related leguminous vines, have pods containing seeds coated in a cotton fluff containing sugar. This fluff is sucked but the seeds are inedible. The species mentioned is *labai* (*Inga* sp.).

93. The Sanema cultivate numerous varieties of the vine (*Lagenaria siceraria*) to make gourds and calabashes (*hologoda*) for collecting water. The Sanema do not cultivate *Crescentia cujete*.

94. Menstruating girls during their first confinement are curtained from society by the leaves of the *sapulimai* tree.

95. Large eroded blocks of stone are common in hilly parts of the jungle, commonly of exfoliated granite. They provide low-roofed caves with sandy floors, used by the large cats as lairs.

96. *Pagidi chili* (*Capsicum frutescens*). Chilis do not play so prominent a role in the Sanema diet as among Carib Indians (see Gheerbrant 1956, p. 224). It is conceivable that they are a relatively recent acquisition of the Yanomami.

97. *Pini* (*Nicotiana tabacum*).

98. *Anepoko*, tree termites' nest.

99. Lit., "drowned."

100. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Arianamë in 1979, with commentaries by Marökoi.

101. *Priodontes giganteus*. Teremë (also called Teremiyomë) is often associated with armadillos in this and other versions of the same narrative.

102. *Fredius reflexifrons*.

103. Small red berries the size of a pea from the *hayihi* tree, *Pseudolmedia laevis*. They are abundant in the forest in November.

104. See narrative 50, note 308.

105. *Caryothraustes canadensis* (see narrative 76, note 375).

106. The Yanomam pick the fruits after cutting and throwing to the ground the branches and twigs to which they are attached.

107. A newborn *Dasypus novemcinctus* armadillo.
108. Bark of the tree *Anaxagorea acuminata*. She carries it like a baby, to play.
109. The red juice of the *hayi* fruit resembles blood.
110. *Tayassu tajacu*. This animal lives in bands of no more than fifteen individuals. When the Yanomam come across them unexpectedly during gathering forays with no adequate weapons, they often simply try to knock some down with improvised clubs.
111. See narrative 246, note 90.
112. Regarding the beginning of the Yanomam funerary ritual, see Albert 1985, pp. 391–394.
113. See narrative 11, note 46.
114. The pulp of the *hayi* fruit is sucked or mixed with water to make a juice. Subsequently the stones are dried, then heated on clay plates (see narrative 102, note 486) or in clay pots in order to cook the kernels, which are also a prized food (see narrative 76).
115. Regarding this ritual dance, see narrative 167, notes 796 and 814.
116. See narrative 42, note 227.
117. Regarding the *hëa* "annunciatory songs" of ceremonial foods during the *rahu* festivals, see Albert 1985, pp. 474–478.
118. A run that marks the *hwakëmu* dance.
119. See narrative 47, note 255.
120. From softwood trees, *Cecropia* sp. and *Croton* sp.
121. To the Yanomam, a bitter taste is the foremost characteristic of the inedible.
122. Regarding the preparation of cinerary gourds, see Albert 1985, pp. 417–423.
123. Arianamë said in a comment that after her death Teremë became an evil cannibal spirit that took refuge in the mountains (see narrative 246).
124. Tinimisoma, armadillo woman. The *tinimi* is the smallest of five species of armadillo recognized by the Sanema. Unlike the other four it is not edible. It may indeed be one of the numerous "imaginary" animals that people the Sanema's jungle.
125. The back basket carried by women, *wi*, is of a different shape from the basket used by both sexes for carrying harvested garden products. At about seven years young girls are given such a basket, but of a small size, to carry to the gardens and into the jungle on foraging expeditions.
126. See narrative 252 and notes.
127. *Waka*, armadillo (*Priodontes giganteus*).
128. It is common for Sanema men to take a wife from the age of about eight to ten years. Older wives, after their first menstruation, commonly accompany their husbands when hunting. This is not so much in order to help carry the game as to find privacy for copulation.
129. *Pishia* (*Calathea altissima*).
130. *Hoko amo*, the *seje* palm (*Oenocarpus/Jessenia* sp.).
131. See the fight with Siroromi in Lizot 1975b, p. 94.
132. See Lizot 1975b, p. 93; Wilbert 1963, p. 227. The name Shin-anidawawan is derived from *shinani*, the word for cotton. Lizot has suggested that the Yanomami hero's name Siroromi is derived from the word

for sores. The Sanema say that a girl who is menstruating for the first time must not sleep in a cotton hammock for she would get sores—*sululu*—all over.

133. *Paluli* (*Crax alector*).

134. Made from the upper incisors of the agouti (*Dasyprocta agouti*). These chisels are used for honing arrowheads.

135. *Samadodo*, silk grass (*Ananas comosus* var.).

136. In another version, *magamdodo* (*Heteropsis integerrima*).

137. *Lebus dodo*, the hanging roots of epiphytic Araceae (*Philodendron* sp., *Monstera* sp., and others). The root tips are bright red as they hang in the forest before lengthening to root in the ground. The red is Shinanidawawan's blood. The important point is that while silk grass and *Heteropsis* are very strong bindings, *Lebus* is very weak.

138. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979.

139. See narrative 11, note 64.

140. Lepidoptera of the Noctuidae family (see narrative 50, note 306).

141. See narrative 42, note 231.

142. *Shinaru* is the word for "cotton"; *-mari* or *-ri* is a suffix indicating a supernatural being. Another informant described *Shinarumari* as a reddish humanoid decorated with many cotton ornaments, with frightening eyes, and damp skin covered with a greasy, oozing substance.

143. Two other informants added here that the women offered *Shinarumari* crabs to eat but that he repeatedly refused them, saying: "I won't eat that! My eyes will turn red! I won't eat that! I will become squint-eyed!"

144. The Yanomam paint all their cotton ornaments with red urucu dye (*Bixa orellana*).

145. *Odontophorus gujanensis*.

146. See narrative 84, note 411.

147. *Sola*, blowpipe. *Solamani*, or blowpipe man, is an evil being.

148. *Calathea altissima*.

149. When on trek, when *wāshimo*, and when a house has been set up in a new part of the forest, Sanema characteristically hunt the immediate vicinity at dawn and dusk for marbled wood quail (*Odontophorus gujanensis*), tinamids, and Spix's guan (*Penelope jacquacu*).

150. Onomatopoeic rendering of the flaying.

151. A plant similar to the *xaroromi*. Its heart is eaten roasted.

152. A forest spirit who sexually abuses Yanomami women. [Eds.]

153. The Walma people live downstream from the Sanema on the Auaris-Uraricoera. They are Yanomami speaking the Yanomam or Yanam language. The Sanema maintain equivocal relations with this group but have exchanged women with them. The Walma were in contact with the Evangelical Mission on the Middle Uraricoera before it closed, and presumably made visits to Boa Vista downriver. The mission was described briefly by Montgomery (1970).

154. The Sanema refer to all the "whites" (and, recently, to various acculturated Indian groups on the lower rivers) as *Sedenabi*, which is the term used in this context. The Brazilians are sometimes distinguished from

the real Sedenabi by the term Kadai. The Yekuana are denoted by the term Nabi.

155. Waikia is a term used by the Sanema to refer to hostile Yanomami groups to their south. The Sanema no longer maintain contacts with these people. (Waikia is also the name of a descent group localized on the Upper Caura between Carona and Caño Guafía.)

156. I.e., "I am a Waikia." (The Waikia cannot speak Spanish.)

157. *Poodoli* has no particular meaning as far as I know.

158. Taylor (1972) has translated the term *ōka dibi* as "night raiders." Lizot (1975b, p. 111) has translated the equivalent term in Yanomami as *brujos* (witches). The term applies to raiding using *alawali* to kill, rather than physical violence. Such raiding is imagined to occur especially at night, but can occur at any time of day. The only other suitable term in English is "sorcery."

159. If we consider the above as a prayer directed toward Omas to let go the animals that he thinks are superfluous in the animal kingdom, the young hunter's behavior could be interpreted as an offense against God, rebelling against his will.

160. When a Sanema dies his core or soul, *ōshi*, becomes a ghost, *hena pole di*. Generally feared as evil spirits, it is probably accurate etymologically to note that the term *pole* refers to jaguars and like evil beings.

161. *Nimo amo*, a small palm (not identified); the fruit is notably hard.

162. See Lizot 1975b, p. 20.

163. The *ohinani* are the people of the underworld. They are commonly supposed to have originated because a piece of the sky fell on a lot of Sanema and cast them underground. The term *ohi-nani* is derived from the words *ohi*, hungry, and *nani*, crazy. They are crazy with hunger, about three feet or six inches high (depending on informants), immensely strong, and ugly. In the underworld they have dogs, houses and (very small) cultivated clearings, like the Sanema above. They have very large machetes and use earthenware cooking pots. The underworld is otherwise much like this world. The *ohinani* are immortal.

164. *Moka*, frog (*Osteocephalus* sp.?). About June, that is, in the middle of the wet season, these frogs congregate in ponds and pools to copulate. Their croaking is particularly noticeable during the day.

165. *Kostoliwidibi*, marsh "spirits." One people among the myriads who inhabit the Sanema's world.

166. *Kunamgoshi* (not identified).

167. The informant stated that these people who fell underground became the *ohinani* (see narrative 269 and Wilbert 1963, p. 234).

168. See also the corresponding myth of the Yupa of Venezuela (Wilbert 1959).

169. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Hewēnakē in 1981.

170. The western Yanomami.

171. *Clathrotropis macrocarpa*, toxic fruits that must be soaked to become edible (see narrative 289, note 222).

172. The narrator's father-in-law belongs to the Shauatheri, a Shamathari community of the Demini River headwaters.

173. The Orinoco River.
174. *Bactris gasipaës*, a cultivated palm.
175. The narrator used the Shamathari name for the underworld cannibal ancestors instead of Aōbataribē, their Yanomam name (see narrative 7).
176. The Yanomam vocative term for "mother" is *naba*.
177. See narrative 35, note 182.
178. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979.
179. An allusion to narrative 158.
180. This remark associates the narrative with the end of the animal ancestors' period of the transformation (see narrative 7, note 29).
181. A brown jaguar (*Panthera onca*) from the mountains, known for its aggressiveness and its large size (see Biocca 1968, p. 92).
182. That is, without being first exposed to decay in the forest (see Albert 1985, pp. 387–391).
183. Lepidoptera of the Noctuidae family (see narrative 50, note 306).
184. The term used here, *hiima*, is a generic term to designate pet animals in general and more specifically the dog.
185. See narrative 92, note 444.
186. Interjection expressing pity and fear.
187. Long basketwork tube made of strands from the *Ischnosiphon obliquus* reed.
188. *Centris* sp. or *Euglossa* sp., a large copper-colored hornet.
189. *Platemys platycephala*, a small flat aquatic turtle that the Yanomam like to eat.
190. See narrative 11, note 48.
191. Literal translation of the verb *rēmu*, which describes the action of the shamans who interpose their supernatural protection between their community and the evil beings and powers which threaten its members.
192. An allusion to a peculiarity of the *wayamōramōhi* turtle which does not retract its neck into its shell but bends it sideways, like its tail.
193. The bite of turtles is particularly strong and tenacious.
194. See narrative 47, notes 255 and 276.
195. *Hlapada*, a more accurate translation would be "feline." This "jaguar" was also a paca.
196. *Nashkoi*, cassava gruel. Visitors always receive some kind of drink from their hosts shortly after arrival.
197. To invite a visitor to accompany her in the forest is tantamount to an invitation to have sex.
198. *Amoda*, the paca (*Cuniculus paca*). Paca live in holes in the banks of rivers.
199. *Tibi*, giant anteater (*Myrmecophaga tridactyla*).
200. *Ila*, a term including all the felines.
201. *Moka*, small edible frogs (*Osteocephalus* sp.?).
202. *Magamdodo*. The term applies both to the liana (*Heteropsis integerrima*) and the simple hammock made from it. Men sleep in such hammocks slung over their wives once the wives have children.
203. *Maigoshi*, a dark solid resin prepared from boiling the resin excreted by the *maigo* tree (*Manilkara* spp.). It turns liquid on heating.
204. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Kobi in 1985.
205. *Panthera onca*, the spotted jaguar. The Yanomam say that the

supernatural image (see narrative 11, note 55) of the jaguar lives in the chest of courageous and tough men. When they feel pain in combat these men imitate the roaring of the jaguar instead of expressing their suffering.

206. Generic term.

207. See narrative 47, in which it is the pain caused by ant bites that leads to the transformation of a baby into a supernaturally brave child warrior.

208. This deformation of the testicles is attributed to premature aging caused by too frequently undergoing the *unokai* ritual condition of homicide (see narrative 47, note 255, and Albert 1985, pp. 366, 369).

209. A community located on the Couto de Magalhães River (upper Mucajai River basin).

210. A cluster of communities around a large hill called Shithee, near the sources of the Parima River. Among the lowland groups this region is reputed to have the highest intensity of warfare in Yanomam territory (see the commentary of narrative 47).

211. A reference to the Serra das Surucucus on the upper Parima River where there is a post of the FUNAI, the Brazilian Indian administration.

212. A reference to the Demini FUNAI post, located about six kilometers from the narrator's community.

213. The Yanomam from the Catrimani River basin raid only distant villages of the Apiaú and Ajarani rivers whose inhabitants speak another Yanomami language (see narrative 47, note 277). They call them Moshihatëtëmëthëbë or Yawaribë.

214. An allusion to residential fissions.

215. Clusters of communities of the upper Orinoco and Parima rivers. The descendants of the Sharaitheri and Hayowatheri disappeared, the victims of epidemics.

216. These wars took place in the first decades of the century.

217. This text was edited from two narratives told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marôkoi and Arianamë.

218. *Dasyprocta aguti*. This reddish-brown rodent has a reputation for eating greedily and for hiding food in secret places. The Yanomam also say that it is the only animal able to eat *wabu* toxic fruits.

219. *Clathrotropis macrocarpa*.

220. *Myoprocta acouchy*. This rodent resembles the agouti, although smaller and of a different color.

221. See narrative 227, note 13.

222. The *wabu* are bitter and very toxic fruits. They have the shape of large flat beans with a thick, light-brown peel. Before they can be eaten they are peeled, boiled, sliced, and put to soak for a few days in the river. Finally they are rubbed against the bottom of a basket.

223. Fruits of the liana *Plukenetia abutaefolia*. They contain several large drop-shaped nuts with a rough shell. The nuts, containing tasty almonds, are roasted in the embers before being shelled.

224. Yanomam gastronomy is based on numerous rules of association of this kind, between principal food and "accompanying food."

225. An allusion to the phase in the preparation of the *wabu* when they are sliced (see note 222 above).

226. An allusion to the final phase in the preparation of the *wabu* when they are rubbed against the bottom of a basket (see note 222 above).

227. A gesture the Yanomam commonly make when they feel dizzy.
228. See narrative 47, note 257.
229. See narrative 102, note 485.
230. Arianamë added that after eating his mother-in-law Acouchi again went in the forest with his wife and in turn transformed into an animal.
231. *Tomi* (*Dasyprocta aguti*).
232. *Senhendi* (not identified). Though this term may be applied to describe *Dioscorea* tubers, in this case it applies to a forest fruit that agoutis commonly eat on the forest floor. Sanema also eat this fruit but cooked in the fire.
233. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Kobi in 1985.
234. See narrative 241, note 45.
235. Unidentified tree, maybe of the same genus as the *abiahi* tree, *Micropholis splendens*.
236. Generally made of strong lianas (such as *Heteropsis spruceana* or *Cydista aequinoctialis*) or bark (*Anaxagorea acuminata*, *Guatteria peoppigiana*). It is tied around the feet and serves to reenforce their grip on the tree trunk.
237. See narrative 251, note 106.
238. This is how the Yanomam carry their quivers (see narrative 47, note 254).
239. *Yutu* is the root of a verb which means "to stumble, to slip and fall."
240. The common Amazonian land turtle, *Geochelone denticulata*.
241. See narrative 84, note 411.
242. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Kobi in 1985.
243. *Daptrius americanus*. A social, inquisitive bird which forages in small bands in the upper branches and emits a loud call.
244. See narrative 84, note 411.
245. An extended collective expedition for the purpose of gathering particularly prized fruits (*Inga* sp., *Maximiliana maripa*, *Mauritia flexuosa*, *Caryocar villosum*, etc.).
246. See narrative 179, note 878.
247. Yanomam children are suckled until they are about three years old.
248. See narrative 35, note 182.
249. *Tanakami* (not identified).
250. The bird which may be known as *totiawai* is not identified.
251. *Nishmoko*, ground termites.
252. *Kokopilimi*, a small bird, not identified.
253. *Anedemawai*, the smaller woodpecker (*Venilornis* sp.?).
254. The pun is on the words *koko*, meaning "manioc tuber" and *pila*, meaning "that's that."
255. *Kulemi*, Spix's guan (*Penelope jacquacu*).
256. *Apiá*, edible fruit (not identified).
257. *Ōka dibi*: see narrative 264, note 158.
258. *Pinadu*, imaginary mice that are said to live in the top of trees in entanglements of lianas. They have spines in their armpits which are particularly potent as *alawali* darts.
259. This text was edited from three narratives told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi and Arianamë.
260. Lit., "Woman's Blood Mountain."

261. Respectively, the Catrimani River (Rio Branco basin) and the Orinoco River.

262. That means getting close to Omamë's era.

263. See narrative 294, note 245.

264. Sororal polygyny is popular among Yanomam men who see it as the best way to avoid incessant conflict between co-wives.

265. Delousing is a demonstration of affection toward close relatives.

266. The association between darkness, humidity, and menstruation is constant in Yanomam cultural representations (see Albert 1985, chap. 13).

267. See narrative 246, note 90.

268. Regarding blowguns, see narrative 11, note 39 and narrative 246, note 86.

269. A mountain located near the headwaters of the Catrimani River (Rio Branco basin).

270. The informant specified that the monkeys have been made furious by the husband's "menstrual smell." Regarding conjugal puberty seclusion, see narrative 33, note 151 and narrative 308, notes 279 and 280.

271. Respectively, *Callicebus torquatus*, *Chiripotes chiripotes*, *Ateles belzebuth*, *Alouatta seniculus*, and *Cebus albifrons*.

272. The Yanomam say that if one hunted these monkeys one would find oneself plunged into darkness and an incessant rain (see note 266 above).

273. An old garden and habitation site where the narrator's group lived at the beginning of the century.

274. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Kobi in 1985.

275. *Trigona* (*Trigona*) sp. Bees whose large, black, oblong nests are attached to the trunks of tall trees, high up.

276. *Hymenaea* cf. *intermedia* (see narrative 42, note 242).

277. Poles tied end to end and placed vertically along a big isolated tree to make it possible to climb it.

278. Blood is associated with body heat. The Yanomam say that old people, incestuous people, and sterile women have insufficient blood and thus have cold bodies. Menstruation is considered as the discharge of excess blood, which is associated with intense heat (see Albert 1985, p. 592).

279. The Yanomam say that during a young wife's first menstruation her husband incorporates her blood and discharges it in the form of greasy perspiration (see also narrative 33, note 151).

280. See narrative 47, note 255. Regarding the association between the ritual *unokai* state of homicide and the *yibi* state of first menstruation, see Albert 1985, chap. 13.

281. A sign of fatigue.

282. The Yanomam usually climb trees with a liana or bark ring around their feet (see narrative 293, note 236). They crouch with their feet locked around the trunk of the tree, then get up and, with their arms gripping the tree, bring their bodies once more to a crouching position.

283. *Oenocarpus bacaba*.

284. In another version of this narrative an informant pointed out, referring to this transformation: "Although he was cutting up a bees' nest, it was he who became the nest, glued to the tree trunk."

285. See narrative 111, note 528.

286. See narrative 246, note 90.

287. Regarding Yanomam pubertal seclusion see Albert 1985, chap. 13.

288. Interjection to attract attention to what one is saying.

289. Mud nest of the termites *Embriatermes neoticinus*.

290. See Wilbert 1963, p. 234. Lizot has not recorded this myth among the Yanomami, but see Lizot 1976, pp. 104 ff., for a description of the ritual surrounding a girl's first menses.

291. As soon as a girl has her first menses, she must take off all her clothes and, within the house surrounded by a curtain of branches of the small tree *sapulimai*, shaman tree (*Sorocea guyanensis* W. Burger), sit silent for three or four days. At night, within the leaf curtain, she sleeps on a simple bast hammock. All meat is forbidden her, and she may drink only a little cassava gruel. During the day (and during all subsequent menses) the girl (or woman) sits on the ground, by the fireside. After about six days, her hair is shorn and she is prettily decorated; major food prohibitions continue until her hair grows long again.

292. The white-lipped peccary (*Dicotyles torquatus*). The myth gives a good account of a typical peccary hunt.

293. The term *manogoshi* refers to the equivalent period in a man's life when he celebrates his reaching adulthood. In this instance, however, the word is being applied by extension to the girl's condition. Husbands observe sympathetically their wives' food prohibitions during menstruation (and pregnancy); these restrictions do not extend to their hunting.

294. *Musamai* (*Amphirox longifolia*). The transformation (right: in house, on ground; wrong: in forest, up in tree) must be an important lead in analyzing this myth.

295. Four birds are said to be *waligigi he'an*, including the lesser tinamou, and the trogons—*solagimusiwai* (*Trogon melanurus*/T. *collaris*) and *kulukulumusiwai* (*Trogon viridis*). The fourth is the marbled wood quail (*Odontophorus guianensis*).

296. The lesser tinamou (*Crypturellus variegatus*); see note 295 above.

297. *Ense*, an address term with no kinship implications; very rare.

298. Small palms whose delicate fresh leaves are commonly eaten by peccaries.

299. *Felis onca*.

300. *Chiropetes satanas*.

301. *Crax alector*.

302. *Mosa osewai*, a term applied to a large number of *Tanagra* and related spp.

303. *Bixa orellana* L.

304. See Lizot 1975b, p. 74. Also see Lizot 1976, pp. 205 ff., for an excellent description of a festival. All the essentials apply equally well to the Sanema.

305. One of the many terms the Sanema use to designate other Yanomami is *Waikia*. The Sanema call the Yanom of the Paragua, Palawa people. The Yanoama of the Lower Uraricoera are known as *Walma* people and *Kaselabe'ai* people (wide-lipped people). Those Yanoama immediately south of the Auaris are called *Kobali* people. The Yanomami of the Padamo are known as *Labadili* people. *Waikia* is a vaguer term but may represent a

memory of the Yanomami whom Smole (1976) identifies as Barafiri. Shamatali is a more contextual term, which may be glossed as "fierce neighbors to the south." The western Sanema may refer to the Sanema of the Auaris as Shamatali.

306. The down taken from raptors. This white fluff is stuck in the hair and on the body during festivals.

307. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Marōkoi.

308. *Leopardus pardalis* (see narrative 42, note 243).

309. Lit., "The Withered, The Emaciated."

310. *Rhamphastos tucanus* and *Rhamphastos cuvieri*. The skill of a young hunter is valued through the quantity of small bird skins among his ceremonial ornaments (see narrative 130, note 611).

311. Regarding the Yanomam ritual for the first menstruation, see Albert 1985, pp. 573–584.

312. See narrative 308, note 278.

313. From the effect of the heat of the menstrual blood Ocelot, the great hunter, became like an old man who has reverted to infancy.

314. When a young man spends too much time by his fireplace instead of hunting all day, people tease him: "He has become withered after having eaten the vagina of a girl during her first menstruation!"

315. *Hwi*, a general term that includes all species of bats; some species are edible. For more on bats and blood see Lévi-Strauss 1973, p. 182.

316. The Sanema have acquired blowpipes from the Yekuana.

317. See preceding narrative and notes.

318. *Manogoshiminase*. At approximately the same age when girls have their first menses young boys are ritually received into adulthood. Apart from the sitting, and the screening behind leaves (not necessary for boys), the ritual is similar to the girls'.

319. That is the age group just prior to passage into adulthood. For a description of Sanema age grades see Taylor 1974, pp. 62 ff.

320. *Sakona* or *sakina*, snuff prepared from *Virola* spp. resin.

321. *Shimi* (*Bradypus tridactylus*).

322. *Shimigigi mamó*, cultivated plant (probably *Cyperus* sp.) used to attract sloths.

323. It is almost impossible to kill a sloth with a bow and arrow or a shotgun. They are tremendously resistant.

324. *Palahalimo*, to groan. The hero's name may be a contraction of this word (or it may be derived from the verb *palua*, meaning to lead or go first). A pun may be intended.

325. *Hadami*, giant otter (*Pteronura brasiliensis*).

326. *Hashimo*, great tinamou (*Tinamus major*); the term includes the rare *T. tao*.

327. Lit., "strike her below."

328. The episode of the amusing cannibal who mistakes a reflection for a chance of game is common in South American mythography. See Lévi-Strauss 1970, p. 273.

329. The vulture people were mentioned in only one of the two versions of this myth noted. There was no other significant difference in the two

versions. *Wada*, vultures (the following species occur in the Sanema area: *Coragyps atratus*, *Sarcoramphus papa*, *Cathartes aura*, *C. burrovianus*, *C. melambrotus*).

330. Commonly the Sanema lay vegetation across a trail where there are wasps to protect other wayfarers.

331. The blowpipe is not a traditional Sanema weapon, but is now commonly used by young boys to hunt small birds in the immediate vicinity of the house. The blowpipe, and, I suspect, this myth, are cultural borrowings from the Yekuana (see Civrieux 1970, p. 229; Wilbert 1963, p. 233).

332. I.e., "copulate with him now." Playful, sometimes quite violent, aggressive behavior between the sexes is taken as flirting among the Sanema. Flicking water, throwing scraps of food, the playful exchange of blows, always have a sexual implication.

333. See Chagnon 1968, p. 47.

334. *Po'oloi di*, fire stick made from branches of the tree *po'oloi* (*Coussapoa affinis labifolia* Aubl.).

335. See Lévi-Strauss 1973, p. 290; Tastevin 1910, pp. 248-249; Reid 1979, pp. 382 ff.

336. *Sama*, tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*).

337. *Totoli*, tortoise (*Geochelone denticulata*).

338. *Pishia* (*Calathea altissima*).

339. See Goldman 1963, p. 57.

340. There are many circumlocutions to describe death. "Drown" may here be read figuratively.

341. See Lévi-Strauss 1973, p. 291; Tastevin 1910, p. 265; Baldus 1958; p. 186.

342. *Magamdodo* (*Heteropsis integerrima*).

343. *Tapirus terrestris*.

344. The bird *shuemawai* (*Piaya cayana*/P. *melanogaster*) is one of two birds that are described as *sama he'an*.

345. See and contrast Lizot 1975b, p. 109 and see Colchester 1981, p. 90. *Posposmane* is a bird (not identified).

346. *Saliselimusi* or *sensenmusi*; the terms apply to a number of species of woodcreeper.

347. The land of the Horonami is called Kayaba (David).

348. *Kwali nagi*, "the night-monkey's herb." This small acanthaceous herb (*Justicia longifolia*) occurs both wild and in cultivated plots. The sweet-smelling leaves are worn ornamentally by women in their earlobes or tucked into the bands about their upper arms. The same leaves may be heated and crumbled to a fine powder; mixed with *Virola* resin snuff, it is said to enhance the drug's hallucinogenic properties. See Chagnon et al. 1970.

Unclassified Narratives

345. Diseases in the Forest

Everyone had gone *wāshimo*. Everyone had terrible fever.¹ The elders all had diarrhea. One child had been taken, then another, another, another, and another. But one old man had not gone with them.

In the night he went and sat at the bottom of a tree. A hawk above him cried out: "*Koo! Koo!*" The old man chanted:² "That one, it said 'I am the tree.' "

Much later the others all returned home. They found the old man still at the bottom of the tree. He was dead. He was crouched there all stiff and hard.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 55.

346. Copulating in the Smoke³

It was very light. The tamandua⁴ ancestors were going to copulate. They lit termites' nests.⁵ Termites' nests here, more there, more over there. Many termites' nests. The termites' nests burned. There were clouds of smoke. People began copulating; all over the place people were copulating, copulating! copulating! Although it was daylight people were copulating hugely. The ancestors copulated among the clouds of smoke.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 41-42.

347. The Incestuous Monkey

The white monkey⁶ flirted playfully with his sister. They played and played. They played endlessly. "That's your sister!" said the

boy's father. "That's your sister," he said again. "Yes! You've said so already!" replied the white monkey. He went on flirting with his sister. And he copulated with her.

So it is said.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 91.

Motif content

T415. Brother-sister incest.

T415.1. Lecherous brother.

348. The Ancestors' *Wasamo*

The ancestors had recently cremated a Sanema in a fire. They were carrying out *wasamo*⁷ by the fireside.

Sapa sapa we ee—ee—ee—ee—ee (Throw! throw!)

Sapa sapa we ee—ee—ee—ee—ee (Throw! throw!)

So sang one man. Then he flung his companion sideways so that he fell in the fire.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 49.

Motif content

K925. Victim pushed into fire.

349. The Feast of the Capybaras and the Butterflies

The capybaras invited the butterflies to a feast, not a feast during which one eats food, but one where one consumes excrement. They saved up their excrement, and when they had enough they invited the butterflies. When the latter arrived they camped nearby. The capybaras called the messenger whom they chose from among the oldest butterflies. While waiting for him to arrive they whistled. "May the messenger come quickly! Come on, son!" they were saying to encourage one another.

At that moment the messenger arrived. He stepped over the threshold of the house, saying: "*Tu, tu, tu. . .*" "Over here! Come and sit here!" they called to him.

I am a Waika.
 They want to tear to pieces
 The tree that grows over there.
 I am a Waika.
 I intend to split the tip
 Of this roof pole.
 That is what I say.

After pronouncing these words he left. All the butterflies performed the presentation dance, even the children. When they finished the capybaras invited them to their fires. That was when the butterflies chased them out of the house. The capybaras remained behind the leafy roof and were forced to watch what went on through the cracks in their own house. "*Ai tasiyë!*" they said in their language. The butterflies were on the verge of splitting their noses.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Invited to feast by capybaras, butterflies end up throwing out their hosts and taking over their house.

Motif content

P332.	Selfish guest expels host.
P634.	Feasts.
W154.	Ingratitude.

350. A Tough Squirrel

Jaguar was walking in the forest. A reddish-brown squirrel was running in his direction along an old, hard tree trunk. Suddenly he saw Jaguar and was filled with fear. "Don't be afraid, don't be afraid! Let's talk for a moment. Have no fear; I won't kill you." "I'm afraid." Squirrel was at the point of fleeing back to where he had come from. "Don't be so eager to get away; come over here." Fearfully Squirrel approached. "Don't kill me, don't kill me. You really have the teeth of a killer." "Are you still afraid?" "Yes, I am." "I

won't touch you; I just want to talk to you casually. May I bite your head?" "Absolutely not. Your teeth won't sink in; they will clash against my skull," claimed Squirrel. Privately he was wondering whether Jaguar would really be able to crush his head between his teeth. "Give me your head!" "Your teeth will bump against my skull; you won't be able to crush it." "Come here and give me your head!" Jaguar was also wondering whether he would really be able to crush the other's head. Squirrel offered him his head. No cracking of bone was heard; instead Jaguar's teeth clashed harshly against the skull. As Jaguar moaned in pain Squirrel quickly fled. He jumped up on a twisted liana and began to breathe again. Crouching there he called: "You tried to crush my head between your teeth! I don't doubt for a moment that they hurt now. Didn't I tell you that you wouldn't be able to do it?" "How annoying he is! Why didn't I simply break his back?" Angrily Jaguar had remained in the same place. "I thought he was just boasting. Now my whole jaw hurts," he complained. One tooth was broken. Instead of thinking: "His head is hard; leave him alone," he had bitten down hard. Squirrel did not feel the slightest pain although he had caused Jaguar to lose a tooth.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Ignoring warnings, Jaguar tries to crush Squirrel's head between his teeth. Instead he loses one tooth.

Motif content

- | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|
| J613. | Wise fear of the weak for the strong. |
| J652. | Inattention to warnings. |

351. The Angry Paca

The paca⁸ had planted a lot of manioc by himself. But the paca was very selfish. He only unearthed a single plant. The agouti⁹ took it, being very thievish. The agouti ate it. The paca was angry and struck the agouti with a stick.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 93.

Motif content

Q212.	Theft punished.
W152.	Stinginess.

352. The Agouti and the Paca *Wasamo*¹⁰

The agouti and the paca engaged in *wasamo*.

Yekuana head
Painted up red,
You wide skin!

chanted the agouti.

Your Waikia head
It's all long!

retorted the paca. So they did their *wasamo* angrily.¹¹

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 93.

Motif content

B299.2.	Animals dispute.
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353. The Children of Tayra and Tamandua Squabble¹²

The children of Tayra¹³ and Tamandua¹⁴ were alone in the communal house; they were arguing in their fathers' absence. The fathers had gone into the forest, Tayra to gather honey¹⁵ and Tamandua to catch termites.¹⁶ Tamandua's son spoke scornfully of honey, calling it sticky: "Father went to gather termites! Your honey is sticky! Sticky! Sticky!" Tayra's son replied by jeering him in the same vein: "Father went to gather honey! Your termites are bitter! Bitter! Bitter!" This dialogue went on: "Later father will bring back a honey leaf package!"¹⁷ He will not give you any!" "Your honey is sticky! Sticky! Sticky!" "Later father will bring back a leaf package of termites! He will not give you any!" "Your termites are bitter! Bitter! Bitter!"

The children who had remained in the collective house were very hungry and while awaiting the return of their fathers they kept squabbling: "Your honey is sticky!" "Your termites are bitter!" Tayra was gathering honey and Tamandua was of course gathering termites, which is what this climbing anteater still eats. Meanwhile their children were squabbling. That's it.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

354. The Alligator's Angry Son

One day, long ago, the little tamandua¹⁸ cried: "My father's gone to collect termites, boo hoo!" "What a nuisance," said the alligator's¹⁹ son. "My father's gone collecting honey, boo hoo!" cried the tayra's²⁰ son. "What a nuisance," said the little alligator. "My father's gone collecting palm grubs, boo hoo!" cried the woodpecker's²¹ son. "What a bad one!" said the alligator's son.

So the children bickered among themselves.

Source: Colchester 1981, p. 95.

355. An Insupportable Companion

Makoromi used to keep the para nuts for himself. Once he wanted to find out whether the nuts were big. He struck one against the nose of a Yanomami and cracked the shell. Then the man offered him his skull, and he cracked a nut against it. The man then offered him his elbow, and he cracked a nut against that. Finally the other offered him his knee, and he cracked a nut against it. Makoromi was checking whether the nuts were big.

While the others went hunting Makoromi would stay home, and he would confiscate the game they brought. Unfortunately it must also be admitted that he used to eat the Yanomami. Finally they grew tired of him and killed him. They threw his dead body over a rocky precipice.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

G312.	Cannibal ogre.
G512.	Ogre killed.
W152.	Stinginess.

356. The Unlucky Hunters

The Waika were traveling up the river. "Brother-in-law, see whether the otter stirred up the water as it swam, see whether there is some troubled water moving toward us. We'll kill that otter! This time we'll give it what it deserves; we'll kill it for good!" They were walking in the water, traveling upriver. Several times already they had allowed the otter to escape. Every time it thwarted their desire for meat. "Look, there's some troubled water flowing toward us! That's where it usually appears. Let's go over there; I'll drive it out. Look! There it is, swimming downstream as it did before!"

The otter could be heard expelling the air from its nostrils in the water, swimming toward them on the water's surface, in a place where the river was straight. That was where it always showed itself to the Yanomami, swimming toward them. The otter approached, its head above the water. "Go over there; I'm the one who will shoot it. I'll shoot it for good." When the otter raises its head it is because it sees the Yanomami as tiny dots. "It's becoming scared."

It was the *hekura* spirits that had taught the otter how to act. The arrow merely grazed its neck, and it dived under the water immediately. "Over here! Over here!" The otter was swimming underwater, heading toward the high bank. "It's hiding in a hole, here, it just entered! This time we'll kill it." At least that is what they thought. They probed with their feet, first one place, then another, while the otter huddled in the hole at the far end of the steep bank. "There it is!" "Quick, quick, draw your bowstrings!" The otter had taken refuge in a very small hole, and while it huddled there the men made the riverbank crumble with their arrowheads, hoping to hit the animal. They tore up the entire bank without finding anything. "What bad luck! Where does it go every time? How upsetting! It's the *hekura* of the Shamathari that teach it how to behave; they are the ones that instruct it. If only I could have the pleasure of drinking the broth in which it has been cooked!"

That was what the Waika were saying as evening fell.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Hunters try in vain to kill otter.

Motif content

A2552.+ Why otter is elusive. (A2552. Why game animals are elusive.)

357. Jaguar Loses His Way

Kērēnēri placed a long stick lengthwise against a big tree as if he wanted to climb it. He planted one end in the ground and leaned the other against the tree, and then he left.

Shortly afterward Jaguar arrived. "Who could have placed that stick against the tree? Who came? There are no footprints. I'm really hungry for meat; if only I could have come while he was still busy here. Who wanted to climb up into that tree? I'm hungry," said Jaguar. He searched in the forest, moving in a wide circle from one hillside to another. He intended to return to his point of departure but ended up getting lost during the search. "Where can my house be?" He had not broken any shrubs as he walked, and had no points of reference any more. "What trail can have taken me so far afield? I'll never find my way back." He sat down. "I won't find my way home," he said. That was how Jaguar began to live in a different region; he had forgotten where his house was. He lived elsewhere.

Source: Lizot ms.

Motif content

A2433.1.+ Why jaguar lives where he does. (A2433.1. Establishment of animal haunt.)
J1706.+ Stupid jaguar. (J1706. Stupid animals.)

358. The Jaguar's Eyes

A crab²² was plucking out his eyes. He pulled them out, threw them into the river, went and collected the eyes, and put them back.

Then he would pluck them out again, chuck them in the river, collect them, and put them back in their sockets. A jaguar²³ arrived. "Oh! Me too! Do that with my eyes too! Go on!" said the jaguar. The jaguar pulled out his eyes and the crab chucked them into the river. The crab went after them and then went deep down underwater. The jaguar swept his paw angrily through the water to catch the crab but not being able to see he only scratched the crab's back: *gledididi!* The crab ate the eyes. "Oh dear!" said the jaguar. "You vulture people,²⁴ give me my eyes!" "When I kill game then we all eat," said the jaguar. "That's why you'll give me my eyes." "Right," replied the vulture people. They gave the jaguar some new eyes.

So it is said.

Source: Colchester 1981, pp. 91-92.

Motif content

A2412.5.+.	Markings on crab's back. (A2412.5. Marking on other animals.)
B455.1.	Helpful vulture.
E781.	Eyes successfully replaced.
J1706.+.	Stupid jaguar. (J1706. Stupid animals.)
J1910.	Fatal disregard of anatomy.
J2050.	Absurd short-sightedness.
J2400.	Foolish imitation.

359. Enemy Sorcerers Fall into a Precipice²⁵

After some *oka* sorcerers²⁶ had been transformed into coatis,²⁷ other Shamathari²⁸ sorcerers carried out a new raid in which they killed more Yanomam. Then they fled in the night to the middle of the forest in the *unokai* ritual condition of homicide²⁹ to get away from the village where they had made their sorcery attack. In order not to get lost all were holding on to a long rope made of spider monkey hair.³⁰ It was a twisted rope, like a long hammock cord,³¹ made of monkey hair and cotton, which they used when traveling during the night so as not to get lost. Thus they advanced rapidly in the dark through a forest that was unfamiliar to them.

It was rough terrain. Not far away the earth had been torn open leaving a gaping hole, and in the direction they were heading, just

in front of them, lay a precipice, cutting the path without warning. The sorcerers advanced along the path, keeping well in the center, and—*hoshshshi! shiri!*—all together fell into the enormous hole. By holding on to the rope they had all fallen in, pulling one another into the hole. Only the man who was holding the end of the rope remained on the edge of the precipice; the rest found themselves brutally hanging in the void. Then the rope broke, cut by the sharp rocks: *huuukē!* One man alone, the one holding the end of the rope, managed to remain on the edge; all the others fell. They had been walking in the forest in the depth of the night, and right in the middle of the path that they were following there was a yawning fault! They suddenly disappeared into it in the most frightening way. After their fall not a sound came out of the hole.

The man who had not fallen thought: "Why is it that there's no sound coming out of that hole?" He returned to pick up a piece of dry wood, crawled to the edge of the precipice, and threw it down to see how deep it was: *hututututu!* Only a glacial breath wafted intermittently from the depths, and he could hear no sound from the piece of wood he had thrown. Next he broke off a long *horomasikē* palm³² stalk and felt along the edges of the precipice to see whether his companions might be holding on to an overhang. Still hearing no sound he finally threw away his stick: *shiri!* "My companions really did fall down," he thought. He lay down on the ground and remained like that until dawn. The following day he confirmed the depth of the precipice in the light of day and angrily said to himself: "*Ha!*"³³ They really did disappear in there!" And he returned home, mourning over his companions. Upon his return the women began to cry: "*Yaiyo! Yaiyo! Yaiyo! Yaiyo!*"³⁴ and burned the dead men's hammocks.³⁵

That was how these Shamathari sorcerers fell into a precipice, by holding on to a monkey hair rope which broke. The only survivor was the man who was holding the end of the rope and who was thrown back when it broke. It was an enormous hole, with a cold breath coming out of it. That is how it happened. The old people knew this precipice; it is located in a savanna covered with *birimēhikē* plants.³⁶ This happened a very long time ago.

Informant: Ikahi

Source: Albert ms.

Summary

Returning home from raid, sorcerers fall into precipice. Sole survivor searches for them in vain.

Motif content

D110.+.	Transformation: man to coati. (D110. Transformation: man to wild beast (mammal).)
J641.	Escaping before enemy can strike.
J647.	Avoiding enemy's revenge.
J750.	Forethought—miscellaneous.
N330.	Accidental killing or death.
P681.	Mourning customs.
Z356.	Unique survivor.

360. At the Rock of the Fallen Sorcerers

The sorcerers fell into the abyss, at the Rock of the Fallen Sorcerers. They were approaching the destination of their expedition and were no longer very far from their enemies. Instead of camping on the plain, as they should have done, they wanted for some reason to spend the night at the edge of a precipice. "Let's gather here; tomorrow we'll descend again. When we are on the plain we'll lie in ambush at the side of a road." "Yes, let's sleep here." They swept the ground to remove the dead leaves. An old man advised: "Pile up the leaves nearby. Tomorrow morning we'll spread them out again to obliterate our footprints." The sorcerers cleared the ground. Night had fallen, and the cold bothered them. "Let's make some small fires." They fell asleep.

A very ugly man had remained a bit apart. Near him some stunted trees were clinging to the rock. He alone had woken up when a dry crack warned of an imminent landslide. "What's that cracking? Where did that noise come from? Aren't we risking being thrown into the abyss? We'll all die in the ravine," he worried. Quickly the ugly man reached toward some hanging leaves to hold on to a branch. Then the ground crumbled all the way to where he had been standing only an instant before. The bodies of the sorcerers bounced against the rocky wall. "What a terrible misfortune! No one will survive!" All lay on the bottom, dead.

As soon as it was day he left, hurrying along the same road of misfortune that they had taken earlier. He arrived at the house and

immediately informed the others: "When we were near our destination the wall of the rock on which we had gathered to spend the night crumbled. They all fell down; no one can have survived."

The people set out in all haste. They approached the place where the accident had taken place, went around the rock, and saw the sorcerers with their black paint. They were already swollen. The men carried the dead on their backs to the communal house where they were all burned.

Source: Lizot ms.

Summary

Sorcerers on war expedition are killed in landslide.

Motif content

N330.	Accidental killing or death.
Z356.	Unique survivor.

361. A Famous Kick

Tapir, the fat one, was walking along a winding trail bordering the craggy edge of a mountain top. On his back he was carrying a young woman who had just had her first menstruation. The woman was thinking: "What if I kicked him into the precipice?" Just when they passed under a tree she grabbed hold of a low branch and gave Tapir a violent kick. He rolled down into the precipice.

From below the edge to the top sharp rocks rose upward. Tapir looked as if he had been cut up by hunters; pieces of flesh lay strewn around. The woman descended from the tree and returned along the same trail that she and Tapir had followed to get to Fallen Tapir Rock. She entered the communal house and said: "Tapir was carrying me on his back, but I threw him into the precipice." The people went to see, and found Tapir's shattered body. (After all, is not his shelter there?)

Source: Lizot ms.

362. Yaami, the Murdered Messenger³⁷

Yaami was the mother's brother of Ōeōemē, who had been killed by Shamathari ghost shamans.³⁸ Yaami had survived after Ōeōemē's death. Once he was called to be an emissary for the guests to a *reahu* festival.³⁹ At dawn he entered the house of his hosts. While he was squatting, engaged in a *yāimu* ceremonial dialogue⁴⁰ which they pretended to be carrying on with him, a man came running up behind him with an axe and struck him as hard as he could on the side of the neck: *bashshshi!* The blow split his thorax, and the blade of the axe remained in his body. No one could pull it out again. Yaami ran around the house like that, with the axe stuck in the base of his neck. He did not die. In vain the people shot their arrows at him from all sides; they could not kill him. It was only after a long time that they finally managed to cut off his head: *krashshshi!* That is how the people still behave; they have not changed.⁴¹

Informant: Kobi

Source: Albert ms.

Motif content

K811.1.	Enemies invited to banquet and killed.
K959.4.	Murder from behind.
K2294.	Treacherous host.

363. An Old Woman Leads the Dance

The sons of an old woman were hitting our ancestors.

Evening had fallen, and as the men wanted to hit one another over the head the women gathered in the central plaza. They sang and danced, performing the hunting ritual. "Brother-in-law, take my mother by the arm and lead her to the plaza so that she can sing." The old woman was going to sing, although she could barely move. "Place a bark strap around my mother's back to hold her up and take her by the arm." They led her by the arm to the central plaza. "Tell her to sing!" "Son-in-law, I can't move. I'm cold, I can't stand up." They took her arm and dragged her toward the plaza. "Go on, sing, and then you can go back and lie down." "In a rage, in a rage . . ." she began to sing. When she had finished her son said: "Take

mother back to her hammock; make her lie down again." Supporting her by the arm they led her back and made her lie down. The song had unleashed her son's anger; they were going to fight. They confronted one another. The blood of the ancestors stained the ground.

Source: Lizot ms.

364. The *Sakulamy* Vine Feast

The *kokopiliamy* bird was over there beating the *sakulamy* vine (which makes the skin itch very badly). The little *enetetemy* woodpecker went out to grate cassava and approached the *kokopiliamy* bird as he beat the *sakulamy* vine. The *sakulamy* vine was causing his itching hands to become full of sores but he kept on beating the vine. While he was doing that, the *enetetemy* woodpecker grated cassava and dried it out. He got closer and closer with the cassava in his basket. Because the *kokopiliamy* bird was down at the bottom of the path beating the *sakulamy* vine, the *enetetemy* woodpecker put down the basket of cassava there. His wife also put down her basket of cassava.

"Hey, brother-in-law! Come here a minute," said the *kokopiliamy* bird, and the *enetetemy* woodpecker went over. Then leaf by leaf he uncovered the cassava which was in his wife's basket and said to the *kokopiliamy* bird: "This is your cassava. Eat your cassava. You eat it, brother-in-law." "No, I'm not going to." "Eat your cassava." "No," he said, so the *enetetemy* bird quickly put the cassava back into his wife's basket, tied up the top part of the cassava again, got up quickly, and left.

The *kokopiliamy* bird took out the agouti tooth which was stuck through the hole in his earlobe. There were bits and crumbs of the cassava which had spilled out on the ground when the wrapping was taken off the cassava. Moistening the agouti tooth, he scooped up the little bits of cassava lying there and ate them. The *kokopiliamy* bird did that after the woodpecker had gone away. He continued beating the *sakulamy* vine.

Over in another place the old people were gathered. The distant ancestors were gathered at their house. The *kokopiliamy* bird was also there beating the vine. After he had completely finished beating the *sakulamy* vine, he tied up all the pieces of the vine and quickly ran

over to the house to announce a feast. He broke off a reed and got near the old people's house where he blew on the reed. The old people let out a yell of delight. The *kokopiliamy* bird stood there.

"Oh, what kind of feast is it? Is it a *telekelemy* banana feast?" said the old people. "No, no, no," the *kokopiliamy* bird said. "Oh, is it a *palusilemy* banana feast?" "No, no, no, no," said the *kokopiliamy* bird. "Oh, what kind of feast could it be? Is it a smoked tapir feast?" "No, no, no, no," said the *kokopiliamy* bird. "Oh, is it a red-skinned *hatu* banana feast?" "No, no, no, no," said the *kokopiliamy* bird. "Oh, what kind of feast can it really be? Is it a curassow feast?" "No, no, no, no," said the *kokopiliamy* bird. The old people finished naming off all the bananas and then said: "Oh, is it a *sakulamy* vine feast?" "Yes, yes, yes," they got the *kokopiliamy* bird to say.

Informant: Abel

Source: Borgman ms.

Summary

People prepare food for feast.

NOTES

1. The lack of resistance Amerindians show for epidemics of viral infections is now well known. Such epidemics, mainly of the viral infections that originated in the Old World, still decimate the Sanema. Rumor of such an epidemic often is enough to precipitate the Sanema away from their permanent settlements into the forest. See Ferraroni and Hayes 1977.

2. *Ōkamo*, shamanic chanting.

3. See Lévi-Strauss 1970, p. 85. One informant incorporated this myth immediately after the myth of the origin of day (narrative 82).

4. *Soko*, the climbing anteater (*Tamandua tetradactyla*).

5. *Anepoko*, tree termites' nests. These termites, *anepa*, are the exclusive food of the tamandua. The nests made of dry compacted termite feces are frequently used by the Sanema to light small fires, especially after heavy rain. The termites are edible.

6. *Washi*, the white monkey (*Cebus albifrons*).

7. *Wasamo*, a ritual speech held by the Sanema when visitors arrive. The hosts and visitors pair off and, arms clasped about each others' necks, crouch down on the ground. Friendly relations may be consolidated and trade agreements negotiated by means of the fierce exchange of short phrases.

8. *Amoda* (*Cuniculus paca*).
9. *Tomi* (*Dasyprocta aguti*). *Tomi* also is the word for thievish. Agoutis (and to a lesser extent pacas) steal food from Sanema gardens.
10. *Wasamo*; see narrative 348, note 7.
11. The Sanema and the Yekuana are not only culturally, but also physically, very distinct (see Layrisse and Wilbert 1966).
12. Text edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Hewënakë.
13. *Eira barbara* (see narrative 110, note 505).
14. *Tamandua tetradactyla*, a climbing anteater.
15. An allusion to narrative 110.
16. *Nasutitermes chaguimayensis*. The black, oblong nests of these termites are found attached to tree trunks in the forest. Their nymphs are eaten by the Yanomam, cooked in small leaf packages.
17. See narrative 110, note 506.
18. *Soko* (*Tamandua tetradactyla*).
19. There are two genera in the Sanema area to which the term *i'udami* may apply: *Palaeosuchus* spp. and *Caiman crocodylus*.
20. *Wali* (*Tayra barbara*).
21. *Tesami* (*Campephilus* spp.).
22. *Oko*, a freshwater edible crab that is said to eat fruits. The carapace bears two long indentations that the Sanema say the jaguar made. The crab has eyes on short stalks that can be moved in and out of their sockets.
23. *Felis onca*.
24. *Wada*. The term includes the following species: *Coragyps atratus*; *Sarcorhamphus papa*; *Cathartes aura*; *C. burrorianus*; *C. melanbrotus*.
25. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Ikahi in 1979, with commentaries by Arianamë.
26. See narrative 47, note 249.
27. An allusion to narrative 141.
28. The western Yanomami.
29. See narrative 47, note 255.
30. This rope is called *bashoukë* ("monkey hair") in the narrative. This word usually designates a substance which is used as a magic poison by *oka* enemy sorcerers (see Albert 1985, pp. 288–294).
31. Made of twisted lashes of bark (*Anaxagorea acuminata*, *Guatteria peoppiginia*) or of twisted fibers of *Aracococcus flagellifolius*.
32. *Iriartella satigera*.
33. See narrative 111, note 530.
34. See narrative 246, note 90.
35. The Yanomam destroy all the belongings of their dead, thus "eating their traces" (see Albert 1985, pp. 391–394).
36. *Andropogon bicornis*. A tall gramineous plant and an important genus among the grasses of the Serra Parima highland savannas. The Yanomam of the Catrimani basin say that their ancestors lived near a savanna region, probably around the upper Orinoquito and Putaco rivers in Venezuela (see Huber *et al.* 1984).
37. This text was edited from a single narrative told by Kobi in 1985.
38. An allusion to narrative 47.
39. See narrative 11, note 43.

40. See narrative 11, note 42. This dialogue is also conducted after the *hiimu* dialogue of invitation between the messenger of the people who invite and the elders of the invited community.

41. An allusion to the aggressiveness and toughness of the highland Yanomam (on that topic see the commentaries of narratives 47 and 288).

THE MOTIF INDICES

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- h. Creation and ordering of human life A1200. — A1689.11. 1, 7, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 80, 82, 84, 108, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 149, 153, 155, 175, 189, 190, 191, 192, 197, 198, 199, 208, 210, 215, 216, 221, 235, 238, 287, 310, 324, 339, 340, 343.
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- D447.+. Transformation: charred bone fragments to bees. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.) (133).
- D447.+. Transformation: feathers to birds. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.) (82); (83).
- D447.+. Transformation: head to waterbug. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.) (307).
- D447.+. Transformation: heart to bird. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.) (126).
- D447.+. Transformation: intestines to birds. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.) (340).
- D447.+. Transformation: mouth to bees. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.) (107).
- D447.+. Transformation: snake's bone to frog. (D447. Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal.) (235).
- D449.+. Transformation: corpse to bees. (D449. Transformation: miscellaneous objects to animals.) (333).
- D450.+. Transformation: hut to rock. (D450. Transformation: object to another object.) (192).
- D451.1.+. Transformation: palm to hill. (D451.1. Transformation: tree to other object.) (208).
- D451.1.+. Transformation: tree to mountain. (D451.1. Transformation: tree to other object.) (126).
- D451.1.+. Transformation: tree to stone. (D451.1. Transformation: tree to other object.) (223).
- D451.2.+. Transformation: plant to hill. (D451.2. Transformation: plant to other object.) (208).
- D451.8.+. Transformation: leaf to mountain. (D451.8. Transformation: leaf to another object.) (211).
- D454.+. Transformation: basket to beehive. (D454. Transformation of manufactured object.) (231).
- D454.9.+. Transformation: arrowhead to reed. (D454.9. Transformation: weapon to other object.) (322).
- D457.+. Transformation: feather to bamboo. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.) (126).

- D457.+ . Transformation: hand to claw. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.) (251).
- D457.+ . Transformation: intestines to plant. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.) (62).
- D457.+ . Transformation: liver to moon. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.) (3).
- D457.+ . Transformation: liver to thunder. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.) (4); (5).
- D457.+ . Transformation: skin to honey. (D457. Transformed parts of person or animal to object.) (107).
- D457.1.+ . Transformation: blood to plant. (D457.1. Transformation: blood to another object.) (113).
- D457.1.+ . Transformation: blood to rain. (D457.1. Transformation: blood to another object.) (174).
- D457.12.+ . Transformation: bones to tools. (D457.12. Transformation: bone to other object.) (128).
- D457.14.+ . Transformation: tongue to honeycomb. (D457.14. Transformation: tongue to other object.) (107).
- D471.+ . Transformation: seed to stone. (D471. Transformation: object to stone.) (208).
- D476.2.+ . Edible seeds changed to inedible. (D476.2. Edible substance changed to inedible.) (64).
- D482.1. Transformation: stretching tree. A tree magically shoots upward. (181).
- D487. Animal becomes larger. (330).
- D489.+ . Penis made larger. (D489. Objects made larger —miscellaneous.) (45).
- D489.+ . Platform grows larger. (D489. Objects made larger —miscellaneous.) (125).
- D489.+ . Tree magically grows larger. (D489. Objects made larger —miscellaneous.) (76); (182); (183); (187); (188).
- D490.+ . Transformation: basket to water-monster. (D490. Miscellaneous forms of transformation.) (208); (213); (217).
- D491.+ . Cave entrance magically made smaller. (D491. Compressible objects.) (250).

- D492.+. Rock turns red. (D492. Color of object changed.) (306).
- D522. Transformation through magic word (charm). (33).
- D523. Transformation through song. (102).
- D551.1. Transformation by eating fruit. (141).
- D560.+. Transformation by ingesting tobacco juice. (D560. Transformation by various means.) (76).
- D560.+. Transformation by shooting. (D560. Transformation by various means.) (289).
- D560.+. Transformation from pain. (D560. Transformation by various means.) (47); (148); (149); (179).
- D566. Transformation by striking. (288); (290).
- D594. Transformation by rubbing with ointment. (104); (105).
- D595. Transformation by application of blood. (139).
- D610. Repeated transformation. (193).
- D630. Transformation and disenchantment at will. (4); (17); (29); (30); (227).
- D631.1.1. Person changes appearance at will. (131); (192); (193); (194); (198); (199); (336).
- D631.2. Animal's size changed at will. (29); (30).
- D642. Transformation to escape difficult situation. (29); (30); (133); (336).
- D642.2. Transformation to escape death. (4); (192); (193); (194).
- D642.5. Transformation to escape notice. (198); (199); (301); (302).
- D647. Transformation to seek lost (or unknown) person. (194).
- D651.1. Transformation to kill enemy. (279); (280).
- D661. Transformation as punishment. (19); (141).
- D672. Obstacle flight. Fugitives throw objects behind them which magically become obstacles in pursuer's path. (211).
- D681. Gradual transformation. (76); (102); (104); (131); (141); (148); (153); (157); (305); (308); (309); (313).
- D682. Partial transformation. (305); (313).
- b. Disenchantment D712.6. — D721.
- D712.6. Disenchantment by wounding. (312).

- D721. Disenchantment by removing skin (or covering). (310); (311); (313).

c. Magic objects D902. — D1641.7.1.

- D902. Magic rain. (29); (30).
 D905. Magic storm. (29); (30).
 D908. Magic darkness. (33); (62); (63); (64); (65); (66); (67); (80); (81); (331); (332).
 D931. Magic rock (stone). (235).
 D932.0.1. Mountain created by magic. (211).
 D950. Magic tree. (343).
 D965. Magic plant. (131); (132); (322); (323).
 D967. Magic roots. (333); (343).
 D983.2. Magic yam. (92).
 D1005. Magic breath. (33).
 D1013. Magic bone of animal. (235).
 D1016. Magic blood of animal. (4).
 D1080. Magic weapons. (7).
 D1093. Magic missile. (304).
 D1171.11. Magic basket. (248).
 D1246. Magic powder. (47); (130).
 D1266.2. Magic picture. (2).
 D1273. Magic formula (charm). (125).
 D1275. Magic song. (38); (102); (109); (286); (317); (320); (333); (341); (343).
 D1335.1. Magic strength-giving food. (337).
 D1338.1.1.1. Magic lake rejuvenates. (15).
 D1338.1.3. Magic blood rejuvenates. (15).
 D1341.+ . Magic skin makes person old. (D1341. Magic object makes person old.) (37).
 D1355.3. Love charm. (133); (227); (230); (231).
 D1364. Object causes magic sleep. (62); (64).
 D1373.+ . Dwarf causes constant hunger. (D1373. Magic object causes constant hunger.) (275).
 D1375.6.+ . Magic causes feathers to grow on person. (D1375.6. Magic object causes feathers to grow on person.) (133).
 D1381.+ . Magic picture protects against attack. (D1381. Magic object protects from attack.) (2).
 D1402.+ . Magic root kills. (D1402. Magic object kills.) (333).

- D1402.+ . Magic substance kills. (D1402. Magic object kills.) (130); (133).
- D1402.1. Magic plant kills. (131); (132).
- D1402.14.1. Magic charmed spittle kills. (267).
- D1500.4.+ . Magic plant causes disease. (D1500.4. Magic object causes disease.) (221).
- D1552. Mountains or rocks open and close. (320).
- D1564.+ . Magic dart breaks tree branch. (D1564. Magic object splits or cuts things.) (303); (304).
- D1571.+ . Magic blood revivifies trees. (D1571. Magic object revivifies trees.) (93).
- D1576.+ . Magic blood causes tree to spring up. (D1576. Magic object causes tree to spring up.) (93).
- D1600.+ . Yams come when called. (D1600. Automatic object.) (92).
- D1602.2.+ . Fallen tree raises itself again. (D1602.2. Felled tree raises itself again.) (93).
- D1610.+ . Speaking bone. (D1610. Magic speaking objects.) (235).
- D1610.+ . Speaking honey. (D1610. Magic speaking objects.) (110).
- D1610.2.+ . Tree cries out. (D1610.2. Speaking tree.)
- D1610.5. Speaking head. (187).
- D1610.18. Speaking rock (stone). (235).
- D1610.36. Speaking water. (192).
- D1615.+ . Singing sweet potato. (D1615. Magic singing object.) (231).
- D1615.1. Singing tree. (343).
- D1617.+ . Magic laughing head. (D1617. Magic laughing object.) (307).
- D1641.+ . Honey removes itself. (D1641. Object removes itself.) (110).
- D1641.7.1. Self-rolling head. (307).

d. Magic powers and manifestations D1766.2. — D2178.5.

- D1766.2. Magic results produced by sacrifices. (31); (32); (192); (204).
- D1776. Magic results from spitting. (267).
- D1781. Magic results from singing. (102); (320).
- D1784. Magic results from breathing. (33).
- D1793. Magic results from eating or drinking. (261).

- D1799.+ Magic results from blowing. (D1799. Magic results from other acts.) (62); (68); (184).
- D1810. Magic knowledge. (200).
- D1810.0.2. Magic knowledge of magician. (106).
- D1810.8.2. Information received through dream. (256).
- D1810.8.3. Warning in dreams. (256).
- D1810.8.3.1. Warning in dream fulfilled. (256).
- D1812.5.1.12.2. Bird calls as evil omen. (192); (207).
- D1813. Magic knowledge of events in distant place. (280).
- D1830. Magic strength. (337).
- D1837. Magic weakness. (131); (315); (316).
- D1840. Magic invulnerability. (47); (262).
- D1840.+ Thunder cannot be slain. (D1840. Magic invulnerability.) (4).
- D1840.2. Magic invulnerability of animals. (126).
- D1841.3. Burning magically evaded. (253); (262).
- D1841.5. Invulnerability from weapons. (47).
- D1841.5.2. Magic animal proof against weapons. (18).
- D1860. Magic beautification. (231).
- D1887. Rejuvenation by bathing. (15).
- D1889.6. Rejuvenation by changing skin. (37).
- D1890. Magic aging. (37).
- D1900. Love induced by magic. (133); (230); (231).
- D1960. Magic sleep. (62); (64).
- D1980. Magic invisibility. (36).
- D2000. Magic forgetfulness. (134).
- D2060. Death or bodily injury by magic. (47); (64).
- D2061. Magic murder. (130); (131); (132); (133); (136); (141); (280); (333).
- D2063. Magic discomfort. (109).
- D2064. Magic sickness. (47); (221); (280).
- D2065. Magic insanity. (70); (311); (316).
- D2074.1. Animals magically called. (323).
- D2074.1.2. Fish or sea animals magically called. (122).
- D2091.7.1. River magically caused to rise against enemy. (192).
- D2091.8. Magic drought to destroy enemy. (192); (193); (194).
- D2099.+ Mountain destroyed by magic. (D2099. Miscellaneous destructive magic powers.) (138); (337).

- D2106.+ . Magic multiplication of spirits. (D2106. Magic multiplication of objects.) (80).
- D2106.+ . Magic multiplication of thunder. (D2106. Magic multiplication of objects.) (4); (13).
- D2120. Magic transportation. (324).
- D2126. Magic underwater journey. (200).
- D2141. Storm produced by magic. (28).
- D2143.1. Rain produced by magic. (131).
- D2143.2. Drought produced by magic. (192); (193); (194).
- D2146.1.3. Day produced by magic. (63); (82); (83).
- D2146.2.1. Night produced by magic. (62); (63); (64); (65); (66); (80); (81).
- D2149.6.+ . Magic control of the sun. (D2149.6. Magic control of heavenly bodies.) (193).
- D2151. Magic control of waters. (33); (193); (194).
- D2151.0.2. Waters made to dry up. (31); (32); (192); (193); (194); (204).
- D2151.2. Magic control of rivers. (192).
- D2157.2. Magic quick growth of crops. (62); (68); (69); (74); (85); (86); (88); (115).
- D2158.2. Magic extinguishing of fires. (258); (259); (260); (262).
- D2161.1.+ . Magic cure for snake bite. (D2161.1. Magic cure for specific diseases.) (121).
- D2161.4.+ . Magic cure through ritual. (D2161.4. Methods of magic cure.) (106).
- D2165. Escapes by magic. (62); (64); (334).
- D2165.3. Magic used to prevent pursuit. (211); (250).
- D2178.+ . Tobacco produced by magic. (D2178. Objects produced by magic.) (62); (64).
- D2178.4.+ . Dog created by magic. (D2178.4. Animals created by magic.) (163).
- D2178.5. People created by magic. (33).

E. THE DEAD

a. Resuscitation E1. — E121.7.

- E1. Person comes to life. (19); (122); (125); (279); (321).
- E2. Dead tree comes to life. (93).

- E3. Dead animal comes to life. (18); (28); (29); (30); (63); (163); (169); (171); (342).
- E10. Resuscitation by rough treatment. (122).
- E30. Resuscitation by arrangement of members. (342).
- E42. Resuscitation from ashes of dead man. (279).
- E50. Resuscitation by magic. (321).
- E121.7. Resuscitation by magician. (163); (321).

b. Ghosts and other revenants E232.1. — E599.5.

- E232.1. Return from dead to slay own murderer. (47).
- E293. Ghosts frighten people deliberately. (240).
- E300. Friendly return from the dead. (35); (36).
- E323.1.1. Dead mother returns to suckle child. (36).
- E324. Dead child's friendly return to parents. (35); (36).
- E400. Ghosts and revenants — miscellaneous. (246).
- E420. Appearance of revenant. (36); (241).
- E421.3.3. Ghost with glowing face. (36).
- E425.2. Revenant as man. (241).
- E480. Abode of the dead. (325).
- E481.8. Land of dead in sky. (35); (36); (325).
- E481.8.2. Moon as land of dead. (15); (28); (37).
- E493. Dead men dance. (241); (325).
- E499.1. Gay banquet of the dead. (325).
- E540.+ . Dead person builds house. (E540. Miscellaneous actions of revenants.) (35); (36).
- E541. Revenants eat. (21).
- E542. Dead man touches living. (35); (36).
- E544. Ghost leaves evidence of his appearance. (241).
- E545. The dead speak. (35); (36).
- E586.+ . Dead returns soon after death. (E586. Dead returns soon after burial.) (35).
- E593.4.+ . Ghost takes own bones from hearth. (E593.4. Ghost takes bones from grave.) (21).
- E599.5. Ghost travels swiftly. (281).

c. Reincarnation E612.+.

- E612.+ . Reincarnation as jaguar. (E612. Reincarnation as wild animal.) (279).

d. The Soul E714.+ — E785.

- E714.+ Soul in bones. (E714. Soul (or life) kept in special part of body.) (37).
 E722. Soul leaves body at death. (37).
 E727.3. Body dependent on soul. (19).
 E781. Eyes successfully replaced. (358).
 E783. Vital head. (187); (307).
 E783.1. Head cut off and successfully replaced. (342).
 E783.5. Vital head speaks. (187).
 E785. Vital skin. (310); (311); (313); (316).

F. MARVELS

a. Otherworld journeys F10. — F167.11.

- F10. Journey to upper world. (325).
 F10.1. Return from upper world. (325).
 F30. Inhabitant of upper world visits earth. (15); (17); (20); (35); (36); (326).
 F50.+ River to heaven. (F50. Access to upper world.) (200).
 F51. Sky-rope. (20); (35).
 F51.+ Sky-rope cut. (F51. Sky-rope.) (35).
 F51.1.2. Vine as sky-rope. (35).
 F60.+ Journey to upper world in canoe. (F60. Transportation to or from upper world.) (200).
 F61. Person wafted to sky. (19).
 F61.3.1. Ascent to upper world in smoke. (15); (37).
 F62.2. Birds carry person from upper world. (15); (17).
 F68. Ascent to upper world by magic. (19); (21); (192).
 F102. Accidental arrival in lower world. (7); (277).
 F108. Nature of underworld inhabitants. (269); (272); (275).
 F108.+ Man-eating inhabitants of underworld. (F108. Nature of underworld inhabitants.) (7); (277).
 F133. Submarine otherworld. (193).
 F136.1. Otherworld in east. (33).
 F162.2. Rivers in otherworld. (275).
 F162.6. Lakes in otherworld. (33); (202); (204).

- F167. Inhabitants of otherworld. (1); (7); (9); (12); (15); (202); (276).
- F167.1.+ Armadillo lives in underworld. (F167.1. Animals in otherworld.) (204).
- F167.11. Monstrous creatures in otherworld. (7).

b. Marvelous creatures F401.— F688.

- F401. Appearance of spirits. (258); (259); (260).
- F401.+ Spirit acquires ears and mouth. (F401. Appearance of spirits.) (338).
- F401.3.+ Waterbug spirit. (F401.3. Spirit in animal form.) (278).
- F401.3.7. Spirit in form of bird. (80).
- F401.6. Spirit in human form. (226); (281).
- F402. Evil spirits. (7); (124); (240); (242); (243); (244); (246); (248); (249); (250); (251); (257); (258); (259); (260); (261); (262).
- F402.1.1. Spirit leads person astray. (243).
- F402.1.10. Spirit pursues person. (249).
- F402.1.11. Spirit causes death. (93); (240); (246); (247); (248); (257); (262); (342).
- F402.1.11.2. Evil spirit kills and eats person. (246); (249).
- F402.1.12. Spirit fights against person. (246); (257); (258); (259); (260).
- F402.1.12.+ Spirits fight. (F402.1.12. Spirit fights against person.) (13); (93).
- F402.6. Dwelling of demons. (100); (133); (247); (248); (281); (302).
- F402.6.4.1. Spirits live in caves. (246); (249).
- F402.7. Family of demons. (48); (71); (73); (281).
- F403.2. Spirits help mortal. (64); (71).
- F403.2.+ Spirit helper. (F403.2. Spirits help mortal.) (4); (7); (12); (13); (38); (141); (178); (193); (270); (280); (281); (282); (306); (342).
- F403.2.2.1.+ Spider as spirit helper. (F403.2.2.1. Familiar spirit in animal form.) (178).
- F403.2.3.+ Spirits prevent sky from falling. (F403.2.3. Deeds of familiar spirits.) (13).
- F403.2.3.6. Spirit gives counsel. (62); (64); (68); (69); (71); (73).

- F403.2.3.7. Army of spirits and ghosts. (93).
 F404. Means of summoning spirits. (281).
 F405. Means of combating spirits. (257); (262).
 F405.12. Demons flee from fire. (262).
 F408.+ Home of spirits on mountain top. (F408. Habitation of spirit.) (29); (30).
 F408.+ Spirit lives in forest. (F408. Habitation of spirit.) (124).
 F412.1.+ Spirit speaks. (F412.1. Invisible spirit speaks.) (268).
 F413. Origin of spirits. (48); (221); (262).
 F414. Spirit carries people. (246); (247); (248); (249).
 F419.+ Call of spirit. (F419. Spirits and demons — miscellaneous.) (124).
 F419.+ Spirit killed. (F419. Spirits and demons — miscellaneous.) (250); (261); (282).
 F419.+ Spirit sings. (F419. Spirits and demons — miscellaneous.) (248).
 F419.+ Whistling spirit. (F419. Spirits and demons — miscellaneous.) (124).
 F420.1.2.1. Water-maidens are of unusual beauty. (192); (193); (194); (197).
 F420.1.3.9. Water-spirit as snake. (232); (233); (234).
 F420.2. Home of water-spirits. (193); (198); (232).
 F420.2.3. Water-spirits have garden. (192); (194).
 F420.2.3.+ Spirit has garden. (F420.2.3. Water-spirits have garden.) (62); (64); (68); (69); (70); (71); (73).
 F420.3.1. Water-spirits have family life under water. (192); (194).
 F420.3.5. Water-spirits visited by mortal. (193).
 F420.4.+ Characteristic gestures of water-spirit. (F420.4. Characteristics of water-spirits.) (195).
 F420.4.+ Water-woman's vagina is full of fish. (F420.4. Characteristics of water-spirits.) (193); (194); (195).
 F420.4.1. Water-spirits possess magic power. (192); (193); (194).
 F420.5.1.7. Water-spirits give gifts to mortals. (193); (198).
 F420.5.1.8. Water-spirits give advice. (198).
 F420.5.2.6. Water-spirits take revenge on mortals. (192); (194).

- F420.6.1. Marriage or liaison of mortals and water-spirits. (192); (193); (194); (195); (197); (198).
- F420.6.1.1. Water-man woos mortal girl. (232).
- F420.6.1.3. Mortal goes to home of water-spirits and marries. (232).
- F420.6.1.6. Offspring of marriage between mortal and water-spirit. (192); (232).
- F420.7.1. Visit to water goddess' underwater home. (193).
- F434. Spirit of thunder. (4); (5); (13).
- F440. Vegetation spirits. (29).
- F441. Wood-spirit. (262).
- F441.6. Deeds of wood-spirits. (262).
- F451.1. Origin of dwarfs. (269).
- F451.2.6.+. Dwarfs have no intestines. (F451.2.6. Other bodily characteristics of dwarfs.) (275).
- F451.2.8. Voice of dwarfs (echo). (269).
- F451.3.5.3.+. Dwarfs are hungry. (F451.3.5.3. Dwarf children are hungry.) (275).
- F451.4.1. Dwarfs live under the ground. (269); (275).
- F451.5.2. Malevolent dwarf. (269); (275).
- F451.5.2.6. Dwarfs punish. (275).
- F451.6.4. Dwarfs fight with each other. (269).
- F470. Night-spirits. (7); (62); (63); (64); (65); (66); (67); (80); (81); (82); (83).
- F471.2.0.1. Demon lover. (226); (231).
- F490.+. Animal spirits. (F490. Other spirits and demons.) (29).
- F493.1. Spirits of various kinds of disease. (212); (221).
- F515.2.2. Person with very long fingernails. (252); (253); (257).
- F516. Person unusual as to his arms. (41).
- F529.2. People without anuses. (275).
- F544.2.+. Person with many tongues. (F544.2. Remarkable tongue.) (232).
- F544.3.5. Remarkably long teeth. (7); (246).
- F547.3. Extraordinary penis. (259).
- F547.3.1. Long penis. (45); (226); (344).
- F547.6. Remarkable pubic hairs. (43).
- F547.6.1. Remarkably long pubic hair. (44).
- F547.7. Enormous testicles. (288).
- F552.1.3. Extraordinary fingernails. (258); (259).

- F556. Remarkable voice. (4); (67); (196); (281).
 F559.6.+ Stomach emits flames. (F559.6. Extraordinary stomach.) (313).
 F561.1. People who prefer raw flesh. (275).
 F575.1. Remarkably beautiful woman. (36); (45); (131); (133); (139); (189); (192); (193); (194); (196); (197); (231); (284).
 F575.2. Handsome man. (100); (130); (132); (133); (134); (225).
 F576. Extraordinary ugliness. (130); (197).
 F600.+ Mighty warrior. (F600. Persons with extraordinary powers.) (47); (288).
 F601. Extraordinary companions. (338).
 F639.1. Mighty digger. (205).
 F661. Skillful marksman. (21); (140).
 F679.5. Skillful hunter. (65); (130); (140); (227); (315); (322); (323).
 F687. Remarkable fragrance (odor) of person. (130); (131); (132); (134); (136); (258).
 F688. Man with marvelous voice. (41).

c. Extraordinary places and things F713.6. — F881.+.

- F713.6. Lake of blood. (15); (37).
 F715.2.1. River of blood. (15); (16).
 F721. Subterranean world. (1); (269); (275); (276); (277).
 F807. Rock of extraordinary color. (306).
 F811. Extraordinary tree. (7); (12).
 F811.3.3. Crimson tree. (244).
 F824. Extraordinary armor. (126).
 F830.+ Extraordinary bow. (F830. Extraordinary weapons.) (140).
 F831.3. Poisoned arrows. (120); (121); (122); (123); (124); (126); (139).
 F881.+ Extraordinary basket. (F881. Extraordinary vessel.) (247).

d. Extraordinary occurrences F910.+ . — F1084.

- F910.+ . Swallowed person emerges from swallower's belly. (F910. Extraordinary swallowings.) (233).
- F911. Person (animal) swallowed without killing. (233); (237).
- F911.3. Animal swallows man. (267).
- F911.4. Jonah. Fish (or water monster) swallows a man. (233); (234); (237); (238).
- F915. Victim speaks from swallower's body. (237).
- F930.6. Water chants song. (341).
- F932.8. River rises and overflows. (275).
- F940. Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance. (1); (7); (9); (269); (270); (271); (272); (274); (276); (277); (278).
- F940.+ . Woman sinks into river: song heard from under water. (F940. Extraordinary underground (underwater) disappearance.) (341).
- F941. Building sinks into earth. (270); (273); (274).
- F942. Man sinks into earth. (269); (270); (271); (272); (274); (278).
- F942.+ . Child sinks into earth. (F942. Man sinks into earth.) (277).
- F942.1. Ground opens and swallows up person. (269); (274).
- F962.4. Shower of blood. (15); (16); (19); (20); (21); (29); (30).
- F962.10. Extraordinary mist (darkness). (148); (331); (332).
- F965.3. Impenetrable darkness. (63).
- F966.+ . Voices from lower world (or underground). (F966. Voices from heaven (or from the air).) (272).
- F970. Extraordinary behavior of trees and plants. (322).
- F971.4. Fruitless tree bears fruit. (93).
- F979.17. Plants grow without being sown. (62); (64); (71); (75); (77); (78); (86); (87).
- F980.+ . Dead jaguar's head faces backward. (F980. Extraordinary occurrences concerning animals.) (280); (281).

- F983.0.1. Extraordinary quick growth of animal. (18); (29); (30); (126).
- F986. Extraordinary occurrences concerning fishing. (192); (193); (194); (195); (197).
- F1021. Extraordinary flights through air. (201); (324).
- F1021.1. Flight on artificial wings. (20).
- F1041. Extraordinary physical reactions of persons. (308).
- F1041.+ . Water flows from woman. (F1041. Extraordinary physical reactions of persons.) (272).
- F1041.1. Extraordinary death. (226).
- F1041.17. Extraordinary result of fear. (133).
- F1084. Furious battle. (93).

G. OGRES

a. Kinds of ogres G10. — G360.+.

- G10. Cannibalism. (7); (192); (263).
- G11.+ . Moon as cannibal. (G11. Kinds of cannibals.) (2); (324); (326).
- G11.1. Cannibal dwarfs. (275).
- G11.6. Man-eating woman. (251).
- G13.1. Ritual cannibalism: corpse of hero (demigod) eaten to acquire his strength. (20); (337).
- G30. Person becomes cannibal. (181); (246); (251).
- G36. Taste of human flesh leads to habitual cannibalism. (181).
- G51. Person eats own flesh. (21).
- G51.1. Person eats self up. (21).
- G61. Relative's flesh eaten unwittingly. (245).
- G70.+ . Flesh of person transformed to animal eaten. (G70. Occasional cannibalism — deliberate.) (153); (172).
- G70.+ . Flesh of relative transformed to animal eaten. (G70. Occasional cannibalism — deliberate.) (102); (289).
- G80.+ . Forced cannibalism. (G80. Other motifs dealing with cannibals.) (263).

- G81. Unwitting marriage to cannibal. (253).
- G94. Cannibal's gigantic meal. (255).
- G302.7.1. Sexual relations between man and demons. (260).
- G302.7.1.+ . Sexual relations between woman and demon. (G302.7.1. Sexual relations between man and demons.) (258); (259).
- G308.2. Water-monster. (195); (208); (213); (233); (234); (237); (238).
- G310. Ogres with characteristic methods. (91); (247); (248); (251); (252); (253); (267); (280); (284).
- G310.+ . Disemboweler. (G310. Ogres with characteristic methods.) (254).
- G310.+ . Flayer. (G310. Ogres with characteristic methods.) (258); (259); (260).
- G312. Cannibal ogre. (20); (21); (41); (58); (246); (249); (355).
- G332. Sucking monster. (91); (256); (266); (267).
- G332.+ . Blood-sucking monster. (G332. Sucking monster.) (251).
- G350.+ . Butterfly as ogre. (G350. Animal ogres.) (267).
- G350.+ . Fox as ogre. (G350. Animal ogres.) (267).
- G350.+ . Jaguar as ogre. (G350. Animal ogres.) (279); (280); (281); (284).
- G350.+ . Mosquito as ogre. (G350. Animal ogres.) (265).
- G353. Bird as ogre. (140).
- G353.1. Cannibal bird as ogre. (126); (266).
- G360.+ . Ogre with large claw. (G360. Ogres with monstrous features.) (251).
- G360.+ . Ogre with one enormous arm. (G360. Ogres with monstrous features.) (41).

b. Falling into ogre's power G400. — G442.

- G400. Person falls into ogre's power. (246); (247); (324).
- G401.+ . Men wander into ogre's house. (G401. Children wander into ogre's house.) (41).
- G441. Ogre carries victim in bag (basket). (246); (247); (248); (249).
- G442. Child-stealing demon. (246); (247); (248); (249).

c. Ogre defeated G501. — G530.2.

- G501. Stupid ogre. (41).
 G510.4. Hero overcomes devastating animal. (181); (182); (183); (184); (187); (282).
 G512. Ogre killed. (126); (247); (248); (253); (267); (279); (280); (355).
 G512.3. Ogre burned to death. (246); (251); (252).
 G512.8.1. Ogre killed by striking with club. (255); (281).
 G512.9. Animal kills ogre. (126).
 G514.2. Ogre imprisoned in his own house. (247).
 G530.2. Help from ogre's daughter (or son). (324).

d. Other ogre motifs G639.+ — G650.+.

- G639.+ . Ogre lives in water. (G639. Ogress lives in water.) (267).
 G650.+ . Water-monster as pet. (G650. Unclassified ogre motifs.) (238).

H. TESTS

a. Identity tests: recognition H30.+ — H94.6.

- H30.+ . Recognition by smell. (H30. Recognition through personal peculiarities.) (130).
 H50. Recognition by bodily marks or physical attributes. (42).
 H50.+ . Recognition by feet. (H50. Recognition by bodily marks or physical attributes.) (313).
 H58. Tell-tale hand-mark. (63).
 H62.1. Recognition of person transformed to animal. (313).
 H84. Tokens of exploits. (282).
 H94.6. Recognition through arm ring. (257).

b. Tests of cleverness H580.

H580. Enigmatic statements. (77); (78).

c. Tests of prowess: quests H1233. — H1397.

H1233. Helpers on quest. (201); (311).

H1235. Succession of helpers on quest. (201).

H1320.2. Quest for things seen in dream. (62).

H1370.+ . Quest for tobacco. (H1370. Miscellaneous quests.) (77); (78).

H1385. Quest for lost persons. (47); (246); (247); (281); (312); (321).

H1385.+ . Quest for lost mother. (H1385. Quest for lost persons.) (86).

H1385.3. Quest for vanished wife (mistress). (18); (90); (310); (311); (313).

H1385.8. Quest for lost brother(s). (201).

H1397. Quest for enemies. (47); (257).

d. Other tests H1552.

H1552. Tests of generosity. (18).

J. THE WISE AND THE FOOLISH

a. Wise and unwise conduct J580. — J750.

J580. Wisdom of caution. (158); (281).

J610. Forethought in conflict with others — general. (131); (133); (158); (187); (258); (259).

J613. Wise fear of the weak for the strong. (158); (251); (263); (281); (285); (350).

J640. Avoidance of others' power. (248); (251); (279); (280).

J641. Escaping before enemy can strike. (2); (130); (131); (132); (133); (134); (135); (138); (192); (208); (210); (212); (215); (249); (260); (280); (359).

- J647. Avoiding enemy's revenge. (130); (133); (134); (135); (359).
 J652. Inattention to warnings. (55); (126); (167); (173); (189); (193); (196); (226); (236); (237); (258); (260); (265); (266); (271); (278); (293); (318); (324); (340); (350).
 J652.4. Warnings against certain peoples. (324).
 J710. Forethought in provision for food. (31).
 J750. Forethought — miscellaneous. (359).

b. Cleverness J1100. — J1117. +.

- J1100. Cleverness. (254).
 J1100.+. Clever tortoise. (J1100. Cleverness.) (328).
 J1113. Clever boy. (246); (248); (249).
 J1117.+. Tapir as trickster. (J1117. Animal as trickster.) (169); (170); (171).

c. Fools (and other unwise persons) J1700. — J2650.

- J1700. Fools. (189); (190).
 J1706.+. Stupid jaguar. (J1706. Stupid animals.) (357); (358).
 J1750. One animal mistaken for another. (215).
 J1750.+. Gnats thought to be wasps. (J1750. One animal mistaken for another.) (179).
 J1765. Person thought to be animal. (321).
 J1791. Reflection in water thought to be the original of the thing reflected. (324).
 J1800.+. One kind of fruit mistaken for another. (J1800. One thing mistaken for another — miscellaneous.) (100); (101); (102); (103); (104); (105).
 J1800.+. Tree root thought to be yuca. (J1800. One thing mistaken for another — miscellaneous.) (192); (193); (194).
 J1811. Animal cries misunderstood. (210); (212).
 J1812.+. Man's call mistaken for jaguar's roar. (J1812. Other sounds misunderstood.) (321).

- J1820. Inappropriate action from misunderstanding. (210); (212); (215).
- J1910. Fatal disregard of anatomy. (358).
- J2050. Absurd short-sightedness. (358).
- J2300. Gullible fools. (169); (170); (171); (328).
- J2353.1. Foolish boasts get man into trouble. (173).
- J2400. Foolish imitation. (358).
- J2650. Bungling fool. (189).

K. DECEPTIONS

a. Thefts and cheats K300. — K330.

- K300. Thefts and cheats — general. (49); (50); (51); (52); (53); (55); (56); (57); (59); (328).
- K330. Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner. (49); (50); (51); (52); (53); (55); (56); (57).

b. Escape by deception K500. — K600.+.

- K500. Escape from death or danger by deception. (41); (64); (164).
- K515.1. Children hidden to avoid their execution (death). (181); (182); (185).
- K550. Escape by false plea. (131); (134).
- K600.+.
- Escape by putting captor to sleep. (K600. Murderer or captor otherwise beguiled.) (62); (64).

c. Capture by deception K700. — K737.1.

- K700. Capture by deception. (62); (334).
- K714.3. Dupe tricked into entering hollow tree. (62); (334).
- K730. Victim trapped. (133); (134); (279); (334).
- K737.1. Dupe lured into hole and entrance closed. (62).

d. Fatal deception K800. — K983.1.

- K800. Killing or maiming by deception. (117); (122); (245); (284); (286); (287).
- K810. Fatal deception into trickster's power. (117); (122); (181); (182); (187); (245); (279); (281); (284).
- K811.1. Enemies invited to banquet and killed. (362).
- K812. Victim burned in his own house (or hiding place). (246).
- K815. Victim lured by kind words approaches trickster and is killed. (117).
- K816. Dupe lured to supposed dance and killed. (251).
- K834.1. Dupe tricked into sleeping. Killed. (158).
- K839.2. Victim lured into approach by false token. (280).
- K874. Deception by pretended lousing. (245).
- K890. Dupe tricked into killing himself. (169); (171).
- K910. Murder by strategy. (47); (181); (182); (187); (281).
- K914. Murder from ambush. (133); (280).
- K917. Treacherous murder during hunt. (158); (245); (252); (253); (284).
- K925. Victim pushed into fire. (251); (252); (253); (348).
- K930. Treacherous murder of enemy's children or charges. (181).
- K950. Various kinds of treacherous murder. (237).
- K955. Murder by burning. (251); (252).
- K959.2. Murder in one's sleep. (158).
- K959.4. Murder from behind. (362).
- K983.1. Tree cut down to get at victim in top. (130); (131); (132); (135); (136); (137).

e. Deception into self-injury K1000. — K1113.1.

- K1000. Deception into self-injury. (170).
- K1010. Deception through false doctoring. (47).
- K1020. Deception into disastrous attempt to procure food. (188).
- K1040.+ . Dupe tricked into inhaling intestinal gas. (K1040. Dupe otherwise persuaded to voluntary self-injury.) (102).
- K1041. Borrowed feathers. (130).

- K1044.+ Dupe induced to eat sperm. (K1044. Dupe induced to eat filth (dung).) (261).
- K1112. Bending the tree. (182); (183).
- K1113.1. Dupe persuaded to climb tall tree. (187); (188); (281).

f. Deception into humiliating position K1210. — K1213.

- K1210. Humiliated or baffled lovers. (192); (193); (194); (195); (324).
- K1213. Terrorizing the paramour (importunate lover). (192).

g. Seduction or deceptive marriage K1311.+ — K1395.

- K1311.+ Attempted seduction by masking as woman's husband. (K1311. Seduction by masking as woman's husband.) (285).
- K1340. Entrance into girl's (man's) room (bed) by trick. (42); (43); (44).
- K1350. Woman persuaded (or wooed) by trick. (42); (43); (44).
- K1391. Long distance sexual intercourse. (226).
- K1395. Seduction by giving aphrodisiac. (133); (231).

h. Deceptions connected with adultery K1550.1. — K1569.2.

- K1550.1. Husband discovers wife's adultery. (225).
- K1569.2. Husband surprises wife and paramour. (66).

i. Deception through shams K1800.+ — K2010.

- K1800.+ Deception by feigned illness. (K1800. Deception by disguise or illusion.) (256).
- K1810. Deception by disguise. (242); (244); (256).
- K1811. Gods (saints) in disguise visit mortals. (28).
- K1822. Animal disguises as human being. (225).
- K1868. Deception by pretending sleep. (132).

- K1910. Marital impostors. (130); (285).
- K1950. Sham prowess. (130).
- K2000. Hypocrites. (131); (132); (133); (134); (135); (136).
- K2010. Hypocrite pretends friendship but attacks. (237).

j. Villains and traitors K2210.+ . — K2297.

- K2210.+ . Treacherous husband. (K2210. Treacherous relatives.) (111).
- K2211.1. Treacherous brother-in-law. (245).
- K2213. Treacherous wife. (257).
- K2218.+ . Treacherous mother-in-law. (K2218. Treacherous relatives-in-law.) (289); (290).
- K2218.+ . Treacherous son-in-law. (K2218. Treacherous relatives-in-law.) (42); (43); (44); (112); (297).
- K2218.2. Treacherous father-in-law. (102).
- K2220. Treacherous rivals. (237).
- K2284.+ . Treacherous shaman. (K2284. Treacherous priest.) (178).
- K2294. Treacherous host. (362).
- K2295.+ . Treacherous armadillo. (K2295. Treacherous animals.) (62).
- K2295.+ . Treacherous jaguar. (K2295. Treacherous animals.) (158).
- K2297. Treacherous friend. (327).

L. REVERSAL OF FORTUNE

a. Triumph of the weak L310.

- L310. Weak overcomes strong in conflict. (286); (287).

M. ORDAINING THE FUTURE

a. Vows and oaths M149.3.

- M149.3. Vow to kill more successful rival. (132).

b. Prophecies M300. — M341.

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| M300. | Prophecies. (51); (54). |
| M341. | Death prophesied. (207). |

c. Curses M430.

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| M430. | Curses on persons. (50); (56); (57). |
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N. CHANCE AND FATE

a. The ways of luck and fate N131.

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| N131. | Acts performed for changing luck. (298). |
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b. Unlucky accidents N330.

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| N330. | Accidental killing or death. (359); (360). |
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c. Lucky accidents N440.+ . — N681.0.1.

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| N440.+. | Secret learned. (N440. Valuable secrets learned.)
(42); (49); (50); (51); (52); (55); (56); (57); (84);
(126); (149); (227); (253). |
| N681.0.1. | Return home to one's own funeral. (35). |

d. Accidental encounters N770.

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| N770. | Experiences leading to adventures. (62). |
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e. Helpers N817.0.1. — N838.

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| N817.0.1. | God as helper. (28); (37). |
| N818.1. | Sun as helper. (324). |
| N832. | Boy as helper. (324). |

N838. Hero (culture hero) as helper. (97).

P. SOCIETY

a. The family P210.+ — P253.5.+.

P210.+ Wife eats flesh of slain husband. (P210. Husband and wife.) (153).

P231. Mother and son. (29).

P231.+ Son avenges mother. (P231. Mother and son.) (47).

P251.5.4. Two brothers as contrasts. (122); (189); (190); (191); (196); (197); (200).

P253.5.+ Brother avenges brother's death. (P253.5. Sister avenges brother's death.) (337).

b. Other social relationships P332.

P332. Selfish guest expels host. (349).

c. Government P555.2. — P555.2.1.1.+.

P555.2. Corpses of dead foes dismembered. (257).

P555.2.1.1. Publication of slaying. (257); (282).

P555.2.1.1.+ Publication of victory over opponent. (P555.2.1.1. Publication of slaying.) (257); (258); (259); (260).

d. Customs P634. — P682.

P634. Feasts. (349).

P677. Customs connected with dueling. (17).

P681. Mourning customs. (14); (122); (359).

P682. Greeting customs. (74); (127).

e. Society — miscellaneous motifs P700.+.

P700.+.
 Woman as chief. (P700. Society — miscellaneous motifs.) (15); (17); (18); (63).

Q. REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

a. Deeds rewarded Q40. — Q42.

Q40.
 Kindness rewarded. (18).
 Generosity rewarded. (62); (76).

b. Deeds punished Q211. — Q327.

Q211.
 Murder punished. (47); (141).
 Theft punished. (351).
 Adultery punished. (262).
 Incest punished. (37); (42); (46); (331); (332).
 Incontinence punished — miscellaneous. (262).
 Seduction punished. (262).
 Attempted seduction punished. (285).
 Punishment for ravisher. (37); (196).
 Refusal of conjugal relations punished. (19).
 Treachery punished. (62).
 Impostor punished. (285).
 Stinginess punished. (62); (76); (289); (290).
 Cruelty punished. (29); (30).
 Slander punished. (280).
 Quarrelsomeness punished. (176).
 Disobedience punished. (126); (176).
 Discourtesy punished. (171).

c. Kinds of punishment Q402. — Q583.

Q402.
 Punishment of children for parents' offenses.
 (126); (181).
 Death as punishment. (327); (336).
 Man (fairy) kills wife's lover. (225); (228).

- Q411.6. Death as punishment for murder. (47); (130); (131); (132); (133); (134); (136); (137); (138); (140); (245); (255).
- Q414.0.2. Burning as punishment for adultery. (262).
- Q415. Punishment: being eaten by animals. (279).
- Q421. Punishment: beheading. (62).
- Q422.0.1. Punishment: beating to death. (42); (132); (257).
- Q432. Punishment: ejection. (176).
- Q434. Punishment: fettering. (328).
- Q451. Mutilation as punishment. (260).
- Q451.10.1. Punishment: castration. (196).
- Q453. Punishment: being bitten by animal. (327).
- Q453.+ . Punishment: being stung by wasps. (Q453. Punishment: being bitten by animal.) (189).
- Q457. Flaying alive as punishment. (258); (259); (260); (262).
- Q469.5. Punishment: choking with smoke. (246); (247); (248).
- Q469.10.1. Scalding as punishment for attempted seduction. (285).
- Q491. Indignity to corpse as punishment. (140).
- Q550. Miraculous punishments. (45).
- Q551.3. Punishment: transformation. (314).
- Q551.3.2. Punishment: transformation into animal. (46); (76); (141); (176); (289); (290); (331); (332).
- Q551.8. Deformity as punishment. (45).
- Q551.12. Premature aging as punishment. (37).
- Q552.1. Death by thunderbolt as punishment. (28); (29); (30).
- Q552.2.3. Earth swallowings as punishment. (269); (270); (271); (272); (274).
- Q552.3.3. Drought as punishment. (192); (193); (194).
- Q552.20.1. Miraculous darkness as punishment. (33); (331); (332).
- Q556.12. Curse for stealing. (50); (56); (57).
- Q583. Fitting bodily injury as punishment. (192); (193); (194); (195); (196).

R. CAPTIVES AND FUGITIVES

a. Captivity R10. — R13.3.

- R10. Abduction. (264).
- R10.1. Princess (maiden) abducted. (152); (192); (193); (194); (195).
- R10.3. Children abducted. (246); (247); (248); (249); (277).
- R11. Abduction by monster (ogre). (277).
- R11.2.2. Abduction by demon. (244); (246); (247); (248); (249); (250); (259); (260).
- R13. Abduction by animal. (313).
- R13.+ Abduction by peccary. (R13. Abduction by animal.) (311); (312); (322).
- R13.+ Abduction of woman by anteater. (R13. Abduction by animal.) (229); (230).
- R13.1.4.2.+ Abduction of woman by jaguar. (R13.1.4.2. Abduction of woman by tiger.) (18).
- R13.1.7. Abduction by monkey. (305).
- R13.3. Person carried off by bird. (126).

b. Rescues R131. — R151.1.

- R131. Exposed or abandoned child rescued. (47).
- R150. Rescuers. (182); (185).
- R150.+ Rescue by grandmother. (R150. Rescuers.) (186).
- R151.1. Husband rescues stolen wife. (18); (230).

c. Escapes and pursuits R210. — R261.1.

- R210. Escapes. (229); (246).
- R220. Flights. (208); (210); (211); (212); (213); (215).
- R227.1. Wife flees from animal husband. (229).
- R231.+ Obstacle flight. Objects are left behind along escape route which the pursuer stops to pick up while the fugitive escapes. (R231. Obstacle flight — Atalanta type. Objects are thrown back which the pursuer stops to pick up while the fugitive escapes.) (164).

- R260. Pursuits. (130); (132); (133); (134); (135); (136); (140).
 R261.1. Pursuit by rolling head. (307).

d. Refuges and recapture R310.+ — R323.

- R310.+ Refuge inside rock. (R310. Refuges.) (133); (134).
 R310.+ Refuge on mountain. (R310. Refuges.) (138); (140).
 R310.+ Refuge on roof. (R310. Refuges.) (181); (193); (260).
 R311. Tree refuge. (7); (12); (28); (29); (30); (33); (62); (130); (131); (132); (135); (136); (137); (153); (189); (192); (204); (229); (248); (249).
 R312. Forest as refuge. (33); (260); (280).
 R323. Refuge in upper world. (180).

S. UNNATURAL CRUELTY

a. Cruel relatives S11. — S73.1.

- S11. Cruel father. (19); (29); (95); (96).
 S11.3. Father kills child. (19).
 S11.3.8. Father eats own children. (19); (181).
 S12.6. Cruel mother refuses children food. (291).
 S31. Cruel stepmother. (30).
 S41. Cruel grandmother. (122).
 S62. Cruel husband. (29); (176); (245); (246); (261); (305).
 S71. Cruel uncle. (126); (200).
 S73. Cruel brother (sister). (30); (329).
 S73.1. Fratricide. (329).

b. Revolting murders or mutilations S111. — S187.

- S111. Murder by poisoning. (122); (181).
 S112. Burning to death. (251); (252).
 S114. Murder by flaying. (257).

- S115. Murder by stabbing. (237); (251).
- S116. Murder by crushing. (130); (133); (134); (253).
- S116.3. Murder by breaking back. (246); (247); (248).
- S118.1. Murder by cutting adversary in two. (286).
- S131. Murder by drowning. (200).
- S139.+ . Murder by pouring hot liquid into eyes. (S139. Miscellaneous cruel murders.) (158).
- S139.2. Slain person dismembered. (126); (245); (247).
- S139.2.2.+ . Corpse of murdered man roasted. (S139.2.2. Other indignities to corpse.) (240).
- S139.2.2.+ . Slain enemy eaten. (S139.2.2. Other indignities to corpse.) (140).
- S160. Mutilations. (260).
- S160.1. Self-mutilation. (101); (102); (103); (106); (130); (133); (134); (308).
- S183. Frightful meal. (21); (64); (112); (261); (263); (297).
- S187. Torturing by scratching. (260).

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— Origin of blowgun A1459.1.+. (122); (126).
- BLOWING. — Magic results from blowing D1799.+. (62); (68); (184).
- BOASTFULNESS W117. (173); (335).
- BOASTS. — Foolish boasts get man into trouble J2353.1. (173).
- BOAT. — Deluge: escape in boat (ark) A1021. (203); (205).
- BODIES of water remnant of flood A910.4. (192).
- BODILY. — Death or bodily injury by magic D2060. (47); (64); fitting bodily injury as punishment Q583. (192); (193); (194); (195); (196); recognition by bodily marks or physical attributes H50. (42).
- BODY dependent on soul E727.3. (19). — Birth from unusual part of person's body T541. (227); child removed from body of dead mother T584.2. (181); (185); (186); (192); (284); origin of body paint A1465.+. (113); (175); soul leaves body at death E722. (37); transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal D447. (286); victim speaks from swallower's body F915. (237).
- BONE. — Magic bone of animal D1013. (235); speaking bone D1610.+. (235); transformation: charred bone fragments to bees D447.+. (133); transformation: snake's bone to frog D447.+. (235).
- BONES. — Ghost takes own bones from hearth E593.4.+. (21); soul in bones E714.+. (37); transformation: bones to tools D457.12.+. (128).
- BORING. — Flood from animals' boring into ground A1016.1. (203).
- BORROWED feathers K1041. (130).
- BOW. — Extraordinary bow F830.+. (140); origin of bow A1459.1.1.+. (128); transformation: man to bow D250.+. (198).
- BOY as helper N832. (324). — Clever boy J1113. (246); (248); (249).
- BRANCH. — Magic dart breaks tree branch D1564.+. (303); (304); transformation: tree branch to fish D441.3.+. (208).
- BREACH. — Dwarf punishes for breach of tabu C905.1. (275).

- BREAK.** — Magic dart breaks tree branch D1564.+ (303); (304).
- BREAKING.** — Death by drowning for breaking tabu C923. (275); flood as punishment for breaking tabu A1018.1. (33); (275); limbs affected by breaking tabu C946. (251); murder by breaking back S116.3. (246); (247); (248); punishment for breaking tabu C900. (269); (270); (271); (272); (274); sickness or weakness for breaking tabu C940. (47); transformation for breaking tabu C960. (308); (309); transformation to animal for breaking tabu C962. (316); (317); (318); (319); transformation to stone for breaking tabu C961.2. (305); (306).
- BREATH.** — Magic breath D1005. (33).
- BREATHING.** — Magic results from breathing D1784. (33).
- BRIDGE.** — Origin of bridge-building A1445.+ (119).
- BRINGING** deluge to end A1028. (32); (192); (193); (194); (204).
- BROKEN.** — Emaciation because of broken tabu C985.+ (315); loss of strength from broken tabu C942. (315).
- BROTH.** — Transformation: fruit broth to person D431.4.+ (224).
- BROTHER** avenges brother's death P253.5.+ (337); -in-law seduces (seeks to seduce) sister-in-law T425. (189); (200); -sister incest T415. (18); (63); (331); (332); (347). — Cruel brother (sister) S73. (30); (329); lecherous brother T415.1. (331); (332); (347); quest for lost brother(s) H1385.8. (201); treacherous brother-in-law K2211.1. (245).
- BROTHERS** as creators A15.2. (49); (189); (190). — Culture heroes brothers A515.1. (9); (22); (122); (127); (182); (190); (191); (192); (193); (194); (195); (197); (198); (199); (200); (203); (205); (208); (210); (211); (213); (214); (215); (216); (217); (222); (223); (337); (339); culture heroes brothers — one foolish, one clever A515.1.1.2.+ (122); (190); (191); sun and moon as brothers A736.3. (324); two brothers as contrasts P251.5.4. (122); (189); (190); (191); (196); (197); (200).
- BROUGHT.** — Flood brought as revenge for injury A1018.3. (192); (194).
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- BUILDING** sinks into earth F941. (270); (273); (274). — Acquisition of building crafts A1445. (118); man learns house-building from birds A1445.2.2.+ (118); origin of bridge-building A1445.+ (119).
- BUNGLING** fool J2650. (189).
- BURNED.** — Ogre burned to death G512.3. (246); (251); (252); victim burned in his own house (or hiding place) K812. (246).
- BURNING** as punishment for adultery Q414.0.2. (262); magically evaded D1841.3. (253); (262); to death S112. (251); (252). — An-

- imal characteristics from burning or singeing A2218. (49); (170); (171); murder by burning K955. (251); (252).
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- BURST. — Stream unexpectedly bursts from side of mountain A934.9. (33).
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- BUTTERFLY as ogre G350.+. (267).
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- CATASTROPHE. — After world catastrophe new sun and moon appear A719.2.+ (7).
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- CLAW. — Ogre with large claw G360.+ (251); transformation: hand to claw D457.+ (251).
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- COVERING. — Disenchantment by removing skin (or covering) D721. (310); (311); (313); why certain animals are bare of covering A2317. (173).
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- FLOWER. — Discovery of edible flower A1420.+ (153); (155);
- FLOWERS. — Origin of flowers A2650. (153).
- FLOW. — Water flows from woman F1041.+ (272).
- FLY. — Transformation: man to fly D185.1. (189).
- FOES. — Corpses of dead foes dismembered P555.2. (257).
- FOOD. — Acquisition of food supply for human race A1420. (64); (199); animal grateful for food B391. (18); cruel mother refuses children food S12.6. (291); deception into disastrous attempt to procure food K1020. (188); forethought in provision for food J710. (31); magic strength-giving food D1335.1. (337); origin of food-gathering customs A1520.+ (111); tabu: eating certain food during menses C140.+ (316); (317); (318); (319); why food is cooked A1518. (50).
- FOOL. — Bungling fool J2650. (189).
- FOOLISH boasts get man into trouble J2353.1. (173); imitation J2400. (358). — Culture heroes brothers — one foolish, one clever A515.1.1.2.+ (122); (190); (191); twin culture heroes — one foolish, one clever A515.1.1.2. (189).
- FOOLS J1700. (189); (190). — Gullible fools J2300. (169); (170); (171); (328).
- FORCED cannibalism G80.+ (263).
- FORELEGS. — Why anteater has swollen forelegs A2371.2.+ (165).
- FOREST as refuge R312. (33); (260); (280). — Origin of forest A990.+ (1); spirit lives in forest F408.+ (124).
- FORETHOUGHT — miscellaneous J750. (359); in conflict with others — general J610. (131); (133); (158); (187); (258); (259); in provision for food J710. (31).
- FORGETFULNESS. — Magic forgetfulness D2000. (134).
- FORM. — Deity in human form A125. (28); marriage to fish in human form B654. (189); (200); moon-god takes form of snake A132.+ (37); spirit in form of bird F401.3.7. (80); spirit in human form F401.6. (226); (281).
- FORMULA. — Magic formula (charm) D1273. (125).
- FOUND. — Why gnats are found everywhere A2434.1.+ (179); why lice are found everywhere A2434.1.+ (178).
- FOX as ogre G350.+ (267). — Devastating fox B16.2.1. (267).
- FRAGMENTS. — Transformation: charred bone fragments to bees D447.+ (133).
- FRAGRANCE. — Remarkable fragrance (odor) of person F687. (130); (131); (132); (134); (136); (258).
- FRATRICIDE S73.1. (329).

- FRIEND. — Treacherous friend K2297. (327).
- FRIENDLY return from the dead E300. (35); (36). — Dead child's friendly return to parents E324. (35); (36).
- FRIENDSHIP. — Hypocrite pretends friendship but attacks K2010. (237).
- FRIGHTEN. — Ghosts frighten people deliberately E293. (240).
- FRIGHTFUL meal S183. (21); (64); (112); (261); (263); (297).
- FROG. — Transformation: frog to jaguar D419.+. (280); transformation: man to frog D195. (143); (298); transformation: snake's bone to frog D447.+. (235); transformation: woman to frog D195.+. (50); (52).
- FRUIT. — Fruitless tree bears fruit F971.4. (93); one kind of fruit mistaken for another J1800.+. (100); (101); (102); (103); (104); (105); transformation by eating fruit D551.1. (141); transformation: fruit broth to person D431.4.+. (224); transformation: fruit to beetle D441.2.+. (192); (214); transformation: fruit to fish D441.2.+. (174); why certain fruit is yellow and pink A2791.+. (100); why tree has bitter fruit A2771.8. (62).
- FRUITLESS tree bears fruit F971.4. (93).
- FRUITS. — Origin of fruits A2687. (93); (99).
- FUGITIVE. — Obstacle flight. Objects are left behind along escape route which the pursuer stops to pick up while the fugitive escapes R231.+. (164).
- FUGITIVES. — Obstacle flight. Fugitives throw objects behind them which magically become obstacles in pursuer's path D672. (211).
- FULFILLED. — Warning in dream fulfilled D1810.8.3.1. (256).
- FULL. — Water-woman's vagina is full of fish F420.4.+. (193); (194); (195).
- FUNERAL rites V60. (21). — Origin of funeral customs A1547. (50); (74); return home to one's own funeral N681.0.1. (35).
- FURIOUS battle F1084. (93).
- FURNISH. — Birds furnish omens B147.2. (31); (281).
- GAME. — Hoarded game released A1421. (149).
- GARDEN. — Spirit has garden F420.2.3.+. (62); (64); (68); (69); (70); (71); (73); water-spirits have garden F420.2.3. (192); (194).
- GAS. — Dupe tricked into inhaling intestinal gas K1040.+. (102).
- GATHERING. — Origin of food-gathering customs A1520.+. (111).
- GAY banquet of the dead E499.1. (325).
- GENEROSITY W11. (94); (95); (96); rewarded Q42. (62); (76). — Tests of generosity H1552. (18).
- GESTURES. — Characteristic gestures of water-spirit F420.4.+. (195).

- GHOST leaves evidence of his appearance E544. (241); takes own bones from hearth E593.4.+ (21); travels swiftly E599.5. (281); with glowing face E421.3.3. (36).
- GHOSTS and revenants — miscellaneous E400. (246); frighten people deliberately E293. (240). — Army of spirits and ghosts F403.2.3.7. (93).
- GIANT birds B872. (126); devastating serpent B16.5.1. (236); monkey B871.2.+ (29); (30).
- GIFT. — Acquisition of agriculture: gift from supernatural creature A1441.+ (70); (72).
- GIFTS. — Water-spirits give gifts to mortals F420.5.1.7. (193); (198).
- GIGANTIC. — Cannibal's gigantic meal G94. (255).
- GIRL as wooer T55. (134); (324); carefully guarded by father T50.1.2. (167). — Entrance into girl's (man's) room (bed) by trick K1340. (42); (43); (44); girl's animal lover slain by spying relatives B610.1. (227); water-man woos mortal girl F420.6.1.1. (232).
- GIVE. — Bird gives warning B143.1. (192); (208); spirit gives counsel F403.2.3.6. (62); (64); (68); (69); (71); (73); water-spirits give advice F420.5.1.8. (198); water-spirits give gifts to mortals F420.5.1.7. (193); (198); woman gives birth to worms T554.+ (226); (227).
- GIVING. — Magic strength-giving food D1335.1. (337); seduction by giving aphrodisiac K1395. (133); (231).
- GLOWING. — Ghost with glowing face E421.3.3. (36).
- GNAT. — Creation of gnat A2033. (179).
- GNATS thought to be wasps J1750.+ (179). — Why gnats are found everywhere A2434.1.+ (179).
- GOD advises mortal A182.3.5. (28); (29); (30); as cultivator A181.2. (63); (72); as helper N817.0.1. (28); (37); occasionally kills men with ritual A180.+ (1); of thunder A284. (126); removes mortal's soul A185.12.2. (19); stabilizes the sky A665.0.1. (9); (10). — Culture hero as god of agriculture A541.2. (62); (63); (64); (68); (69); (70); (97); culture hero as son of god A512.3. (63); god's arrows A157.2. (120); (121); moon-god A240. (15); (37); moon-god takes form of snake A132.+ (37); mountains (hills) from ancient activities of god (hero) A962. (211); sun-god A220. (192).
- GODDESS. — Visit to water goddess' underwater home F420.7.1. (193).
- GODS (saints) in disguise visit mortals K1811. (28). — Tabu: offending the gods C50. (15); (28).
- GOOD and bad culture heroes A525. (122).
- GOURD. — Birth from gourd T543.5. (186).

- GRADUAL transformation D681. (76); (102); (104); (131); (141); (148); (153); (157); (305); (308); (309); (313).
- GRANDMOTHER. — Cruel grandmother S41. (122); culture hero's grandmother A512.1. (186); rescue by grandmother R150.+ (186).
- GRATEFUL jaguar B350.+ (18). — Animal grateful for food B391. (18).
- GRAVE. — Plants from grave of dead person or animal A2611.0.1. (152).
- GREED W151. (291).
- GREETING customs P682. (74); (127).
- GROUND opens and swallows up person F942.1. (269); (274). — Dwarfs live under the ground F451.4.1. (269); (275); flood from animals' boring into ground A1016.1. (203); why tapir lives on the ground A2433.1.+ (150).
- GROUP. — Assembly or group transformed to animals D103. (177); first woman as chief of her group A1281.+ (15); (17).
- GROW. — Magic causes feathers to grow on person D1375.6.+ (133); plants grow without being sown F979.17. (62); (64); (71); (75); (77); (78); (86); (87); platform grows larger D489.+ (125); tree magically grows larger D489.+ (76); (182); (183); (187); (188).
- GROWTH of culture hero A511.4. (181); (182); (192). — Extraordinary quick growth of animal F983.0.1. (18); (29); (30); (126); magic quick growth of crops D2157.2. (62); (68); (69); (74); (85); (86); (88); (115); miraculous growth of culture hero A511.4.1. (186); supernatural growth T615. (22); (27); (47); (181); (258).
- GUARDED. — Girl carefully guarded by father T50.1.2. (167).
- GUARDIAN. — Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner K330. (49); (50); (51); (52); (53); (55); (56); (57); tabu: offending guardian spirits C44. (126).
- GUEST. — Selfish guest expels host P332. (349).
- GULLIBLE fools J2300. (169); (170); (171); (328).
- GUSHING. — Flood caused by water gushing out of hole in earth A1016.+ (32); (192); (202); (204); (205); (209).
- HABITATIONS. — Acquisition of habitations A1435. (118).
- HABITUAL. — Taste of human flesh leads to habitual cannibalism G36. (181).
- HAIR. — Fish covered with hair B15.7.10.+ (239); remarkably long pubic hair F547.6.1. (44).
- HAIRS. — Remarkable pubic hairs F547.6. (43).
- HAMMOCK. — Acquisition of hammock A1430.+ (118).

- HAND.** — Tell-tale hand-mark H58. (63); transformation: hand to claw D457.+. (251).
- HANDSOME** man F575.2. (100); (130); (132); (133); (134); (225).
- HARD.** — Why man is weak: made from soft wood instead of hard A1390.+. (49); (189); (190).
- HAUNT.** — Animal's characteristic haunt A2433. (144); establishment of animal haunt A2433.1. (154).
- HEAD** cut off and successfully replaced E783.1. (342). — Dead jaguar's head faces backward F980.+. (280); (281); jaguar sleeps with head facing backward B15.1.+. (181); magic laughing head D1617.+. (307); pursuit by rolling head R261.1. (307); self-rolling head D1641.7.1. (307); speaking head D1610.5. (187); transformation: head to person D437.+. (187); transformation: head to waterbug D447.+. (307); vital head E783. (187); (307); vital head speaks E783.5. (187).
- HEARD.** — Woman sinks into river: song heard from under water F940.+. (341).
- HEART.** — Transformation: heart to bird D447.+. (126).
- HEARTH.** — Ghost takes own bones from hearth E593.4.+. (21).
- HEAVEN.** — Culture hero ascends to heaven A566.2. (189); (190); (192); (200); river to heaven F50.+. (200).
- HELP** from ogre's daughter (or son) G530.2. (324). — Animal helps on quest for vanished wife B543.0.1. (310); (311); spirits help mortal F403.2. (64); (71).
- HELPER.** — Boy as helper N832. (324); god as helper N817.0.1. (28); (37); hero (culture hero) as helper N838. (97); spider as spirit helper F403.2.2.1.+. (178); spirit helper F403.2.+. (4); (7); (12); (13); (38); (141); (178); (193); (270); (280); (281); (282); (306); (342); sun as helper N818.1. (324).
- HELPERS** on quest H1233. (201); (311). — Succession of helpers on quest H1235. (201).
- HELPFUL** birds B450. (15); (53); (98); (118); (126); (203); (310); dog B421. (342); jaguar B430.+. (310); (311); (312); (313); millipede B490.+. (157); monkey B441.1. (29); (30); (310); parrot B469.9. (7); toad B493.2. (189); turtle (tortoise) B491.5. (28); (280); vulture B455.1. (358). — Death of helpful animal B330. (342).
- HERO** (culture hero) as helper N838. (97); overcomes devastating animal G510.4. (181); (182); (183); (184); (187); (282). — Birth of culture hero A511.1. (185); (186); (189); care of culture hero A511.2. (185); (189); child of culture hero A592.+. (211); culture hero (demigod) overcomes monsters A531. (181); (182); culture hero as god of agriculture A541.2. (62); (63); (64); (68); (69); (70); (97);

culture hero as magician A527.3. (62); (64); (68); (182); (184); (187); (188); (192); (193); (194); (198); (200); (214); culture hero as son of god A512.3. (63); culture hero ascends to heaven A566.2. (189); (190); (192); (200); culture hero can transform self A527.3.1. (184); (192); (193); (194); (198); (199); (336); culture hero creator's son A512.2. (1); (10); culture hero establishes custom of avenging the dead through war A545.+ . (120); culture hero establishes customs A545. (121); (127); (208); culture hero is hidden in order to escape enemies A511.2.3. (181); (182); (185); culture hero performs remarkable feats of strength and skill A526.7. (337); culture hero precocious A527.1. (47); (185); culture hero pushes stone into rock A526.7.+ . (222); culture hero raised in pot A511.2.+ . (192); culture hero reared (educated) by extraordinary (supernatural) personages A511.3.2. (181); (185); (189); culture hero regulates rivers A533. (202); culture hero still lives A570. (210); (211); culture hero teaches arts and crafts A541. (120); (121); (122); culture hero teaches people how to fight A541.+ . (208); culture hero's (demigod's) departure A560. (192); (210); (211); (212); (213); culture hero's grandmother A512.1. (186); growth of culture hero A511.4. (181); (182); (192); hero (culture hero) as helper N838. (97); magic origin of culture hero A511.1.4. (187); miraculous growth of culture hero A511.4.1. (186); mountains (hills) from ancient activities of god (hero) A962. (211); parentage of culture hero A512. (339); ritual cannibalism: corpse of hero (demigod) eaten to acquire his strength G13.1. (20); (337); son of culture hero A592.+ . (192); (198); (200); (202); (203); (204); (205); (206); (210); (215); (224).

HEROES. — Culture heroes brothers A515.1. (9); (22); (122); (127); (182); (190); (191); (192); (193); (194); (195); (197); (198); (199); (200); (203); (205); (208); (210); (211); (213); (214); (215); (216); (217); (222); (223); (337); (339); culture heroes brothers — one foolish, one clever A515.1.1.2.+ . (122); (190); (191); good and bad culture heroes A525. (122); twin culture heroes A515.1.1. (128); (181); (184); (185); (186); (187); (188); (189); (201); (206); (209); (212); (221); twin culture heroes — one foolish, one clever A515.1.1.2. (189).

HEROINE. — Culture heroine establishes customs A545.+ . (17).

HIDDEN. — Children hidden to avoid their execution (death) K515.1. (181); (182); (185); culture hero is hidden in order to escape enemies A511.2.3. (181); (182); (185).

HIDING. — Victim burned in his own house (or hiding place) K812. (246).

- HILL. — Transformation: palm to hill D451.1.+ . (208); transformation: plant to hill D451.2.+ . (208).
- HILLS. — Creation of mountains (hills) A960. (1); (7); (126); (210); (211); mountains (hills) from ancient activities of god (hero) A962. (211).
- HOARDED game released A1421. (149); plants released A1423.0.1. (84).
- HOLE. — Dupe lured into hole and entrance closed K737.1. (62); flood caused by water gushing out of hole in earth A1016.+ . (32); (192); (202); (204); (205); (209).
- HOLLOW. — Dupe tricked into entering hollow tree K714.3. (62); (334).
- HOME of spirits on mountain top F408.+ . (29); (30); of water-spirits F420.2. (193); (198); (232). — Mortal goes to home of water-spirits and marries F420.6.1.3. (232); return home to one's own funeral N681.0.1. (35); visit to water goddess' underwater home F420.7.1. (193).
- HONEY originally obtained without effort A1420.4.+ . (110); removes itself D1641.+ . (110). — Origin of honey A2813. (107); speaking honey D1610.+ . (110); transformation: man to honey D210.+ . (108); transformation: skin to honey D457.+ . (107); why honey is difficult to find A2770.+ . (110); (111).
- HONEYCOMB. — Transformation: tongue to honeycomb D457.14.+ . (107).
- HOODWINKING. — Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner K330. (49); (50); (51); (52); (53); (55); (56); (57).
- HOOK. — Origin of the fish hook A1457.1. (208); transformation: worm to hook D420.+ . (227).
- HOST. — Selfish guest expels host P332. (349); treacherous host K2294. (362).
- HOT. — Murder by pouring hot liquid into eyes S139.+ . (158).
- HOUSE. — Dead person builds house E540.+ . (35); (36); man learns house-building from birds A1445.2.2.+ . (118); men wander into ogre's house G401.+ . (41); moon has house A753.2. (2); (324); ogre imprisoned in his own house G514.2. (247); victim burned in his own house (or hiding place) K812. (246).
- HUMAN sacrifice S260.1. (31); (32); (192); (204); (209). — Acquisition of food supply for human race A1420. (64); (199); acquisition of human culture A1400. (127); animal disguises as human being K1822. (225); deity in human form A125. (28); marriage to fish in human form B654. (189); (200); primeval animals human A1101.2.+ . (49); spirit in human form F401.6. (226); (281); sun as

- human being A736. (2); (324); taste of human flesh leads to habitual cannibalism G36. (181); transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal D447. (286).
- HUMILIATED or baffled lovers K1210. (192); (193); (194); (195); (324).
- HUMP. — Why peccary has hump on its back A2356.2.+. (148).
- HUNGER. — Dwarf causes constant hunger D1373.+. (275).
- HUNGRY. — Dwarfs are hungry F451.3.5.3.+. (275).
- HUNT. — Treacherous murder during hunt K917. (158); (245); (252); (253); (284).
- HUNTER. — Lie: the remarkable hunter X1100. (130); skillful hunter F679.5. (65); (130); (140); (227); (315); (322); (323).
- HUNTING. — Origin of hunting and fishing customs A1520. (7); (11).
- HUSBAND discovers wife's adultery K1550.1. (225); rescues stolen wife R151.1. (18); (230); surprises wife and paramour K1569.2. (66). — Attempted seduction by masking as woman's husband K1311.+. (285); cruel husband S62. (29); (176); (245); (246); (261); (305); tabu: husband going forth during wife's first menses C141.+. (33); treacherous husband K2210.+. (111); wife eats flesh of slain husband P210.+. (153); wife flees from animal husband R227.1. (229); wife refuses to sleep with husband T288.+. (19).
- HUT. — Transformation: hut to rock D450.+. (192).
- HYPOCRITE pretends friendship but attacks K2010. (237).
- HYPOCRITES K2000. (131); (132); (133); (134); (135); (136).
- ILL. — Bird of ill-omen B147.2.2. (192); (207); suitors ill-treated T75.0.1. (193).
- ILLNESS. — Deception by feigned illness K1800.+. (256).
- IMITATION. — Foolish imitation J2400. (358).
- IMPENETRABLE darkness F965.3. (63).
- IMPORTUNATE. — Terrorizing the paramour (importunate lover) K1213. (192).
- IMPOSTOR punished Q262. (285).
- IMPOSTORS. — Marital impostors K1910. (130); (285).
- IMPRISONED. — Ogre imprisoned in his own house G514.2. (247).
- INAPPROPRIATE action from misunderstanding J1820. (210); (212); (215).
- INATTENTION to warnings J652. (55); (126); (167); (173); (189); (193); (196); (226); (236); (237); (258); (260); (265); (266); (271); (278); (293); (318); (324); (340); (350).
- INCEST T410. (42); (43); (44); punished Q242. (37); (42); (46); (331); (332). — Brother-sister incest T415. (18); (63); (331); (332); (347);

- mother-son incest T412. (29); (37); origin of incest A1390.+. (42);
 tabu: incest C114. (42); (331); (332).
- INCONTINENCE punished — miscellaneous Q243. (262).
- INDENTIONS on rocks from arrow A972.+. (140); on rocks from
 marks of various persons A972.5. (23).
- INDIGNITY to corpse as punishment Q491. (140).
- INDUCED. — Dupe induced to eat sperm K1044.+. (261); love in-
 duced by magic D1900. (133); (230); (231).
- INEDIBLE. — Edible seeds changed to inedible D476.2.+. (64).
- INEQUALITIES. — Origin of inequalities among men A1618. (127).
- INFORMATION received through dream D1810.8.2. (256).
- INGESTING. — Transformation by ingesting tobacco juice D560.+.
 (76).
- INGRATITUDE W154. (349).
- INHABITANT of upper world visits earth F30. (15); (17); (20); (35);
 (36); (326).
- INHABITANTS of otherworld F167. (1); (7); (9); (12); (15); (202);
 (276). — Man-eating inhabitants of underworld F108.+. (7);
 (277); nature of underworld inhabitants F108. (269); (272); (275).
- INHALING. — Dupe tricked into inhaling intestinal gas K1040.+.
 (102).
- INJURY. — Death or bodily injury by magic D2060. (47); (64); de-
 ception into self-injury K1000. (170); fitting bodily injury as pun-
 ishment Q583. (192); (193); (194); (195); (196); flood brought as
 revenge for injury A1018.3. (192); (194).
- INSANITY. — Magic insanity D2065. (70); (311); (316).
- INSECT. — Transformation: man to insect D180. (279).
- INSIDE. — Refuge inside rock R310.+. (133); (134).
- INTERCOURSE with leg T460.+. (24). — Conception from extraor-
 dinary intercourse T517. (19); (22); (25); (26); (27); (226); (227);
 conception from intercourse with demon T539.3. (226); long dis-
 tance sexual intercourse K1391. (226); tabu: sexual intercourse
 during menses C142. (315).
- INTESTINAL. — Dupe tricked into inhaling intestinal gas K1040.+.
 (102).
- INTESTINES. — Dwarfs have no intestines F451.2.6.+. (275); trans-
 formation: intestines to birds D447.+. (340); transformation: in-
 testines to person D437.+. (187); transformation: intestines to
 plant D457.+. (62).
- INVISIBILITY. — Magic invisibility D1980. (36).
- INVITED. — Enemies invited to banquet and killed K811.1. (362).

- INVULNERABILITY from weapons D1841.5. (47). — Magic invulnerability D1840. (47); (262); magic invulnerability of animals D1840.2. (126).
- JAGUAR as ogre G350.+ (279); (280); (281); (284); man B20.+ (286); sleeps with head facing backward B15.1.+ (181). — Abduction of woman by jaguar R13.1.4.2.+ (18); cause of jaguar's silent walk A2441.+ (157); creation of jaguar A1817. (158); (159); dead jaguar's head faces backward F980.+ (280); (281); devastating jaguar B16.2.+ (181); (182); (184); (185); (186); (187); (279); (280); (281); (282); (283); (284); grateful jaguar B350.+ (18); helpful jaguar B430.+ (310); (311); (312); (313); how jaguar got his loud voice A2423.+ (160); man's call mistaken for jaguar's roar J1812.+ (321); origin of jaguar's spots A2412.1.+ (158); reincarnation as jaguar E612.+ (279); stupid jaguar J1706.+ (357); (358); transformation: frog to jaguar D419.+ (280); transformation: jaguar to person D312.+ (18); transformation: man to jaguar D112.6. (158); (181); (288); treacherous jaguar K2295.+ (158); where jaguar got his large teeth A2345.+ (157); (158); why jaguar lives where he does A2433.1.+ (357); woman suckles jaguar cubs T611.+ (18).
- JEALOUSY W181. (17); (18); (30); (130); (132); (133); (134); (135); (197); (259); (260).
- JOURNEY to upper world F10. (325); to upper world in canoe F60.+ (200). — Animals direct man on journey B563. (311); (312); magic underwater journey D2126. (200).
- JUICE. — Transformation by ingesting tobacco juice D560.+ (76).
- KILL. — Animal kills ogre G512.9. (126); evil spirit kills and eats person F402.1.11.2. (246); (249); father kills child S11.3. (19); god occasionally kills men with ritual A180.+ (1); magic charmed spittle kills D1402.14.1. (267); magic plant kills D1402.1. (131); (132); magic root kills D1402.+ (333); magic substance kills D1402.+ (130); (133); man (fairy) kills wife's lover Q411.0.1.2. (225); (228); scorned lover kills successful one T75.2. (130); (133); (134); transformation to kill enemy D651.1. (279); (280); vow to kill more successful rival M149.3. (132).
- KILLED. — Dupe lured to supposed dance and killed K816. (251); dupe tricked into sleeping. Killed K834.1. (158); enemies invited to banquet and killed K811.1. (362); magic animal killed B192. (4); (5); (28); (29); (30); (62); (63); (64); (65); (66); (67); (80); (81); (82); (83); (117); ogre killed G512. (126); (247); (248); (253); (267); (279); (280); (355); ogre killed by striking with club G512.8.1.

- (255); (281); rival in love killed T92.10. (130); (132); (133); (134); spirit killed F419.+. (250); (261); (282); victim lured by kind words approaches trickster and is killed K815. (117).
- KILLING or maiming by deception K800. (117); (122); (245); (284); (286); (287). — Accidental killing or death N330. (359); (360); dupe tricked into killing himself K890. (169); (171); person (animal) swallowed without killing F911. (233); (237); tabu: eating after killing person C230.+. (47); (141); tabu: killing monkey C841.+. (29); (30).
- KIND (noun). — One kind of fruit mistaken for another J1800.+. (100); (101); (102); (103); (104); (105).
- KIND (adj.). — Victim lured by kind words approaches trickster and is killed K815. (117).
- KINDNESS rewarded Q40. (18).
- KINDS. — Origin of particular kinds of basket A2828. (116); spirits of various kinds of disease F493.1. (212); (221); various kinds of treacherous murder K950. (237).
- KINKAJOU. — Transformation: man to kinkajou D110.+. (76); (79).
- KNOWLEDGE. — Magic knowledge D1810. (200); magic knowledge of events in distant place D1813. (280); magic knowledge of magician D1810.0.2. (106).
- LACK of patience W196. (189).
- LAKE from violating tabu A920.1.8.1. (33); of blood F713.6. (15); (37). — Armadillo as master of underworld lake A420.+. (204); magic lake rejuvenates D1338.1.1.1. (15); origin of particular lake A920.1.0.1. (33).
- LAKES in otherworld F162.6. (33); (202); (204).
- LAMENT. — Animal cries a lament for person lost when animal was transformed A2275.1. (172); (310).
- LAND of dead in sky E481.8. (35); (36); (325). — Moon as land of dead E481.8.2. (15); (28); (37).
- LANGUAGES. — Origin of particular languages A1616. (210).
- LARGE. — Ogre with large claw G360.+. (251); where jaguar got his large teeth A2345.+. (157); (158).
- LARGER. — Animal becomes larger D487. (330); penis made larger D489.+. (45); platform grows larger D489.+. (125); tree magically grows larger D489.+. (76); (182); (183); (187); (188).
- LATENESS. — Animal characteristics caused by animal's lateness at distribution of qualities A2235. (120).
- LAUGHING. — Magic laughing head D1617.+. (307).
- LAZINESS W111. (95); (96).

- LEAD. — Spirit leads person astray F402.1.1. (243); taste of human flesh leads to habitual cannibalism G36. (181).
- LEADING. — Experiences leading to adventures N770. (62).
- LEAF. — Stick (leaf) thrown at animal's rump: hence tail A2215.1. (42); transformation: leaf to mountain D451.8.+. (211).
- LEARN. — Man learns house-building from birds A1445.2.2.+. (118).
- LEARNED. — Secret learned N440.+. (42); (49); (50); (51); (52); (55); (56); (57); (84); (126); (149); (227); (253).
- LEAVE. — Ghost leaves evidence of his appearance E544. (241); soul leaves body at death E722. (37).
- LECHEROUS brother T415.1. (331); (332); (347); son T412.+. (49).
- LEFT. — Obstacle flight. Objects are left behind along escape route which the pursuer stops to pick up while the fugitive escapes R231.+. (164).
- LEG. — Intercourse with leg T460.+. (24).
- LEGS. — Why deer has thin legs A2371.2.+. (102); why sloth has thick legs A2371.2.+. (167).
- LIAISON. — Marriage or liaison of mortals and water-spirits F420.6.1. (192); (193); (194); (195); (197); (198).
- LIANA. — Transformation: liana to snake D441.+. (208); (218).
- LICE. — Why lice are found everywhere A2434.1.+. (178).
- LIE: the remarkable hunter X1100. (130).
- LIFE. — Dead animal comes to life E3. (18); (28); (29); (30); (63); (163); (169); (171); (342); dead tree comes to life E2. (93); determination of span of life A1320. (189); (190); (191); person comes to life E1. (19); (122); (125); (279); (321); preservation of life during world calamity A1005. (7); (28); (29); (30); (31); water-spirits have family life under water F420.3.1. (192); (194); why snakes have long life A2578.+. (189); (190).
- LIKENESS. — Transformation to likeness of another person D40. (226); (256); transformation to likeness of another woman D40.2. (242); (244).
- LIMBS affected by breaking tabu C946. (251).
- LIQUID. — Murder by pouring hot liquid into eyes S139.+. (158).
- LIVE. — Armadillo lives in underworld F167.1.+. (204); culture hero still lives A570. (210); (211); dwarfs live under the ground F451.4.1. (269); (275); first woman lives in polyandrous marriage with first men A1281.+. (15); (16); (17); ogre lives in water G639.+. (267); spirit lives in forest F408.+. (124); spirits live in caves F402.6.4.1. (246); (249); why jaguar lives where he does

- A2433.1.+ (357); why monkey lives in tree A2433.3.19. (168); why sloth lives in certain region A2434.3.+ (331); (332); why sloth lives in trees A2433.1.+ (167); (168); why tapir lives on the ground A2433.1.+ (150).
- LIVER. — Transformation: liver to moon D457.+ (3); transformation: liver to thunder D457.+ (4); (5).
- LIVING. — Dead man touches living E542. (35); (36).
- LIZARD. — Creation of lizard A2148. (177); transformation: man to lizard D197. (177).
- LONELY creator A73. (189).
- LONG distance sexual intercourse K1391. (226); penis F547.3.1. (45); (226); (344). — Person with very long fingernails F515.2.2. (252); (253); (257); remarkably long pubic hair F547.6.1. (44); remarkably long teeth F544.3.5. (7); (246); why snakes have long life A2578.+ (189); (190).
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- LOST. — Animal cries a lament for person lost when animal was transformed A2275.1. (172); (310); quest for lost brother(s) H1385.8. (201); quest for lost mother H1385.+ (86); quest for lost persons H1385. (47); (246); (247); (281); (312); (321); transformation to seek lost (or unknown) person D647. (194).
- LOUD. — How jaguar got his loud voice A2423.+ (160).
- LOUSE. — Creation of louse A2051. (178).
- LOUSING. — Deception by pretended lousing K874. (245).
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- LOVER. — Demon lover F471.2.0.1. (226); (231); escape from undesired lover by strategy T323. (62); (64); (192); girl's animal lover slain by spying relatives B610.1. (227); man (fairy) kills wife's lover Q411.0.1.2. (225); (228); scorned lover kills successful one T75.2. (130); (133); (134); terrorizing the paramour (importunate lover) K1213. (192); the scorned lover T70. (130); (131); (133); (134); (193).
- LOVERS. — Humiliated or baffled lovers K1210. (192); (193); (194); (195); (324).
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MAGICALLY. — Animals magically called D2074.1. (323); burning magically evaded D1841.3. (253); (262); cave entrance magically made smaller D491.+ . (250); fish or sea animals magically called D2074.1.2. (122); obstacle flight. Fugitives throw objects behind them which magically become obstacles in pursuer's path D672. (211); person becomes magically smaller D55.2. (15); river magically caused to rise against enemy D2091.7.1. (192); transformation: stretching tree. A tree magically shoots upward D482.1. (181); tree magically grows larger D489.+ . (76); (182); (183); (187); (188).

MAGICIAN. — Armadillo as magician B191.+ . (62); culture hero as magician A527.3. (62); (64); (68); (182); (184); (187); (188); (192); (193); (194); (198); (200); (214); deer as magician B191.+ . (39); magic knowledge of magician D1810.0.2. (106); resuscitation by magician E121.7. (163); (321).

MAIDEN. — Princess (maiden) abducted R10.1. (152); (192); (193); (194); (195).

MAIDENS. — Water-maidens are of unusual beauty F420.1.2.1. (192); (193); (194); (197).

MAIMING. — Killing or maiming by deception K800. (117); (122); (245); (284); (286); (287).

MAIZE. — Origin of maize A2685.1.1. (85); (87).

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MAN created from blood A1263.1. (15); (16); (19); (20); (29); (30); (33); (192); -eating birds B33. (126); -eating fish B16.+ . (239); -eating inhabitants of underworld F108.+ . (7); (277); -eating monster (in cave) B16.0.3. (237); (238); -eating woman G11.6. (251); learns house-building from birds A1445.2.2.+ . (118); sinks into earth F942. (269); (270); (271); (272); (274); (278); with marvelous voice F688. (41). — Animal carries man across water B551. (28); (29); (30); animal overcomes man's adversary B524. (126); animal saves man from pursuer B523. (280); animal swallows man F911.3. (267); animals direct man on journey B563. (311); (312); animals from transformed man A1715. (7); animals overcome man's adversary by strategy B524.2. (280); birth from man's calf T541.5.+ . (19); (22); (25); (26); (27); (210); (211); condition of first man (woman) A1281. (7); (19); corpse of murdered man roasted S139.2.2.+ . (240); creation of first man's (woman's) mate A1275. (19); (25); (26); (27); creation of man A1200. (82); creation of man by creator A1210. (1); (7); (11); (22); (25); (49); (189); (190); (199); (324); (339); creation of man from tree A1251. (189); (190); creation of man from wood A1252. (49); dead man touches living E542. (35); (36); entrance into girl's (man's) room (bed) by trick K1340. (42); (43); (44); first man (woman) A1280. (1); (7); (14); (15); (16); (17); (19); (22); (25); (26); (27); (189); (190); (197); first man descends from sky A1231. (15); (17); foolish boasts get man into trouble J2353.1. (173); handsome man F575.2. (100); (130); (132); (133); (134); (225); jaguar-man B20.+ . (286); jonah. Fish (or water monster) swallows a man F911.4. (233); (234); (237); (238); kills wife's lover Q411.0.1.2. (225); (228); man's call mistaken for jaguar's roar J1812.+ . (321); origin of man's skin A1319.14. (37); (190); origin of white man A1614.9. (33); (34); (127); (192); (210); originally man rejuvenated himself by snake-like change of skin A1319.12. (37); resuscitation from ashes of dead man E42. (279); revenant as man E425.2. (241); second creation of man A630.+ . (7); (11); (19); (29); (30); sexual relations between man and demons G302.7.1. (260); spirit takes shape of man D42.2. (226); (256); transformation: man (woman) to monkey D118.2. (29); (30); (154); (179); (192); (193); (239); (305); transformation: man to agouti D110.+ . (79); transformation: man to alligator D194.1. (52); (54); (58); transformation: man to animal D100. (7); (33); (102); (129); (130); (131); (144); (150); (153); (292); transformation: man to ant D182.2. (86); (131); transformation: man to anteater D110.+ . (46); transformation: man to armadillo D110.+ . (112);

(334); transformation: man to axe D250.+ (198); transformation: man to bat D110.+ (42); (43); (44); (45); (49); transformation: man to bee D182.1. (184); (336); transformation: man to beehive D200.+ (308); (309); transformation: man to beetle D184.1. (76); transformation: man to bird D150. (4); (6); (19); (50); (54); (64); (90); (99); (100); (102); (106); (111); (114); (120); (131); (139); (155); (171); (172); (173); (193); (194); (207); (294); (295); (296); (300); (303); (313); (335); transformation: man to bow D250.+ (198); transformation: man to caiman D190.+ (50); transformation: man to coati D110.+ (141); (142); (154); (359); transformation: man to cricket D183.2. (192); (193); (194); (199); transformation: man to deer D114.1.1. (100); (101); (102); (103); (104); (105); (106); transformation: man to fly D185.1. (189); transformation: man to frog D195. (143); (298); transformation: man to honey D210.+ (108); transformation: man to insect D180. (279); transformation: man to jaguar D112.6. (158); (181); (288); transformation: man to kinkajou D110.+ (76); (79); transformation: man to lizard D197. (177); transformation: man to mountain D291. (19); (314); transformation: man to mouse D117.1. (113); transformation: man to mushroom D210.+ (19); transformation: man to opossum D110.+ (131); transformation: man to owl D153.2. (140); transformation: man to peccary D114.3.1. (145); (146); (148); (149); (154); transformation: man to plant D213. (262); transformation: man to porcupine D110.+ (154); (155); transformation: man to scorpion D180.+ (19); (149); transformation: man to serpent (snake) D191. (120); (175); (176); (301); (302); transformation: man to sloth D110.+ (167); (331); (332); transformation: man to spirit D90.+ (21); (133); (134); (262); transformation: man to stick D217. (198); (199); transformation: man to stone D231. (122); (306); transformation: man to supernatural being D90.+ (212); (221); transformation: man to swine (wild) D114.3. (239); transformation: man to tapir D110.+ (152); (171); (172); transformation: man to termites' nest D200.+ (33); (142); transformation: man to toad D196. (143); transformation: man to tortoise (turtle) D193. (293); transformation: man to tree D215. (224); transformation: man to vulture D152.3. (19); transformation: man to wasp D180.+ (120); (193); transformation: man to woodpecker D153.1. (297); transformation: normal man to cannibal D91. (7); (181); (246); transformation: peccary to man D300.+ (313); water-man woos mortal girl F420.6.1.1. (232); why man does not change his skin A1319.12.1. (37); (190); (191); why man

- is weak: made from soft wood instead of hard A1390.+ (49); (189); (190).
- MANKIND emerges from tree A1236. (7); (11); (197).
- MANUFACTURED. — Origin of manufactured objects A1430.+ (33).
- MANY. — Person with many tongues F544.2.+ (232).
- MARITAL impostors K1910. (130); (285).
- MARK. — Tell-tale hand-mark H58. (63).
- MARKING. — Appearance of animal from marking or painting A2217. (83); (130); (133); (135); (136); (137); (173).
- MARKINGS on bark of plant A2751.3. (193); on birds A2412.2. (49); (310); on crab's back A2412.5.+ (358). — Origin of animal markings A2412. (131).
- MARKS. — Indentions on rocks from marks of various persons A972.5. (23); recognition by bodily marks or physical attributes H50. (42).
- MARKSMAN. — Skillful marksman F661. (21); (140).
- MARRIAGE of woman to worm B600.+ (227); or liaison of mortals and water-spirits F420.6.1. (192); (193); (194); (195); (197); (198); to fish in human form B654. (189); (200). — Animal offspring from marriage to animal B632. (227); faithlessness in marriage T230. (324); first woman lives in polyandrous marriage with first men A1281.+ (15); (16); (17); offspring of marriage between mortal and water-spirit F420.6.1.6. (192); (232); unwitting marriage to cannibal G81. (253).
- MARRY. — Mortal goes to home of water-spirits and marries F420.6.1.3. (232).
- MARVELOUS. — Man with marvelous voice F688. (41).
- MASKING. — Attempted seduction by masking as woman's husband K1311.+ (285).
- MASTER of caterpillars B246.+ (280); of moving earth A400.+ (278). — Armadillo as master of underworld lake A420.+ (204).
- MATE. — Creation of first man's (woman's) mate A1275. (19); (25); (26); (27).
- MEAL. — Cannibal's gigantic meal G94. (255); frightful meal S183. (21); (64); (112); (261); (263); (297).
- MEANS of combating spirits F405. (257); (262); of hoodwinking the guardian or owner K330. (49); (50); (51); (52); (53); (55); (56); (57); of summoning spirits F404. (281).
- MEAT. — Tabu: eating meat C221. (3).
- MEMBERS. — Resuscitation by arrangement of members E30. (342).

- MEN** wander into ogre's house G401.+ (41). — Dead men dance E493. (241); (325); first race of men perishes when sky falls A1009.+ (14); (40); first woman lives in polyandrous marriage with first men A1281.+ (15); (16); (17); god occasionally kills men with ritual A180.+ (1); origin of inequalities among men A1618. (127); white men emerge from rock A1230.+ (34).
- MENSES.** — Tabu connected with menses C140. (251); (269); (275); tabu: eating certain food during menses C140.+ (316); (317); (318); (319); tabu: going forth during menses C141. (270); (271); (272); (274); (305); (306); (308); (309); (310); (313); (314); tabu: husband going forth during wife's first menses C141.+ (33); tabu: sexual intercourse during menses C142. (315).
- MENSTRUATION.** — Origin of customs pertaining to first menstruation A1530.+ (310).
- METALS.** — Acquisition of metals A1432. (128).
- METHODS.** — Ogres with characteristic methods G310. (91); (247); (248); (251); (252); (253); (267); (280); (284).
- MIGHTY** digger F639.1. (205); warrior F600.+ (47); (288).
- MILLIPEDE.** — Helpful millipede B490.+ (157).
- MIRACULOUS** birth T540. (189); darkness as punishment Q552.20.1. (33); (331); (332); growth of culture hero A511.4.1. (186); punishments Q550. (45).
- MISSILE.** — Magic missile D1093. (304).
- MIST.** — Extraordinary mist (darkness) F962.10. (148); (331); (332).
- MISTAKEN.** — Man's call mistaken for jaguar's roar J1812.+ (321); one animal mistaken for another J1750. (215); one kind of fruit mistaken for another J1800.+ (100); (101); (102); (103); (104); (105).
- MISUNDERSTANDING.** — Inappropriate action from misunderstanding J1820. (210); (212); (215).
- MISUNDERSTOOD.** — Animal cries misunderstood J1811. (210); (212).
- MONKEY.** — Abduction by monkey R13.1.7. (305); blowgun stuck into monkey's rump: hence tail A2215.1.+ (305); color of monkey A2411.1.5.1. (83); giant monkey B871.2.+ (29); (30); helpful monkey B441.1. (29); (30); (310); how monkey received its name A2571.+ (192); magic monkey B180.+ (29); (30); mythical monkey B90.+ (117); tabu: eating monkey C221.1.+ (29); (30); tabu: killing monkey C841.+ (29); (30); transformation: man (woman) to monkey D118.2. (29); (30); (154); (179); (192); (193); (239); (305); transformation: monkey to peccary D411.5.+ (147); trans-

formation: monkey to stone D421.+ (336); transformation: monkey to tapir D411.5.+ (151); where monkey got its tail A2378.1.+ (305); why monkey lives in tree A2433.3.19. (168); why spider monkey has deep-set eyes A2332.4.+ (179).

MONSTER. — Abduction by monster (ogre) R11. (277); blood-sucking monster G332.+ (251); jonah. Fish (or water monster) swallows a man F911.4. (233); (234); (237); (238); man-eating monster (in cave) B16.0.3. (237); (238); sucking monster G332. (91); (256); (266); (267); transformation: basket to water-monster D490.+ (208); (213); (217); transformation: snake to water-monster D418.1.+ (238); water-monster G308.2. (195); (208); (213); (233); (234); (237); (238); water-monster as pet G650.+ (238).

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- OBSTACLES. — Obstacle flight. Fugitives throw objects behind them which magically become obstacles in pursuer's path D672. (211).
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- (21); (41); (58); (246); (249); (355); fox as ogre G350.+ (267); help from ogre's daughter (or son) G530.2. (324); jaguar as ogre G350.+ (279); (280); (281); (284); men wander into ogre's house G401.+ (41); mosquito as ogre G350.+ (265); person falls into ogre's power G400. (246); (247); (324); stupid ogre G501. (41); transformation: blood to ogre D437.+ (21); transformation: woman to ogre D94.+ (251).
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- ORNAMENTS. — Origin of ornaments A1465.3. (50).
- OTHERWORLD in east F136.1. (33). — Inhabitants of otherworld F167. (1); (7); (9); (12); (15); (202); (276); lakes in otherworld F162.6. (33); (202); (204); monstrous creatures in otherworld F167.11. (7); rivers in otherworld F162.2. (275); submarine otherworld F133. (193).
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- OVERCOME. — Animal overcomes man's adversary B524. (126); animals overcome man's adversary by strategy B524.2. (280); culture hero (demigod) overcomes monsters A531. (181); (182); hero overcomes devastating animal G510.4. (181); (182); (183); (184); (187); (282); weak overcomes strong in conflict L310. (286); (287).
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- OWNER. — Means of hoodwinking the guardian or owner K330. (49); (50); (51); (52); (53); (55); (56); (57).
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- PALMS. — Origin of palms A2681.5. (97); (98); (100); (101); (224).
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- PARENTAGE of culture hero A512. (339).
- PARENTS. — Dead child's friendly return to parents E324. (35); (36); offspring of first parents A1277. (15); (16); (26); (27); punishment of children for parents' offenses Q402. (126); (181).
- PARROT. — Helpful parrot B469.9. (7).
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- PARTIAL transformation D682. (305); (313).
- PARTS. — Transformation: parts of animal or human body to animal D447. (286).
- PARTURITION. — Unusual parturition of animal B754.7. (16).
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- PEOPLES. — Distribution and differentiation of peoples — general A1600. (15); warnings against certain peoples J652.4. (324).
- PERFORM. — Culture hero performs remarkable feats of strength and skill A526.7. (337).

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- PERSONAGES. — Culture hero reared (educated) by extraordinary (supernatural) personages A511.3.2. (181); (185); (189).
- PERSONIFIED. — Sky personified Z110.+ (63).
- PERSONS. — Curses on persons M430. (50); (56); (57); extraordinary physical reactions of persons F1041. (308); indentions on rocks from marks of various persons A972.5. (23); quest for lost persons H1385. (47); (246); (247); (281); (312); (321).
- PERSUADED. — Dupe persuaded to climb tall tree K1113.1. (187); (188); (281); woman persuaded (or wooed) by trick K1350. (42); (43); (44).
- PET. — Water-monster as pet G650.+ (238).
- PHYSICAL. — Extraordinary physical reactions of persons F1041. (308); recognition by bodily marks or physical attributes H50. (42).
- PICK. — Obstacle flight. Objects are left behind along escape route which the pursuer stops to pick up while the fugitive escapes R231.+ (164).
- PICTURE. — Magic picture D1266.2. (2); magic picture protects against attack D1381.+ (2).
- PINK. — Why certain fruit is yellow and pink A2791.+ (100); why moon is sometimes pink: he is devouring people A750.+ (2).
- PLACE. — Animals change their type of dwelling-place A2433.1.2. (150); magic knowledge of events in distant place D1813. (280); origin of place-name A1617. (47); (65); (67); (82); (238); (287); (340); victim burned in his own house (or hiding place) K812. (246).
- PLANT. — Magic plant D965. (131); (132); (322); (323); magic plant causes disease D1500.4.+ (221); magic plant kills D1402.1. (131); (132); markings on bark of plant A2751.3. (193); origin of cotton plant A2684.3. (115); origin of plant names A2781. (84); (153); (198); transformation: blood to plant D457.1.+ (113); transformation: intestines to plant D457.+ (62); transformation: man to plant D213. (262); transformation: plant to hill D451.2.+ (208).
- PLANTS from grave of dead person or animal A2611.0.1. (152); from transformed person (animal) A2617. (224); grow without being sown F979.17. (62); (64); (71); (75); (77); (78); (86); (87). — Acquisition of agriculture: plants stolen from supernatural creature A1441.+ (62); (63); (64); (68); (69); (73); (74); extraordinary behavior of trees and plants F970. (322); hoarded plants released A1423.0.1. (84); origin of cultivated plants A2684. (92); (198); (199); why the seeds of some plants have worms A2755.+ (62); (75).

- PLATFORM grows larger D489.+ . (125).
- PLEA. — Escape by false plea K550. (131); (134).
- POISONED arrows F831.3. (120); (121); (122); (123); (124); (126); (139).
- POISONING. — Murder by poisoning S111. (122); (181).
- POLYANDROUS. — First woman lives in polyandrous marriage with first men A1281.+ . (15); (16); (17).
- POLYANDRY T146. (15); (16); (17); (18).
- PORCUPINE. — Porcupine's dwelling A2432.4. (154); (155). — Transformation: man to porcupine D110.+ . (154); (155).
- POSSESS. — Water-spirits possess magic power F420.4.1. (192); (193); (194).
- POT. — Culture hero raised in pot A511.2.+ . (192).
- POTATO. — Origin of sweet potato A2686.4.1. (95); singing sweet potato D1615.+ . (231).
- POTTERY. — Origin of pottery A1451. (74).
- POURING. — Murder by pouring hot liquid into eyes S139.+ . (158).
- POWDER. — Magic powder D1246. (47); (130).
- POWER. — Avoidance of others' power J640. (248); (251); (279); (280); fatal deception into trickster's power K810. (117); (122); (181); (182); (187); (245); (279); (281); (284); person falls into ogre's power G400. (246); (247); (324); water-spirits possess magic power F420.4.1. (192); (193); (194); why one people is superior in power to another A1689.11. (127).
- PRECOCIOUS young child demands weapons T615.5. (47). — Culture hero precocious A527.1. (47); (185).
- PREFER. — People who prefer raw flesh F561.1. (275).
- PREGNANCY. — Origin of pregnancy A1350.+ . (22); short pregnancy T573. (258).
- PREMATURE aging as punishment Q551.12. (37).
- PRESENT. — Animal elders. Mythical ancestors of the present animals B1. (49); birds painted their present colors A2217.1. (130); (131); (132); (133); (134); (135); (136); (137); (310).
- PRESERVATION of life during world calamity A1005. (7); (28); (29); (30); (31).
- PRETEND. — Hypocrite pretends friendship but attacks K2010. (237).
- PRETENDED. — Deception by pretended lousing K874. (245).
- PRETENDING. — Deception by pretending sleep K1868. (132).
- PREVENT. — Magic used to prevent pursuit D2165.3. (211); (250); spirits prevent sky from falling F403.2.3.+ . (13).
- PRIMEVAL animals human A1101.2.+ . (49); darkness A605.1. (82).

- PROBOSCIS. — Origin of anteater's proboscis A2335.3.1. (230).
- PROCURE. — Deception into disastrous attempt to procure food K1020. (188).
- PRODUCED. — Day produced by magic D2146.1.3. (63); (82); (83); drought produced by magic D2143.2. (192); (193); (194); magic results produced by sacrifices D1766.2. (31); (32); (192); (204); night produced by magic D2146.2.1. (62); (63); (64); (65); (66); (80); (81); rain produced by magic D2143.1. (131); storm produced by magic D2141. (28); tobacco produced by magic D2178.+. (62); (64).
- PROOF. — Magic animal proof against weapons D1841.5.2. (18).
- PROPERTY. — Original fire property of one person (animal) A1415.0.2. (49); (50); (51); (52); (53); (54); (55); (56); (57); (59).
- PROPHECIES M300. (51); (54).
- PROPHESED. — Death prophesied M341. (207).
- PROPHETIC bird B143. (123).
- PROTECT. — Deity protects mortal A185.2. (28); magic picture protects against attack D1381.+. (2).
- PROVISION. — Forethought in provision for food J710. (31).
- PROWESS. — Sham prowess K1950. (130).
- PUBIC. — Remarkable pubic hairs F547.6. (43); remarkably long pubic hair F547.6.1. (44).
- PUBLICATION of slaying P555.2.1.1. (257); (282); of victory over opponent P555.2.1.1.+. (257); (258); (259); (260).
- PUNISH. — Dwarf punishes for breach of tabu C905.1. (275); dwarfs punish F451.5.2.6. (275).
- PUNISHED. — Adultery punished Q241. (262); attempted seduction punished Q243.2.1. (285); cruelty punished Q285. (29); (30); discourtesy punished Q327. (171); disobedience punished Q325. (126); (176); impostor punished Q262. (285); incest punished Q242. (37); (42); (46); (331); (332); incontinence punished — miscellaneous Q243. (262); murder punished Q211. (47); (141); quarrelsomeness punished Q306. (176); refusal of conjugal relations punished Q257. (19); scorn of unloved suitor punished T75.1. (193); seduction punished Q243.2. (262); slander punished Q297. (280); stinginess punished Q276. (62); (76); (289); (290); theft punished Q212. (351); treachery punished Q261. (62).
- PUNISHMENT: beating to death Q422.0.1. (42); (132); (257); beheading Q421. (62); being bitten by animal Q453. (327); being eaten by animals Q415. (279); being stung by wasps Q453.+. (189); castration Q451.10.1. (196); choking with smoke Q469.5. (246); (247); (248); ejection Q432. (176); fettering Q434. (328); for

breaking tabu C900. (269); (270); (271); (272); (274); for ravisher Q244. (37); (196); of children for parents' offenses Q402. (126); (181); transformation Q551.3. (314); transformation into animal Q551.3.2. (46); (76); (141); (176); (289); (290); (331); (332). — Animal characteristics as punishment A2230. (42); burning as punishment for adultery Q414.0.2. (262); death as punishment Q411. (327); (336); death as punishment for murder Q411.6. (47); (130); (131); (132); (133); (134); (136); (137); (138); (140); (245); (255); death by thunderbolt as punishment Q552.1. (28); (29); (30); deformity as punishment Q551.8. (45); drought as punishment Q552.3.3. (192); (193); (194); earth swallowings as punishment Q552.2.3. (269); (270); (271); (272); (274); fitting bodily injury as punishment Q583. (192); (193); (194); (195); (196); flaying alive as punishment Q457. (258); (259); (260); (262); flood as punishment A1018. (15); (28); (29); (30); flood as punishment for breaking tabu A1018.1. (33); (275); indignity to corpse as punishment Q491. (140); miraculous darkness as punishment Q552.20.1. (33); (331); (332); mutilation as punishment Q451. (260); premature aging as punishment Q551.12. (37); scalding as punishment for attempted seduction Q469.10.1. (285); transformation as punishment D661. (19); (141).

PUNISHMENTS. — Miraculous punishments Q550. (45).

PURSUE. — Spirit pursues person F402.1.10. (249).

PURSUER. — Animal saves man from pursuer B523. (280); obstacle flight. Fugitives throw objects behind them which magically become obstacles in pursuer's path D672. (211); obstacle flight. Objects are left behind along escape route which the pursuer stops to pick up while the fugitive escapes R231.+. (164).

PURSUIT by rolling head R261.1. (307). — Magic used to prevent pursuit D2165.3. (211); (250).

PURSUIES R260. (130); (132); (133); (134); (135); (136); (140).

PUSH. — Culture hero pushes stone into rock A526.7.+. (222).

PUSHED. — Victim pushed into fire K925. (251); (252); (253); (348).

QUALITIES. — Animal characteristics caused by animal's lateness at distribution of qualities A2235. (120); animal characteristics: exchange of qualities A2247. (157); (158); (160).

QUARRELSOMENESS punished Q306. (176).

QUEST for enemies H1397. (47); (257); for lost brother(s) H1385.8. (201); for lost mother H1385.+. (86); for lost persons H1385. (47); (246); (247); (281); (312); (321); for things seen in dream H1320.2. (62); for tobacco H1370.+. (77); (78); for vanished wife (mistress) H1385.3. (18); (90); (310); (311); (313). — Animal helps on quest

- for vanished wife B543.0.1. (310); (311); helpers on quest H1233. (201); (311); succession of helpers on quest H1235. (201).
- QUICK. — Extraordinary quick growth of animal F983.0.1. (18); (29); (30); (126); magic quick growth of crops D2157.2. (62); (68); (69); (74); (85); (86); (88); (115).
- RACE. — Acquisition of food supply for human race A1420. (64); (199); first race of men perishes when sky falls A1009.+. (14); (40); new race from single pair (or several) after world calamity A1006.1. (28).
- RAIN produced by magic D2143.1. (131). — Magic rain D902. (29); (30); origin of rain A1131. (192); (205); transformation: blood to rain D457.1.+. (174).
- RAISE. — Fallen tree raises itself again D1602.2.+. (93).
- RAISED. — Culture hero raised in pot A511.2.+. (192).
- RAPE T471. (37); (46); (196).
- RAVISHER. — Punishment for ravisher Q244. (37); (196).
- RAW. — People who prefer raw flesh F561.1. (275).
- REACTIONS. — Extraordinary physical reactions of persons F1041. (308).
- REARED. — Culture hero reared (educated) by extraordinary (supernatural) personages A511.3.2. (181); (185); (189).
- RECEIVE. — How monkey received its name A2571.+. (192); how the rivers received their names A1617.+. (80); information received through dream D1810.8.2. (256).
- RECEPTACLE. — Transformation: receptacle to bird D444.+. (331).
- RECOGNITION by bodily marks or physical attributes H50. (42); by feet H50.+. (313); by smell H30.+. (130); of person transformed to animal H62.1. (313); through arm ring H94.6. (257).
- RED. — Rock turns red D492.+. (306); why caiman has red mouth A2341.+. (50).
- REED. — Transformation: arrowhead to reed D454.9.+. (322).
- REFLECTED. — Reflection in water thought to be the original of the thing reflected J1791. (324).
- REFLECTION in water thought to be the original of the thing reflected J1791. (324).
- REFUGE in upper world R323. (180); inside rock R310.+. (133); (134); on mountain R310.+. (138); (140); on roof R310.+. (181); (193); (260). — Forest as refuge R312. (33); (260); (280); tree refuge R311. (7); (12); (28); (29); (30); (33); (62); (130); (131); (132); (135); (136); (137); (153); (189); (192); (204); (229); (248); (249).
- REFUSAL of conjugal relations punished Q257. (19).

- REFUSE. — Cruel mother refuses children food S12.6. (291); wife refuses to sleep with husband T288.+ (19).
- REGION. — Why sloth lives in certain region A2434.3.+ (331); (332).
- REGULATE. — Culture hero regulates rivers A533. (202).
- REINCARNATION as jaguar E612.+ (279).
- REJECTED suitors' revenge T75.2.1. (130); (131); (133); (134).
- REJUVENATE. — Magic blood rejuvenates D1338.1.3. (15); magic lake rejuvenates D1338.1.1.1. (15).
- REJUVENATED. — Originally man rejuvenated himself by snake-like change of skin A1319.12. (37).
- REJUVENATION by bathing D1887. (15); by changing skin D1889.6. (37).
- RELATIONS. — Refusal of conjugal relations punished Q257. (19); sexual relations between man and demons G302.7.1. (260); sexual relations between woman and demon G302.7.1.+ (258); (259).
- RELATIVE. — Relative's flesh eaten unwittingly G61. (245); flesh of relative transformed to animal eaten G70.+ (102); (289).
- RELATIVES. — Girl's animal lover slain by spying relatives B610.1. (227).
- RELEASED. — Hoarded game released A1421. (149); hoarded plants released A1423.0.1. (84).
- RELIGIOUS. — Origin of religious ceremonials A1540. (40).
- REMARKABLE fragrance (odor) of person F687. (130); (131); (132); (134); (136); (258); pubic hairs F547.6. (43); voice F556. (4); (67); (196); (281). — Culture hero performs remarkable feats of strength and skill A526.7. (337); lie: the remarkable hunter X1100. (130).
- REMARKABLY beautiful woman F575.1. (36); (45); (131); (133); (139); (189); (192); (193); (194); (196); (197); (231); (284); long pubic hair F547.6.1. (44); long teeth F544.3.5. (7); (246).
- REMNANT. — Bodies of water remnant of flood A910.4. (192).
- REMOVE. — God removes mortal's soul A185.12.2. (19); honey removes itself D1641.+ (110).
- REMOVED. — Child removed from body of dead mother T584.2. (181); (185); (186); (192); (284).
- REMOVING. — Disenchantment by removing skin (or covering) D721. (310); (311); (313).
- RENEWAL of world after world calamity A1006. (7); (28); (29); (30).
- REPEATED transformation D610. (193).

- REPLACED. — Eyes successfully replaced E781. (358); head cut off and successfully replaced E783.1. (342).
- REPOSITORY. — Tree as repository of fire A1414.7.1. (49); (50); (51); (52); (54); (55); (56); (57); (59).
- RESCUE by grandmother R150.+ . (186). — Husband rescues stolen wife R151.1. (18); (230).
- RESCUED. — Exposed or abandoned child rescued R131. (47).
- RESCUER. — Animal rescuer or retriever B540. (7); (28); (29); (30).
- RESCUERS R150. (182); (185).
- RESULT. — Extraordinary result of fear F1041.17. (133).
- RESULTS. — Magic results from blowing D1799.+ . (62); (68); (184); magic results from breathing D1784. (33); magic results from eating or drinking D1793. (261); magic results from singing D1781. (102); (320); magic results from spitting D1776. (267); magic results produced by sacrifices D1766.2. (31); (32); (192); (204).
- RESUSCITATION by arrangement of members E30. (342); by magic E50. (321); by magician E121.7. (163); (321); by rough treatment E10. (122); from ashes of dead man E42. (279).
- RETRIEVER. — Animal rescuer or retriever B540. (7); (28); (29); (30).
- RETURN from dead to slay own murderer E232.1. (47); from upper world F10.1. (325); home to one's own funeral N681.0.1. (35). — Dead child's friendly return to parents E324. (35); (36); dead mother returns to suckle child E323.1.1. (36); dead returns soon after death E586.+ . (35); friendly return from the dead E300. (35); (36).
- REVENANT as man E425.2. (241). — Appearance of revenant E420. (36); (241).
- REVENANTS eat E541. (21). — Ghosts and revenants — miscellaneous E400. (246).
- REVENGE. — Avoiding enemy's revenge J647. (130); (133); (134); (135); (359); flood brought as revenge for injury A1018.3. (192); (194); rejected suitors' revenge T75.2.1. (130); (131); (133); (134); water-spirits take revenge on mortals F420.5.2.6. (192); (194).
- REVIVIFY. — Magic blood revivifies trees D1571.+ . (93).
- REWARDED. — Generosity rewarded Q42. (62); (76); kindness rewarded Q40. (18).
- RING. — Recognition through arm ring H94.6. (257).
- RISE. — River magically caused to rise against enemy D2091.7.1. (192); river rises and overflows F932.8. (275).
- RISING. — Flood caused by rising of river A1011.2. (275).
- RITES. — Funeral rites V60. (21).

- RITUAL cannibalism: corpse of hero (demigod) eaten to acquire his strength G13.1. (20); (337). — God occasionally kills men with ritual A180.+. (1); magic cure through ritual D2161.4.+. (106).
- RIVAL in love killed T92.10. (130); (132); (133); (134). — Vow to kill more successful rival M149.3. (132).
- RIVALS. — Treacherous rivals K2220. (237).
- RIVER magically caused to rise against enemy D2091.7.1. (192); of blood F715.2.1. (15); (16); rises and overflows F932.8. (275); to heaven F50.+. (200). — Flood caused by rising of river A1011.2. (275); woman sinks into river: song heard from under water F940.+. (341).
- RIVERS in otherworld F162.2. (275). — Creator of rivers A930.1. (202); culture hero regulates rivers A533. (202); how the rivers received their names A1617.+. (80); magic control of rivers D2151.2. (192).
- ROAR. — Man's call mistaken for jaguar's roar J1812.+. (321).
- ROASTED. — Corpse of murdered man roasted S139.2.2.+. (240).
- ROCK of extraordinary color F807. (306); turns red D492.+. (306). — Culture hero pushes stone into rock A526.7.+. (222); magic rock (stone) D931. (235); origin of particular rock A977.5. (122); (192); refuge inside rock R310.+. (133); (134); speaking rock (stone) D1610.18. (235); transformation: hut to rock D450.+. (192); white men emerge from rock A1230.+. (34).
- ROCKS from transformation of people to stone A974. (122). — Indentations on rocks from arrow A972.+. (140); indentations on rocks from marks of various persons A972.5. (23); mountains or rocks open and close D1552. (320); origin of rocks and stones A970. (235).
- ROLLING. — Pursuit by rolling head R261.1. (307); self-rolling head D1641.7.1. (307).
- ROOF. — Refuge on roof R310.+. (181); (193); (260).
- ROOM. — Entrance into girl's (man's) room (bed) by trick K1340. (42); (43); (44).
- ROOT. — Magic root kills D1402.+. (333); tree root thought to be yuca J1800.+. (192); (193); (194).
- ROOTS. — Magic roots D967. (333); (343).
- ROPE. — Sky-rope F51. (20); (35); sky-rope cut F51.+. (35); vine as sky-rope F51.1.2. (35).
- ROUGH. — Resuscitation by rough treatment E10. (122).

- ROUTE. — Obstacle flight. Objects are left behind along escape route which the pursuer stops to pick up while the fugitive escapes R231.+ (164).
- RUBBING. — Origin of fire — rubbing sticks A1414.1. (61); transformation by rubbing with ointment D594. (104); (105).
- RUMP. — Arrow shot at agouti's rump: hence tail A2215.1.+ (289); blowgun stuck into monkey's rump: hence tail A2215.1.+ (305); stick (leaf) thrown at animal's rump: hence tail A2215.1. (42).
- SACRIFICE. — Human sacrifice S260.1. (31); (32); (192); (204); (209).
- SACRIFICES. — Magic results produced by sacrifices D1766.2. (31); (32); (192); (204).
- SACRIFICIAL suicide S263.5. (32).
- SANEMA. — Origin of the Sanema A1611.+ (49); (127); (190); (199).
- SAVE. — Animal saves man from pursuer B523. (280).
- SCALDING as punishment for attempted seduction Q469.10.1. (285).
- SCORN of unloved suitor punished T75.1. (193).
- SCORNE lover kills successful one T75.2. (130); (133); (134). — The scorned lover T70. (130); (131); (133); (134); (193).
- SCORPION. — Transformation: man to scorpion D180.+ (19); (149).
- SCRATCHING. — Torturing by scratching S187. (260).
- SEA. — Fish or sea animals magically called D2074.1.2. (122).
- SEAS. — Origin of the seas A920. (192).
- SECOND creation of man A630.+ (7); (11); (19); (29); (30).
- SECRET learned N440.+ (42); (49); (50); (51); (52); (55); (56); (57); (84); (126); (149); (227); (253).
- SECULAR. — Origin of secular feasts A1535. (215).
- SEDUCE. — Brother-in-law seduces (seeks to seduce) sister-in-law T425. (189); (200); son-in-law seduces mother-in-law T417. (42); (43); (44); (45); (46).
- SEDUCTION by giving aphrodisiac K1395. (133); (231); punished Q243.2. (262). — Attempted seduction by masking as woman's husband K1311.+ (285); attempted seduction punished Q243.2.1. (285); scalding as punishment for attempted seduction Q469.10.1. (285).
- SEED. — Transformation: seed to stone D471.+ (208).
- SEEDS. — Edible seeds changed to inedible D476.2.+ (64); why the seeds of some plants have worms A2755.+ (62); (75).
- SEEK. — Brother-in-law seduces (seeks to seduce) sister-in-law T425. (189); (200); transformation to seek lost (or unknown) person D647. (194).

- SEEN. — Quest for things seen in dream H1320.2. (62).
- SELF-mutilation S160.1. (101); (102); (103); (106); (130); (133); (134); (308); -rolling head D1641.7.1. (307). — Culture hero can transform self A527.3.1. (184); (192); (193); (194); (198); (199); (336); deception into self-injury K1000. (170); person eats self up G51.1. (21).
- SELFISH guest expels host P332. (349).
- SERIES of trick exchanges Z47. (158); of upper worlds A651.1. (7).
- SERPENT. — Creation of snake (serpent) A2145. (121); (175); (176); (208); (218); giant devastating serpent B16.5.1. (236); magic serpent B176.1. (238); transformation: man to serpent (snake) D191. (120); (175); (176); (301); (302).
- SET. — Why spider monkey has deep-set eyes A2332.4.+ (179).
- SEXUAL relations between man and demons G302.7.1. (260); relations between woman and demon G302.7.1.+ (258); (259). — Long distance sexual intercourse K1391. (226); tabu: sexual intercourse during menses C142. (315).
- SHAM prowess K1950. (130).
- SHAMAN. — Treacherous shaman K2284.+ (178).
- SHAMANISM. — Origin of priesthood (shamanism, etc.) A1654. (7); (11); (38); (39).
- SHAPE. — Origin of shape of ant's back A2356.2.+ (130); spirit takes shape of man D42.2. (226); (256); spirit takes shape of woman D42.2.+ (242); (244).
- SHELL. — Origin of tortoise's shell A2312.1. (328).
- SHOOT. — Transformation: stretching tree. A tree magically shoots upward D482.1. (181).
- SHOOTING. — Transformation by shooting D560.+ (289).
- SHORT pregnancy T573. (258). — Absurd short-sightedness J2050. (358); why caiman has short tongue A2344.1.+ (50); why some birds have short beaks A2343.3.+ (131); (133).
- SHOT. — Arrow shot at agouti's rump: hence tail A2215.1.+ (289).
- SHOWER of blood F962.4. (15); (16); (19); (20); (21); (29); (30).
- SICKNESS or weakness for breaking tabu C940. (47). — Magic sickness D2064. (47); (221); (280).
- SIDE. — Stream unexpectedly bursts from side of mountain A934.9. (33).
- SILENT. — Cause of jaguar's silent walk A2441.+ (157).
- SING. — Spirit sings F419.+ (248).
- SINGEING. — Animal characteristics from burning or singeing A2218. (49); (170); (171).

- SINGING sweet potato D1615.+ (231); tree D1615.1. (343). — Magic results from singing D1781. (102); (320); origin of singing A1460.+ (108).
- SINGLE. — New race from single pair (or several) after world calamity A1006.1. (28).
- SINK. — Building sinks into earth F941. (270); (273); (274); child sinks into earth F942.+ (277); man sinks into earth F942. (269); (270); (271); (272); (274); (278); woman sinks into river: song heard from under water F940.+ (341).
- SISTER. — Brother-in-law seduces (seeks to seduce) sister-in-law T425. (189); (200); brother-sister incest T415. (18); (63); (331); (332); (347); cruel brother (sister) S73. (30); (329).
- SIZE. — Animal's size changed at will D631.2. (29); (30).
- SKILL. — Culture hero performs remarkable feats of strength and skill A526.7. (337).
- SKILLFUL hunter F679.5. (65); (130); (140); (227); (315); (322); (323); marksman F661. (21); (140).
- SKIN. — Disenchantment by removing skin (or covering) D721. (310); (311); (313); magic skin makes person old D1341.+ (37); origin of man's skin A1319.14. (37); (190); originally man rejuvenated himself by snake-like change of skin A1319.12. (37); rejuvenation by changing skin D1889.6. (37); transformation: skin to honey D457.+ (107); vital skin E785. (310); (311); (313); (316); why man does not change his skin A1319.12.1. (37); (190); (191).
- SKY as solid vault (tent) A702.2. (7); (12); (13); falls A1000.+ (1); (7); (8); (9); (12); (13); (14); (40); (276); of solid substance A669.2. (7); (9); (10); (12); (13); (276); personified Z110.+ (63); rope F51. (20); (35); rope cut F51.+ (35). — Creation of the sky A701. (6); (7); (9); (10); creator goes to sky A81. (1); first man descends from sky A1231. (15); (17); first race of men perishes when sky falls A1009.+ (14); (40); god stabilizes the sky A665.0.1. (9); (10); land of dead in sky E481.8. (35); (36); (325); moon from object (person) thrown into sky A741. (3); person wafted to sky F61. (19); spirits prevent sky from falling F403.2.3.+ (13); support of the sky A665. (9); (10); transformation: tapir to sky D421.+ (6); tree supports sky A665.4. (7); (12); vine as sky-rope F51.1.2. (35).
- SLAIN enemy eaten S139.2.2.+ (140); person dismembered S139.2. (126); (245); (247). — Girl's animal lover slain by spying relatives B610.1. (227); thunder cannot be slain D1840.+ (4); wife eats flesh of slain husband P210.+ (153).
- SLANDER punished Q297. (280).
- SLAY. — Return from dead to slay own murderer E232.1. (47).

- SLAYING. — Publication of slaying P555.2.1.1. (257); (282).
- SLEEP. — Deception by pretending sleep K1868. (132); escape by putting captor to sleep K600.+ (62); (64); jaguar sleeps with head facing backward B15.1.+ (181); magic sleep D1960. (62); (64); murder in one's sleep K959.2. (158); object causes magic sleep D1364. (62); (64); wife refuses to sleep with husband T288.+ (19).
- SLEEPING. — Dupe tricked into sleeping. Killed K834.1. (158).
- SLOTH. — Devastating sloth B16.+ (323); transformation: man to sloth D110.+ (167); (331); (332); why sloth has thick legs A2371.2.+ (167); why sloth is thin A2300.+ (167); why sloth lives in certain region A2434.3.+ (331); (332); why sloth lives in trees A2433.1.+ (167); (168).
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- SMALLER. — Bird made smaller A2302.+ (170); (171); cave entrance magically made smaller D491.+ (250); person becomes magically smaller D55.2. (15).
- SMELL. — Recognition by smell H30.+ (130); why women smell the way they do A1372.+ (197).
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- WOO. — Water-man woos mortal girl F420.6.1.1. (232).
- WOOD spirit F441. (262). — Creation of man from wood A1252. (49); deeds of wood-spirits F441.6. (262); transformation: chip of wood to alligator D441.10.+ (208); transformation: chip of wood

- to fish D441.10.+ . (208); (209); why man is weak: made from soft wood instead of hard A1390.+ . (49); (189); (190).
- WOODPECKER. — Transformation: man to woodpecker D153.1. (297).
- WOOED. — Woman persuaded (or wooed) by trick K1350. (42); (43); (44).
- WOOER. — Girl as wooer T55. (134); (324).
- WORD. — Transformation through magic word (charm) D522. (33).
- WORDS. — Victim lured by kind words approaches trickster and is killed K815. (117).
- WORLD. — Accidental arrival in lower world F102. (7); (277); after world catastrophe new sun and moon appear A719.2.+ . (7); ascent to upper world by magic F68. (19); (21); (192); ascent to upper world in smoke F61.3.1. (15); (37); birds carry person from upper world F62.2. (15); (17); continuous world-eclipse A1046. (83); inhabitant of upper world visits earth F30. (15); (17); (20); (35); (36); (326); journey to upper world F10. (325); journey to upper world in canoe F60.+ . (200); new race from single pair (or several) after world calamity A1006.1. (28); preservation of life during world calamity A1005. (7); (28); (29); (30); (31); refuge in upper world R323. (180); renewal of world after world calamity A1006. (7); (28); (29); (30); return from upper world F10.1. (325); subterranean world F721. (1); (269); (275); (276); (277); voices from lower world (or underground) F966.+ . (272).
- WORLDS above and below A651.3. (7). — Series of upper worlds A651.1. (7).
- WORM paramour B610.+ . (228). — Marriage of woman to worm B600.+ . (227); origin of earth-worm A2182.3. (227); transformation: worm to eel D418.2.+ . (227); transformation: worm to hook D420.+ . (227); transformation: worm to person D392. (227).
- WORMS. — Why the seeds of some plants have worms A2755.+ . (62); (75); woman gives birth to worms T554.+ . (226); (227).
- WOUNDING. — Disenchantment by wounding D712.6. (312).
- YAM. — Magic yam D983.2. (92).
- YAMS come when called D1600.+ . (92). — Origin of yams A2686.4.3. (92).
- YANOMAMI. — Origin of the Yanomami A1611.+ . (15); (16); (19); (20); (29); (30); (210); why Yanomami have small penises A1660.+ . (23).
- YELLOW. — Why certain fruit is yellow and pink A2791.+ . (100).

- YOUNG. — Precocious young child demands weapons T615.5. (47).
YUCA. — Origin of yuca A2686.4.+ (194); tree root thought to be
yuca J1800.+ (192); (193); (194).

Motif Distribution by Motif Group

Of the total number of motifs (2,881) MYTHOLOGICAL motifs account for fully 27.8% (802), making this the largest category by far. Motifs of MAGIC make up 19.1% (553), followed by MARVELS with 13.4% (386). After this there is a sharp drop to motifs of DECEPTIONS and ANIMALS, with 5.2% (152) and 5.0% (145) each.

The largest subcategory is *Transformation*, with nearly 12% of the total (11.9% = 345 motifs). *Marvelous creatures* and *Creation and ordering of human life* constitute 8.4% (243) and 8.2% (238) respectively. The remaining subcategories all cluster around 4% and below.

Motif group and subgroup	Number of motifs
A. MYTHOLOGICAL MOTIFS	
Creator	8
Gods	28
Demigods and culture heroes	135
Cosmogony and cosmology	63
Topographical features of the earth	25
World calamities	61
Establishment of natural order	14
Creation and ordering of human life	238
Creation of animal life	56
Animal characteristics	123
Origin of trees and plants	39
Origin of plant characteristics	10
Miscellaneous explanations	2
Subtotal motifs	802
B. ANIMALS	
Mythical animals	44
Magic animals	44

Animals with human traits	8
Friendly animals	38
Marriage of person to animal	7
Fanciful traits of animals	1
Miscellaneous animal motifs	3
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	145

C. TABU

Tabu connected with supernatural beings	7
Sex tabu	24
Eating and drinking tabu	7
Speaking tabu	1
Miscellaneous tabus	2
Punishment for breaking tabu	19
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	60

D. MAGIC

Transformation	345
Disenchantment	4
Magic objects	82
Magic powers and manifestations	122
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	553

E. THE DEAD

Resuscitation	21
Ghosts and other revenants	33
Reincarnation	1
The Soul	12
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	67

F. MARVELS

Otherworld journeys	44
Marvelous creatures	243
Extraordinary places and things	23
Extraordinary occurrences	76
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	386

G. OGRES

Kinds of ogres	71
Falling into ogre's power	12
Ogre defeated	23
Other ogre motifs	2
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	108

H. TESTS

Identity tests: recognition	7
Tests of cleverness	2
Tests of prowess: quests	21
Other tests	1
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	31

J. THE WISE AND THE FOOLISH

Wise and unwise conduct	64
Cleverness	8
Fools (and other unwise persons)	32
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	104

K. DECEPTIONS

Thefts and cheats	18
Escape by deception	10
Capture by deception	9
Fatal deception	52
Deception into self-injury	11
Deception into humiliating position	6
Seduction or deceptive marriage	10
Deceptions connected with adultery	2
Deception through shams	17
Villains and traitors	17
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	152

L. REVERSAL OF FORTUNE

Triumph of the weak	2
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	2

M. ORDAINING THE FUTURE

Vows and oaths	1
Prophecies	3
Curses	3
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	7

N. CHANCE AND FATE

The ways of luck and fate	1
Unlucky accidents	2
Lucky accidents	14
Accidental encounters	1
Helpers	5
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	23

P. SOCIETY

The family	11
Other social relationships	1
Government	7
Customs	7
Society — miscellaneous motifs	4
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	30

Q. REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

Deeds rewarded	3
Deeds punished	28
Kinds of punishment	73
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	104

R. CAPTIVES AND FUGITIVES

Captivity	29
Rescues	6
Escapes and pursuits	18
Refuges and recapture	31
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	84

<i>Motif Distribution by Motif Group</i>	781
S. UNNATURAL CRUELTY	
Cruel relatives	21
Revolting murders or mutilations	38
Cruel sacrifices	6
Abandoned or murdered children	5
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	70
T. SEX	
Love	22
Marriage	4
Married life	4
Chastity and celibacy	3
Illicit sexual relations	27
Conception and birth	26
Care of children	7
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	93
V. RELIGION	
Religious services	1
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	1
W. TRAITS OF CHARACTER	
Favorable traits of character	5
Unfavorable traits of character	46
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	51
X. HUMOR	
Humor of lies and exaggeration	1
<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	1
Z. MISCELLANEOUS GROUPS OF MOTIFS	
Formulas	1
Symbolism	1

Unique exceptions	5
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<i>Subtotal motifs</i>	7
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22 MOTIF GROUPS	98 SUBGROUPS
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<i>TOTAL NUMBER OF MOTIFS</i>	2881
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Johannes Wilbert is professor of anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is a research Fellow at Harvard University and at the Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas. Engaged in studies of South American Indians, he specializes in the ethnology of the Orinoco Basin and the mythology of Lowland South America.

Karin Simoneau is a staff research associate at the Latin American Center, University of California, Los Angeles. She earned an M.L.S. and an M.A. degree in anthropology from UCLA and has been associated with the South American folk literature project for many years as a translator and analyst.

Jacket design: Components of the essential life force being liberated during cremation of the corpse. (Drawing by a Sanima Indian.)

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